Encyclopædia
of
Religion and Ethics
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of
Religion and Ethics

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VOLUME VIII
LIFE AND DEATH—MULLA

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Marriage (Jewish).

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Magadha, Maya.

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

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Merlin.

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MONEY.

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Missions (Muhammadan), Muhammadanism (in India).

BAILIE (JAMES).
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Literature (Egyptian), Manetho.

BALL (JAMES DYER), I.S.O., M.R.A.S., M. Ch.
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Life and Death (Chinese), Light and Darkness (Chinese).

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Lullists.

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Locke.

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Michaelmas.

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Marriage (Semitic), Milk (Civilized Religions).

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Missions (Christian, Early and Medieval).
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Manicheism.

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Literature (Babylonian).

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Lithuanians and Letts.

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Literature (Vedic and Classical Sanskrit).

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Minotaur.

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Mandeans, Masbothsans.

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Logic, Method (Logical).

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Loyalty.

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Megarics.

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Monasticism.

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Professor of Zend and Pahlavi and Greek Pala-ography in the University of Louvain; Research Professor in the University of Pennsylvania (1915-16).

Magic (Iranian).

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Martineau.

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Love (Roman).

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Life and Death (Christian).

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Melanesians.

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Morbidity.

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Miracle-Plays.

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Ligurian Religion.

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Mary.

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Life and Death (Primitive, American); Locust, Love (Primitive, American); Magical Circle, Mask, May, Metals and Minerals, Mirror.

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Magh, Mahaban, Mahar, Majhwar, Mal, Mishmis.
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Light and Darkness (Semitic and Egyptian).

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Lumbini, Milinda, Moggallana.

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Logic (Buddhist), Love (Buddhist), Moksa.

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Mill. James and John Stuart.

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Mediation.

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Marriage (Celtic).

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Monsters (Biological).

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Memory.

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Literature (Jewish).

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Monism.

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Methodism (Doctrine).

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Meletianism.

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Marriage (Christian).

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Materialism (Chinese).

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Marriage (Roman).

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Merit (Christian).

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Literature (Dravidian).

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Lokayata, Mimamsa.
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Life and Death (Egyptian), Magic (Egyptian).

GASTER (Moses), Ph.D.
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Magic (Jewish).

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Mercy (Indian), Monasticism (Buddhist, Hindu).

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Maznads.

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Love (Celtic).

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Love (Psychological and Ethical).

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Muhammadanism (in Turkey).

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Milk (Primitive Religions).

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Moral Education League.

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Grass, Men of God.

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Sometime Member of the Editorial Staff of the New International Encyclopaedia; assistant editor of the present work; author of Indo-Iranian Phonology (1902); translator of Vâsanâvatâ, a Sanskrit Romance by Subendhu (1913).

Life and Death (Iranian), Light and Darkness (Iranian), Literature (Pahlavi), Marriage (Iranian), Mazandaran, Mean (Chinese), Merit (Introductory and Non-Christian), Missions (Zoroastrian).

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Literature (Indian Vernacular), Madhvas, Mainly Dasis.

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Milton.

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Marriage (Egyptian).

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Magic (Tentonic).

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Moral Obligation.

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Market.

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Mountain-Mother.

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Muhammadanism (in China).

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Moravians.

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Lukianus.

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Light and Darkness (Hindu).

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Lushais, Manipuris.

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Lying.

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Mahabharata, Manu.

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Meekness.

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Midrash and Midrashic Literature.

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Messiahs (Pseudo-).

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Moral Argument.

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Logos.

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Luther, Lutheranism.

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Masai.

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Magic (Chinese).

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Mithraism.

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Madura.

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Life and Death (Jewish), Meir.

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Mental Reservation.

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Malik ibn Anas.

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Marriage (Hindu).

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Moab.

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Malay Archipelago.
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Momentary Gods.

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Mennonites.

Latte (Kurt),
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Love (Greek).

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Montanism.

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Modernism.

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Macedonianism.

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Mikirs.

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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 (Slavie).

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Melancholy.

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Metaphysics.

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Mercy.

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Monolatry and Henotheism.


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

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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 (Introductory), Mana.
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Mohammedanism. The Early Development of
Mohammedanism.

Magic (Arabian and Muslim), Mahdi,
Mecca, Medina, Muhammad, Muham-
madanism (in Central Africa, in North
Africa, in Arabia).

Marshall (John Turner), M.A., D.D.
Principal of Manchester Baptist College;
Lecturer in History of Christian Doctrine in
Manchester University.

Life and Death (Hebrew), Mammon.

Maude (Joseph Hooper), M.A.
Rector of Pusey, Berks.; Late Fellow and
Dean of Hertford College, Oxford.

Liturany.

Mellone (S. H.), M.A. (Lond.), D.Sc. (Edin.).
Principal of the Unitarian Home Missionary
College, Manchester; Lecturer in the His-
History of Christian Doctrine in the
University of Manchester; author of Studies in Phi-
losophical Criticism, Leaders of Religious
Thought in the Nineteenth Century.

Mean.

Modi (Shams-ul-Ulama Jiyani Jamsheidji),
Fellow of the University of Bombay; Dipl.
Litteris et Arribus (Sweden); Officier d’Aca-
démie, France; Officier de l’Instruction
Publique, France; Secretary of the Anthro-
pological Society of Bombay; Vice-President
of the Bombay Branch of the Royal
Asianic Society.

Marriage (Iranian).

Moulton (James Hope), M.A. (Cantab.), D.Litt.
(Lond.), D.D. (Edin., Berlin, and Groningen),
D.C.L. (Durham).
Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge;
Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek
and Indo-European Philology in the Uni-
versity of Manchester; Tutor in Divinity
Wesleyan College; author of Grammar of
New Testament Greek (3rd ed. 1908), Religion
and Religions (1913), Early Zoroastrianism
(Hibbert Lectures, 1914).

Magi.

Nakajima (Tamakichi).
Professor of Civil Law in the Imperial
University, Kyoto.

Marriage (Japanese and Korean).

Nicholson (Reynold Allevne), M.A., Litt.D.,
L.L.D.
Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cam-
bridge; sometime Fellow of Trinity College;
author of A Literary History of the Arabs
(1907), the Zarjoman al-Aswag of Ibn al-
Arabi, with translation and commentary
(1911), The Mystics of Islam (1914).

Love (Muhammedan), Ma'arri, Mazdak,
Mubhi al-din ibn al-Arabi.

Ottley (Robert Laurence), D.D.
Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology, and
Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; author of
The Doctrine of the Incarnation (1890),
Aspects of the Old Testament (1897), The
Religion of Israel (1905), and other works.

Moderation.

Paasonen (Henry), Ph.D.
Professor of Finno-Ugrian Philology in the Uni-
versity of Helsingfors; Vice-President of the
Finno-Ugrian Society.

Mordvin.

Parker (Edward Harper), M.A.
Professor of Chinese in the Victoria Uni-
versity, Manchester; formerly H.M. Consul
at Kuwait.

Mongols.

Paton (John Lewis), M.A.
High Master, Manchester Grammar School;
Late Fellow of St. John's College, Cam-
bridge; Member of Consultative Committee
of the Board of Education.

Mission (Inner).

Paton (Lewis Bayles), Ph.D., D.D.
Nettleton Professor of Old Testament Exegesis
and Criticism, and Instructor in Assyrian,
in Hartford Theological Seminar; formerly
Director of the American School of Archae-
ology in Jerusalem; author of The Early
History of Syria and Palestine, Jerusalem
in Bible Times, The Early Religion of Israel.

Love (Semite and Egyptian).

Pearson (A. C.), M.A.
Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cam-
bidge; editor of Fragments of Zeno and
Gleanings, Eupides' Helen, Heracleid, and
Phoemix.

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

Petrie (William Matthew Flinders), B.C.L.
(Oxon.), LL.D. (Edin. and Aberd.), Litt.D.
(Camb.), Ph.D. (Strassburg).
Fellow of the Royal Society and of the British
Academy; Edwards Professor of Egyptology
in the University of London.

Lotus (Egyptian).

Pope (Hugh), O.P., S.T.M., D.S.S.
Formerly Professor of New Testament
Exegesis in the Collegio Angelico, Rome.

Monarchism.

Popper (William), Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Semitic Languages in
the University of California, Berkeley.

Mulia.

Poussin (Louis de la Vallée), Docteur en phil-
osophie et Lettres (Liège), en langues orien-
tales (Louvain).
Professor of sanscrit à l'université de Gand;
Membre de l'Académie royale de Belgique;
Co-Directeur du Muséum; Membre de la
R.A.S. et de la Société asiatique.

Lotus of the True Law, Madhyamaka,
Magic (Buddhist), Mahavastu, Mah-
yan, Manjusri, Mara, Materialism
(Indian).

Reid (James Smith), M.A., LL.D., Litt.D.
Fellow and late Tutor of Gonville and Cains
College, Cambridge; Professor of Ancient
History in the University of Cambridge;
editor of the Académica and other works of
Cicero; author of Municipalities of the
Roman Empire.

Light and Darkness (Greek and Roman).

Rendall (Gerald Henry), B.D., Litt.D., LL.D.
Headmaster of Charterhouse, Cambridge;
formerly Principal and Professor of Greek;
University of Liverpool; Examining Chap-
lain to the Lord Bishop of Chelmsford.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

REYNO (MICHIEL, L.L.D., D.Dit.)
Professor of History of the Civilization of the Far East in the University of Paris; formerly Professor of Law in the Imperial University of Tokyo and Legal Adviser to the Japanese Government; author of Le Shian-tsentme.

RIVERS (W. H. R., M.A., M.D., F.R.S., F.R.C.P.)
Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; President of the Anthropological Society of the British Association in 1911; author of The Todas, History of Melanesian Society, Kinship and Social Organisation.

Marriage (Introductory and Primitive), Mother-Right.

ROSE (H. A.), L.C.S.
Panjab, India.

Life and Death (Indian), Magic (Indian).

ROYCE (JOSIAH), Ph.D., LL.D.
Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity in Harvard University; Gifford Lecturer at the University of Aberdeen, 1898-1900.

Mind, Monotheism.

SAYCE (ARCHIBALD HENRY), D.Litt. (Oxon.), LL.D. (Dublin), D.D. (Edin. and Aberd.), D.Phil. (Christian). Fellow of Queen's College and Professor of Assyriology in the University of Oxford; President of the Society of Biblical Archology.

Median Religion.

SCHULHOF (JOHN MAURICE). See HOPE (JOHN MAURICE VAIZEY).

SCOTT (WILLIAM ROBERT), M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D., F.B.A.
Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy in the University of Glasgow; President of the Economics and Statistics Section of the British Association, 1915; author of Francis Hutcheson (1900), The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish, and Irish Stock Companies to 1750 (1910-12).

Luxury, Malthusianism.

SEATON (MARY ETHEL).
Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos, Class I., 1909 and 1910; Lecturer at Girton College, Cambridge.

Life and Death (Teutonic).

SELER (EDUARD), Dr.Phil.

Mayans, Mexicans (Ancient).

SELL (EDWARD, B.D., D.D., M.K.A.S.)
Fellow of the University of Madras; Hon. Canon of St. George's Cathedral, Madras; Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Madras; author of The Faith of Islam, The Historical Development of the Qur'an, The Life of Muhammad, The Religious Orders of Islam.

Mercy (Muslim).
AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

THOMAS (FREDERICK WILLIAM), M.A. (Camb.),
Hon. Ph.D. (Munich).
Librarian of the India Office; Reader in
Tibetan in the University of London;
Lecturer in Comparative Philology in Uni-
versity College, London; formerly Fellow
of Trinity College, Cambridge.

MARTHEA.

THOMSON (J. ARTHUR), M.A., LL.D.
Regius Professor of Natural History in the
University of Aberdeen; author of The
Study of Animal Life, The Science of Life,
Heredity, The Bible of Nature, Darwinism
and Human Life, Outlines of Zoology, The
Biology of the Seasons, Introduction to
Science, The Wonder of Life.

Life and Death (Biological).

THURSTON (HERBERT), B.A., S.J.
Joint-editor of the Westminster Library for
Priests and Students; author of Life of St.
Hugh of Lincoln, The Holy Year of Jubilee,
The Stations of the Cross,
Ligouri, Loreto, Lourdes, Loyola.

TOZZER (ALFRED MARSTON), Ph.D., F.R.G.S.
Assistant Professor of Anthropology in the
University of Harvard; Curator of Middle
American Archaeology in Peabody Museum,
Harvard.

Mexicans (Modern).

VAMBÉRY (ARMINIUS).
Late Professor of Oriental Languages in the
University of Budapest; author of Travels
in Central Asia.

Muhammadanism (in Central Asia).

WADDELL (L. AUSTINE), C.B., C.I.E., LL.D.,
Colonel I.M.S. (retired).
Formerly Professor of Tibetan in University
College, London; author of The Buddhism
of Tibet, Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley,
Lhasa and its Mysteries.

Lotus (Indian in Buddhism).

WEIR (THOMAS HUNTER), B.D., M.R.A.S.
Lecturer in Arabic in the University of
Glasgow; Examiner in Hebrew and Aramaic
in the University of London.

Muhammadanism (in Syria, Egypt, and
Mesopotamia).

WETTRECHT (HERBERT UNNY), Ph.D., D.D.
Superintendent and Warden of the Mildmay
Institutions, North London; Hon. Fellow
of the Panjab University; chief Reviser of
the Urdu New Testament.

Missions (Christian, Protestant).

WETSCHER (DR. MAX).
Professor der Philosophie an der Universität
Bonn.

Lotze.

Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Domi-
inian House of Studies, Halesoyard Priory, Staffordshire.

Molinism.

WHITEHEAD (HENRY), D.D. (Oxon.).
Bishop of Madras; formerly Fellow of Trinity
College, Oxford.

Madras and Coorg.

WHITLEY (WILLIAM THOMAS), M.A., LL.D.,
F.R.Hist.S., F.T.S.
Secretary of the Baptist Historical Society;
formerly Principal of the Baptist College of
Victoria, and Secretary of the Victorian
Baptist Foreign Mission.

Muggletonians.

WILDE (NORMAN), Ph.D.
Professor of Philosophy and Psychology in the
University of Minnesota.

Moral Law.

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

Marriage (Greek).
## CROSS-REFERENCES

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

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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. GENERAL

A.H. = Anno Hijrae (A.D. 622).
Ak. = Akkadian.
Alex. = Alexandrian.
Amer. = American.
Apoc = Apocalypse.
Apost. = Apocalyptic.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Ar. = Aramaic.
Arm. = Armenian.
Ary. = Aryotic.
As. = Asiatic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
At. = Altes Testament.
AV = Authorized Version.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
A.V. = Anno Yaziagird (A.D. 639).
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = circa, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = compare.
et. = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
Egypt. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopian.
E V = English Version.
ESV = English Version, Versions.
E. = and following verse or page.
F. = and following verses or pages.
Fr. = French.
Germ. = German.
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Hym. = Hymaritite.
Ir. = Irish.
Iran. = Iranian.


A.D. = Anno Domini.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
Am = Amos.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
Ov = Ovidius.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
1 Jon = Jonah.
Mie = Miech.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zep = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Es = 1 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.

2 Es = 2 Esdras.

Apocrypha.

Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jehovah.
Jerusalem.
LXX = Septuagint.
Min. = Minean.
MS = Manuscripts.
MT = Masoretic Text.
n. = note.
Ong. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phoen. = Phoenician.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
RV = Revised Version.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
Sab. = Sabean.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Skr. = Sanskrit.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
t. (following a number) = times.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg., Vulg., Vg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.
The Assyrian vol.,

ANALOGIA

BARON

BAJER.

BAOTN

BARTEL.

BAULITZ.

BAUW.

BARTH.

BAZIN.

BATAILLE.

BAYES.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>CAIL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBTS = Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.</td>
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<td>CE = Catholic Encyclopedia.</td>
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<td>CF = Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).</td>
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<td>CGS = Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIN = Census of India.</td>
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<td>CJA = Corpus Inscription, Atticarum.</td>
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<td>CJE = Corpus Inscription, Etruscarum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIG = Corpus Inscription, Graecarum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIL = Corpus Inscription, Latinarum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIN = Corpus Inscription, Semitic.</td>
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<tr>
<td>COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of KAT²; see below].</td>
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<td>CR = Contemporary Review.</td>
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<td>CR = Celtic Review.</td>
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<td>CQ = Church Quarterly Review.</td>
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<td>CSC = Corpus Script., Eccles. Latinarum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DACL = Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).</td>
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<tr>
<td>DB = Die Bibliothek.</td>
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<td>DCA = Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCD = Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Vace).</td>
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<td>DDC = Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.</td>
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<td>DI = Dict. of Islam (Hughes).</td>
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<tr>
<td>DNE = Dict. of National Biography.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPH = Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DWA = Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.</td>
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<td>EB = Encyclopaedia Biblica.</td>
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<td>EBR = Encyclopaedia Britannica.</td>
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<tr>
<td>EI = Encyclopaedia of Islam.</td>
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<td>EL = Encyclopedia of the Bible.</td>
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<td>Exp = Expositor.</td>
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<td>ExpT = Expository Times.</td>
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<td>FL = Folklore.</td>
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<td>FLJ = Folklore Journal.</td>
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<td>FLR = Folklore Record.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GJ = Gazette Archéologique.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNB = God's People's Bible (Pynacker).</td>
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<tr>
<td>GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.</td>
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<td>GPH = Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.</td>
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<td>GPS = Grundzüge des Jesuswiss.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GJF = Gesellschaft für jesuïtische Philologie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>GV = Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.</td>
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<td>HW = Historia des Volkes Israel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HAI = Handbook of American Indians.</td>
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<td>HBT = Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.</td>
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<tr>
<td>HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.</td>
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<td>HGL = Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).</td>
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<tr>
<td>HI = History of Israel.</td>
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<td>BJ = Hildesheim Journal.</td>
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<td>HJP = History of the Jewish People.</td>
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<td>HS = Historia Naturalis (Pliny).</td>
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<td>HWB = Handwörterbuch.</td>
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<td>IA = Indian Antiquary.</td>
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<td>ICA = International Critical Commentary.</td>
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<td>ICO = International Congress of Orientalists.</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRC = Indian Census Report.</td>
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<tr>
<td>IG = Inscrip. Griech. (publ. under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1876 ff.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>IGI = Imperial Gazetteer of India² (1885); new edition (1908-1909).</td>
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<tr>
<td>IJD = International Journal of Ethics.</td>
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<td>ITH = International Theological Library.</td>
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<td>JBTS = Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.</td>
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<td>JD = Journal des Débats.</td>
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<td>JDTh = Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.</td>
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<td>JE = Jewish Encyclopedia.</td>
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<td>JHC = Johns Hopkins University Circulars.</td>
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<td>JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies.</td>
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<td>JLA = Jahresbericht der Anthropologischen Institute.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JRA = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
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<td>JRASt = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.</td>
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<td>JRASt = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.</td>
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<td>JRASt = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea branch.</td>
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<td>JRS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JThSt = Journal of Theological Studies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KAT² = Die Keilinschriften und das AT² (Schrader), 1885.</td>
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<td>KB = Kiel's historische Bibel (Schrader), 1890 ff.</td>
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<td>KF = Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsfor- schung, 1878.</td>
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<td>LCB = Literarisch Centralblatt.</td>
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<td>LOP = Literaturblatt f. oriental. Philologie.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOT = Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).</td>
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<td>LP = Legend of Persians (Hartland).</td>
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<td>LSST = Leipzig sem. Studien.</td>
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<td>M = Münch.</td>
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<td>MAIBL = Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</td>
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<td>MGH = Monumenta Germaniae Historicorum (Pertz).</td>
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<td>MGJV = Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft f. jüdische Volkskunde.</td>
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<td>MGW = Monatschrift f. Geschichte und Wissen- schaft des Judentums.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MI = Origins and Development of the Moral Ideas (Wiesemarck).</td>
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<td>MNDPV = Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.</td>
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<td>MB = Methodist Review.</td>
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<td>MPG = Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesell- schaft.</td>
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<td>MWJ = Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAC = Nuovo Bulletin di Archeologia Cristiana.</td>
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<td>NC = Nineteenth Century.</td>
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<td>NHWB = Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.</td>
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<td>NIX = North Indian Notes and Queries.</td>
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<td>NKZ = Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NQ = Notes and Queries.</td>
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<tr>
<td>NS = Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).</td>
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<td>NTZG = Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.</td>
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<td>OED = Oxford English Dictionary.</td>
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<td>OLS = Orientalische Literaturzeitung.</td>
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<td>OS = Omissiones Sacra.</td>
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<tr>
<td>OTJC = Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).</td>
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<td>OTP = Oriental Translation Fund Publications.</td>
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LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

PB = Polychron Bible (English).
Pc = Primitive Culture (Tylot).
P EM = Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs.
PESQ = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
PE = Patrologia Graeca (Migne).
PF = Patrologia Latina (Migne).
PQ = Punjab Notes and Queries.
PR = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Chroke).
PR = Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hanck).
PRR = Prebyterian and Reformed Review.
PRS = Proceedings of the Royal Society.
PRSE = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
PSB = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
PTS = Fali Text Society.
Pl = Revue Archéologique.
kanth = Revue d’Anthropologie.
RK = Royal Asiatic Society.
RB = Revue Biblique.
RBW = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology.
(R.) = Re/ue Archéologique.
RT = Records of the Past.
RTK = Revue Philosophique.
RT = Revue Chrétienne.
RM = Revue des Deux Mondes.
RMN = Revue de la Nouvelle Théologie.
RG = Revue des Études Grecques.
Rf = Revue Egyptologique.
RIF = Revue des Études Juives.
RDS = Revue d’Ethnographie.
RN = Revue Numismatique.
RP = Records of the Past.
RT = Revue Philosophique.
RS = Revue scientifique d’Épigraphie et d’Histoire ancienne.
RSa = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.
RSI = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.
RTA = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à l’Archéologie et à la Philologie.
RTF = Revue des traditions populaires.
RTF = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.
RTr = Recueil de Travaux.
RV = Religion-geschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten.
RWB = Realsöwerbuch.
SLAW = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
SBR = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
SBOT = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
SDB = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SM = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
SWA = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
TAPA = Transactions of American Philological Association.
TASA = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
TC = Tribes and Castes.
TEN = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
TILZ = Theologische Litteraturzeitung.
TRF = Theed. Tijdschrift.
TBS = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
TRSE = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
TS = Texts and Studies.
TSl = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archaelogy.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WA = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZATW = Zeitschrift für die ältest. Wissenschaft.
ZCK = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
ZCP = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
ZDPF = Zeitschrift für die deutschen Altertumer.
ZDPF = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZE = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKG = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZKT = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
ZM = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die neuest. Wissenschaft.
ZPhP = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogy.
ZTK = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
ZV = Zeitschrift für Volkswunde.
ZVR = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
ZWT = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as KAT, LOT, etc.]
LIFE AND DEATH.

Babylonian.—See Death and Disposal of the Dead (Babylonian), State of the Dead (Babylonian).
Buddhist.—See Death and Disposal of the Dead (Buddhist).
Celtic.—See Blest, Abode of (Celtic), Celts.
Christian (W. F. Corb), p. 16.

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 connexion 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.

x. General characteristics of living organisms.
—Many biologists have sought to sum up the characteristics of living organisms, but no formulation has won general acceptance. This doubtless means that the insignia of life have not yet been discerned either wholly or in their proper perspective. One of the clearest statements is given by Roux (VII Internat. Zoological Congress Boston, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1912, 431), who recognizes five 'elementary functions': (1) self-dissimilation; (2) self-preservation, including assimilation, growth, movement, etc.; (3) self-multiplication; (4) self-development; and (5) self-regulation in the exercise of all functions, including self-differentiation, self-adjustment, self-adaptation, and, in many organisms, distinctly recognizable psychical functions. The persistent use of the prefix self, on the part of the founder of Entwicklungsmechanik, is very interesting.

Przibram (Experimentelle Zoologie, iv.) arranges the criteria of life in three groups—morphological, chemical, and physiological. The morphological characteristic is some measure of differentiation or heterogeneity of structure, which distinguishes even the simplest organism from a crystal. The chemical characteristic is the invariable presence of albuminoid substances in a colloidal state. The physiologcal 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 many cases a number of processes in which they are specifically correlated for each kind of creature; and (e) that they are correlated in such a way that they continue and the associated structure persists. Each of these peculiarities requires some exposition. (e) Many chemical changes occur in the living organism, and some of them are relatively simple, but the essential changes appear to be concerned with protein or alaminoid 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.* haemoglobin, they are not known in a crystalline state in the living organism; they are relatively stable bodies, yet they are continually breaking down and being built up again in the living body, partly under the direct influence of ferments or enzymes. The constructive, synthetic, up-building, within which processes are summed up in the term 'anabolism'; the disruptive, analytic, down-breaking, running-down processes are summed up in the term 'katabolism,' both sets of processes being included in the term 'metabolism,' for which we use the English word, although no English equivalent, like the fine German word *Stoffwechsel,* 'change of stuff.'

(6) It is a noteworthy fact that each kind of organism, so far as we know, has its specific metabolism, and when chemists, working upon chemical products of related species, there is chemical specificity in the milk of nearly related animals and in the grapes of nearly related vines. It is certain that this specificity is 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 we said before: 'All flesh is equal, but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds.' (1 Co 15th).

(7) Ordinarily, chemical changes in the organic world, as in the weathering of rocks into soil, one substance changes into another. The same sort of thing goes on in the living body, but the characteristic feature is a balancing of accounts so that the specific activity continues. We lay emphasis on this characteristic since it seems fundamental—the capacity of continuing in spite of change, of continuing, indeed, through change. An organism was not worthy of the name until it showed, for a short time at least, not merely activity, but persistent activity. The vegetable 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 food and rest. The organism is profoundly different: up-building makes further down-breaking possible; the pluses balance the minuses; and the creature lives on. We are familiar with the self-preservative activities of higher animals, but not less important is the continual maintenance of the specific chemical activity of each cell and the whole organism. The whole may be protected and 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 store its substance and yet, as it were, have it, because of the fundamental capacity for self-renewal.
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 inefficient in a way that engines cannot do without enormous waste. More than this, however, there is a power of laying by what can be used later on. J. Joly ('The Abundance of Life.' Scienc. Proc. Roy. Soc., Dublin, vii. [1891] & xv. [1898] gives an account of the way in which he said that, whereas the transfer of energy into an inactive material system was attended with effects conducive to dissipation and retardative to further transfer, the transfer of energy into an animal system was attended with effects retardative of dissipation and conducive to further transfer. This seems to lead on to the criterion of growth. A surplus of income over expenditure is the primal condition of organic growth just as it is for mineral plants, 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 to dispense with the accumulation of material. 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 constitute them, that it implies active assimilation, not passive accretion; and that it is, in quite a new sense, a regulated process. An organism does not grow like a snowball rolling down a hill. To sum up, the power of sustained metabolism—of balancing accounts with some margin to go on with—makes growth possible.

But growth naturally leads on to multiplication or reproduction. As Haeckel clearly pointed out in his Generelle Morphologie (Berlin, 1866), reproduction is discontinuous growth. It seems impossible to draw any hard-and-fast line between a fragmentation which separates off overgrowths and the division into two plants. But it seems to be looking 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 that a leaf divides when the increase of volume outruns—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 plants 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, which is disturbed if the cytoplasm increases beyond a certain limit. A non-nucleated piece of cytoplasm cut off from a large protozoan can move about for a time, but it cannot feed nor grow. There are facts which indicate that the nucleus is a trophic and respiratory centre of the cell. It may be that the division of a cell is a means of restoring the balance between volume and surface and between cytoplasm and nucleoplasm. The balance may also be restored by the emission of processes from the surface of the cell, as in rhizopod protozoon (Ameobae, 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, but of the far-off advantage, of its occurrence. As to this, it has been noted that a period of growth is followed automatically by a process of autokatalysis, 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:

'1 know nothing which to a man well trained in scientific knowledge and method brings so vivid a realization of our 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 mystery of cell-division.'

In most cases a cell divides into two precisely similar daughter-cells. This may be a simple division, as in the cell of the phytoplankton, or it may be a considerably complicated division, with growth at the same time of the daughter-cells. This is illustrated in the case of the Radiolaria, in which the division may be divided into two distinct steps, cell cleavage and nuclear division. The former is the well-known mitosis, in which the daughter-cells are formed from the mother-cell, the latter is the process of 'automictic' division, in which the daughter-cells are formed from the daughter-cells of the mother-cell. In the former case the two daughter-cells are similar, in the latter case they are different. In the former case the division is complete, in the latter it is incomplete. In the former case the division is regular, in the latter it is irregular. The former is the well-known mitosis, in which the daughter-cells are formed from the mother-cell, the latter is the process of 'automictic' division, in which the daughter-cells are formed from the daughter-cells of the mother-cell. In the former case the two daughter-cells are similar, in the latter case they are different. In the former case the division is complete, in the latter it is incomplete. In the former case the division is regular, in the latter it is irregular.
LIFE AND DEATH (Biological)

'veortex' is the seat of complex and specific chemical changes which are correlated in such a way that the creature exhibits, line, instinct, to be added still.

(3) Effective behaviour, registration of experience, and variability.—The common idea in this grouping is self-expression. (a) Life is a kind of activity, reaching a climax in behaviour, i.e. in an organism's variability and finality, which make towards 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 is a mode (as we call it) of instinctive 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 elsewhere 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 our own. Of course, in amoeba there is an extraordinary adherence to routine, and this may defeat itself, but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred what is done is effective, and the individuality probably finds expression in the cases that are not. The effectiveness which characterizes the behaviour of organisms (i.e. of those that show behaviour enough to be studied) seems to depend on profiting by experience in the individual lifetime, or on the results of successive generations. Exception occurs, and that both. It appears to us to be one of the insignia of life that the organism registers its experiments or the results of its experiences. We must here include under the term 'organism' the germ-cell, which is an organism's variability, and may be said to be made up in internal organization just as much as, in reality far more than, a protozoa which makes experiments in its skeleton architecturally or in its behaviour. As W. K. Clifford said,

"It is the peculiarity of living things not merely that they change under the influence of surrounding circumstances, but that any change which takes place in them is not lost, but retained, and, as it were, built into the organism to serve as the frame for a possible act, or future action (Lectures and Essays, London, 1879, p. 83)."

As Bergson puts it,

"Its part, in its entirety, is prolonged into its present, and besides there, actual and acting (Creative Evolution, p. 10)."

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

"The precise way such a part shall act under the influence of the stimulus must be determined by the past history of that part; by the stimulus that have 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 with other parts, and by the immediate effects of its present action). . . . We know as solidly as we know anything in physiology that the history of an organism does modify it and its actions—in ways yet not thoroughly understood, doubtless, yet none the more real (Behavior of the Starfish, University of California Publications in Zoology, iv. (1907) 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 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' wrought on the body by some peculiarity of nurture, environment, or habit are to be distinguished from germinal variations. They are important individually, but they are not to be said to affect the progeny in any representative fashion. We may also distinguish those negative variations which are due to the loss 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. What is baffling, 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. Is the infant 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 in self-expression, which normal 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 the external influence shatters, or dissolves, or burns the organization. A wound, a sudden change of temperature, or being swallowed by another organism may involve the irrecoverable cessation of life. For many an open nature the end seems to be always violent. (2) There is microbic death, when some intruding micro-organism, establishing itself in the body, multiplies exceedingly and produces fatal effects. The intruders of the effective of other important particles, or produce fatal toxins, and so on. In wild nature there is little microbic death except when man effects disarrangements in distribution, so that organisms are exposed to the attacks of new microbes. (3) The natural death, which results from some breakdown in the correlation of vital processes. Hard-working organisms, such as the heart, may suffer from the imperfect recuperation of their wear and tear. The higher species of the cells of the potential, and may be said to be made experiments in internal organization just as much as, in reality far more than, a protozoa which makes experiments in its skeleton architecturally or in its behaviour. As W. K. Clifford said,

"It is the peculiarity of living things not merely that they change under the influence of surrounding circumstances, but that any change which takes place in them is not lost, but retained, and, as it were, built into the organism to serve as the frame for a possible action (Lectures and Essays, London, 1879, p. 83)."

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"Its part, in its entirety, is prolonged into its present, and besides there, actual and acting (Creative Evolution, p. 10)."

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

"The precise way such a part shall act under the influence of the stimulus must be determined by the past history of that part; by the stimulus that have 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 with other parts, and by the immediate effects of its present action). . . . We know as solidly as we know anything in physiology that the history of an organism does modify it and its actions—in ways yet not thoroughly understood, doubtless, yet none the more real (Behavior of the Starfish, University of California Publications in Zoology, iv. (1907) 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 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' wrought on the body by some peculiarity of nurture, environment, or habit are to be distinguished from germinal variations. They are important individually, but they are not to be said to affect the progeny in any representative fashion. We may also distinguish those negative variations which are due to the loss 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
organisms that they are continually at work in securing the persistence of their specific organization, it is equally characteristic that they spend time securing the continuance of the same kind. Instead of seeking to avoid death, to speak metaphorically, they often rather invite it, sacrificing themselves in producing and providing for the next generation. Their reproductive activities put an end to their self-preservation. Natural death is not to be thought of as like the running down of a clock. It is more than an individual physiological problem; it is adjusted in reference to the welfare of the species. As has been noted in art, age, there is good reason for regarding the occurrence of death at a particular time as adaptive. Constitutions which lose their correlation at the end of a year have been selected in certain conditions; constitutions which lose their correlation at the end of ten years have been selected in others. It is certain, as Weismann says, that ‘worm-out individuals are not only useless to the species, but they are even 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. Organism and mechanism.—The task of mechanics, as G. Kirchhoffer said, is to describe completely and in the simplest manner the motions with which we are faced in nature. It involves the application (mathematische Physik, Leipzig, 1876, i. 1) of 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 the one of an observer at the foot of a volcano. We shall use the term ‘mechanical’ throughout as meaning a matter-and-motion description, and as equivalent to physico-chemical, for chemical and physical descriptions are (ideally at least) reducible to mechanical terms. The question before us is how far mechanical description can be usefully employed in the study of organisms. The question is twofold: (1) how far we can describe characteristically vital events in terms of these concepts and formulae which certainly serve us well when we study the tides or eclipses, the fashioning of a deadwood, or the making of a star; and (2) how far a mechanical description answers the distinctly biological question relative to those correlations of physical and chemical processes that are characteristic of the living organism. Some vital processes illustrate J. H. van't Hoff’s rule of chemical reactions, for they increase in rapidity as the temperature increases. This may serve as an instance of the solidarity of the organism’s chemical processes with those that are characteristic of inorganic systems. In his posthumously published book ‘Mechanik der Organismen’ (Hamburg, 1894) H. Hertz emphasized the need of caution.

4. Life and Death (Biological).—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. And just as the living body illustrates conservation of matter, so is it in the continuance of energy. One mode may change into another, the energy is not lost but energy ceases or is lost in the transformation. Careful experiments with a calorimeter show that it is possible to square the accounts of the energy-income and energy-expenditure of an organism. The slight discrepancy that is sometimes observed is, being reasonably explained as due to the inevitable imperfections of instruments and observations. It should be noticed, however, that, according to some physicists and physiologists, the energy-dynamics does not apply to living creatures. While no fact so well established in regard to organisms has been shown to be inconsistent with the generalizations of chemistry and physics, and while many results of importance, both theoretically and practically, have rewarded the application of chemico-physical methods to living creatures, we believe it to be quite inaccurate to say that mechanical concepts and formulae suffice for more than a partial and abstract description of the life of organisms. We shall proceed to test this.

(a) Everyday functions.—As things stand at present, there is no forthcoming any physico-chemical description of any total vital operation, even of everyday phenomena such as the interchanges of gases in the lungs, the passage of digested food from the alimentary canal into the blood-vessels, or the filtering processes that go on in the kidneys. The co-ordination involved in the discharge of a function and the interrelations of the organs that perform it are in themselves characteristic physiological facts which are not made clearer when the chemistry or physics of an artificially isolated corner is worked out. Even in such familiar occurrence as a dog’s stimulus ‘there is in reality no experimental evidence whatsoever that the cause can be understood as one of physical and chemical change. . . . In the case of physiological stimulus and response no real quantitative relation can be traced between the apparent physical or chemical cause, and its effect. When we attempt to trace a connection we are lost in an indefinite maze of complex conditions, out of which the response emerges’ (J. S. Haldane, Mechanism, Life, and Personality, p. 24).

A very familiar fact is that the same stimulus applied to two apparently similar animals, or to the same animal at different times, evokes different answers. We can indeed give reasons for this, but the reasons are not inherent in the animal’s activities, its behaviour, its growth and reproduction, its development and evolution. There is no doubt that chemical and physical laws apply to living creatures—to what has been called ‘forms of life’—but when considered from the mechanical point of view, such as living involves a complex of reactions in or associated with the material which we call ‘protoplasm,’ and some of these can be reproduced apart from the organism altogether. Some vital processes illustrate J. H. van’t Hoff’s rule of chemical reactions, for they increase in rapidity as the temperature increases. This may serve as an instance of the solidarity of the organism’s chemical processes with those that are characteristic of inorganic systems. In his posthumously published book ‘Mechanik der Organismen’ (Hamburg, 1894) H. Hertz emphasized the need of caution.

It is certainly a justified caution with which we confine the realm of mechanics expressly to inanimate nature and leave the question open how far its laws can be extended. In truth, the matter stands thus, that we can neither maintain that the internal phenomena of animate beings obey the same laws as those that are valid for the inorganic world; nor that the laws of inorganic nature are applicable to the living organism; and so on. The behaviour of an individual in instances where we know nothing of the associated facts. It goes without saying that the behaviour implies chemical and physical events, but it is not necessary to say that such events are of a mechanical and physiologist. There are elements of spontaneity, plasticity, adaptiveness, and purposiveness that are foreign to mechanical reasoning. We can make nothing of behaviour without new concepts, notably that of the organism as an historical being that trades with time.

(b) Behaviour.—When we think of a collie dog controlling a flock of sheep according to instructions, or of a swallow returning from its winter in the South to the place of its birth, or of the spider spinning a typical web, or of the behaviour of the hypocausti model, or of the larval freshwater mussels fastening themselves to minnows, or of the larval river-fluke responding to the contact of the water-fowl by which alone it can successfully continue its life, or of the amoeba 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 and actions that are correlated in a particular sequence. This sequence is true in instances where we know nothing of the associated facts. It goes without saying that the behaviour implies chemical and physical events, but it is not necessary to say that such events are mechanical and physiologist. There are elements of spontaneity, plasticity, adaptiveness, and purposiveness that are foreign to mechanical reasoning. We can make nothing of behaviour without new concepts, notably that of the organism as an historical being that trades with time.

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

In his Science and Philosophy of the Organism (1896) he stated that he had deliberately and subtly tested the possibilities of mechanical description with particular reference to the facts of development, and reached a conclusion of the first importance.

"No kind of causality based upon the constellations of single physical and chemical events; on the other hand, development; this development is not to be explained by any hypothesis about configuration of physical and chemical agents. ... Life, at least morphogenesis, is not a specialised arrangement of inorganic events; biology, therefore, is not applied physics and chemistry; Life is something apart, and biology is an independent science." (p. 142)

But, if the description of development is beyond mechanics, what, it may be asked, is the rôle of the young and vigorous science of "developmental mechanics" (Entwicklungsmecbenach)? We may represent it by the work of Roux. It may be answered that the developing 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 the various processes and the environmental conditions; and that developmental mechanics so-called is in great part concerned with discovering the correlation between steps in development and their appropriate external situations. But a further answer is, that the term 'mechanical' or 'mechanistic' is often, unfortunately, applied to a systematic or connected description which displays a series of events in causal sequence without any intervention of mentality. 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 implying any mental agency. Whether this should not be called a mechanical or mechanistic description; it is simply what it pretends to be, a physiological or biological description, and it implies various non-mechanical concepts. Similarly, given the organism, in general, its regi-tration, and producing its specific organization, given the cell's mysterious power of dividing—of dividing now into similar and again into dissimilar halves—given the power of utilizing natural stimuli to elude the inherent manifoldness, and so on, we can begin to discover the connectedness of the successive stages in development. 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 fallacy in speaking of organic evolution 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 differentiation of one mass into explicit manifoldness. The originative nebula, if such it was, is comparable to a great world-egg which developed into several embryos, as eggs sometimes do, but there was no struggle between the various planets, or between them and their environmental limitations, no sifting process which eliminated some and left others surviving. There were no alternatives, no trial and error methods. There was nothing comparable to that staking 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, though it is not without its analogies even there. In natural selection the organism is a pawn; it does not simply submit to the apparently inevitable. It often evades its fate by a change of habit or of environment; it compromises, it experiments, it is full of device and endeavour. It not only acts with ruggedness and strength, but it also 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 has been arrived at that mechanical or physico-chemical concepts do not suffice for answering biological questions. This is because organisms show a certain apartness or uniqueness, the various theories of which may be roughly designated vitalistic. Before considering these, however, we must refer, practically rather than philosophically, to three preliminary points. (a) It is maintained by some that mechanical formulation, legitimate and useful for certain purposes, may be applied to things as they are in certain cases, such as the tides, 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 mechanical formulation work very usefully within the inorganic domain, but the biologist finds that they do not help him to answer certain particular questions. (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 mechanics, we may be able to do so in the course of time. It may be, for instance, that the concepts of chemistry and physics will undergo profound modification in centuries to come, and no one can say that they have not changed in the past. The practical answer to this question is that this should not be called a mechanical or mechanistic description. (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 call attention to the fact that "vitalism" or "mechanism" is the same for plants as for 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. (1) The first finds the difference of organisms in the greater complexity in the configurations of elementary particles; photosynthetic metabolism is extremely intricate. New concepts are not required, but 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 bio-chemical. The main objection to this view is simply a matter of fact—that no headway has been made in giving mechanical answers to characteristic biological questions. (2) The second view is that there is a peculiar kind of physical energy operative in living things and not in the inorganic world. Organisms have a monopoly of some power in the same series as, say, electricity. This theory is a logical descendant of one form of the old theory of 'vital force,' but it has been brought up to date. It has been suggested that there may be a specific intra-organismal form of energy evolved by and
peculiar to the complex nature of the molecule of protoplasm or of protoplasm, which exhibits an unwritten and unfathomable quality which we shall term the "entelechy."
The attraction and repulsion observed between cell and cell and membrane and membrane, and the repulsions of different modifications of this supposed form of energy—but probably not by any means all; just as attraction and repulsion are manifestations of electrical energy under certain conditions—are neither the two main causes nor the only manifestations. In nerve impulses we may, for instance, really be exercising local movements in another way of the same form of energy which under other conditions produces the attractions and repulsions and the figures of strain in the dividing cells, and the actual cell-division. By this supposed form of energy, I do not mean a mysterious metaphysical influence, but a form of energy comparable to gravity, electricity, or magnetic influences, similar to these but in other respects differing from each, and a form which could be investigated by the ordinary methods of measurement and computation available to the mathematician" (AsheHton, *Archives for Entelec- hy*mechanics, xxiv, 681).
(3) The third view is thoroughly going vitalism, best represented by the work of Driesch. Its postulate is a non-perceptual vital agency or entele- chy, which does not occur in not-living things, but is associated with organisms, where it operates in certain cases influencing the chemico-physical pro- cesses so that their results are different from what they would have been apart from its intervention. The postulated entelechy is not the outcome of more complex physical conditions, not a new entity, but a difference in principle—between the flight of a bird and the movement of a comet, and biology is by hypothesis autonomous. We cannot enter into a discussion of Driesch's ingenious and consistently-worked-out theory of entelechy, or of the three proofs which he gives of the autonomy of life. The first is based on a study of morphogenesis, i.e. of the way in which an organ- ism realizes in development its specific form and structure; the second is based on a study of in- heritance; the third is based on a study of the movements of organisms. That they show the impossibly of 'a machine-theory of life' will be admitted by many who are not disposed to postu- late an organism as an entity. According to Driesch, entelechy is 'an autonomous agent,' of a non- spatial nature, without a seat or localization. It is immaterial and it is not energy; it is not in- consistent in its agency with the laws of energy; in its function it is expendable and to set free, in a regulatory manner, pre-existing faculties of inorganic interaction.
'There is something in the organism's behaviour—in the widest sense of the word—which is opposed to an inorganic resolution of the same, and which shows that the living organism is more than a sum or an aggregate of its parts. . . This something we call entelechy' (op. cit. ii. 333).
In illustration of the criticisms of Driesch's position, reference may be made to three points, (a) It is argued that, if entelechy is effective, it implies a breach in the fundamental law of the conservation of energy. But it is like begging the question to press this difficulty, and Poynting has suggested, in discussing the analogous case of the operation of our will, that a merely deflecting force does no work, 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 cell with such guiding power that a very serious admission of experimental indeter- minism, which for some minds is enough to con- demn the theory. It should be stated that Driesch has replied vigorously to the criticisms brought against his position, and that he never for a moment pretended that we could understand Driesch's taken to state his doctrine so that it does not violate the principle of the conservation of energy. He supposes entelechy to suspend re- actions which are possible with such compound- as are present, and which would happen without entelechy. And entelechy may regulate this suspending of reactions now in one direction and now in another, without the energy of the latter becoming whenever required for its purposes (op. cit. ii. 180). Entelechy stops a movement, and the energy of the latter becomes potential. Later on the movement may continue, the potential energy being recovered into kinetic. Thus no violence is done to the principle.
(b) A recurrent argument in Driesch's exposition of his doctrine of vitalism is that no machine-like arrangement can possibly account for the facts of development, inheritance, or behaviour. A machine is defined as 'a given specific combina- tion of specific chemical and physical agents,' and Driesch seeks to reduce to absurdity the theory that any machine could do what is required. His argument is very convincing, and of course we can argue only about machines that we know and imaginative combinations or improvements of these, but it seems open to the critic to reply that no one knows all possible machines, and to urge that proving the unfeasibility of one class of machines does not prove the necessity of postulating an entelechy. Concerning the ingenious machines invented by man, it may not be needless to remind ourselves that their introduction into the present argument is apt to be fallacious. For they, like the wonderful achievements of the synthetic chemists, are the fruits of intelligence, not fair samples of the inorganic world. An ingenious machine, like a type-writing machine, or a calculating machine, is an elaborated tool and an extension of what we have and has inside of it, 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 notion of chemistry or of living creatures will agree with Driesch that their be- haviour 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-storing, self-repairing, self-pro- ducing, self-adapting, self-increasing, self-repro- ducing engine.
(c) Another objection is stated by J. S. Haldane: 'In order to "guide" effectually the excessively complex physical and chemical phenomena occurring in a living organism, and at many different parts of a complex organism, the vital principle would apparently require to possess a superhuman knowledge of these processes. Yet the vital principle is assumed to act unconsciously. The very nature of the vital- istic assumption is thus totally unattainable' (op. cit. p 25).
Similarly Jennings urge the difficulty of under- standing how entelechy gets its power of co- ordinating and individualizing:
'To accept the Entelechy unanalysed and unexplained is merely to give up the problem as insoluble'; and, if we try to work out a development of entelechy, 'then surely we are merely transferring our problem from the complex that we actually find in time and space to a sort of manufactured copy of this problem, presenting the same difficulties, with the additional one that it is impossibly and cruelly dealt with at all.' The entelechy simply adds to our difficulties' (J. E. Jennings, loc. cit. p 25).
Jennings also points out that, according to Driesch, two living systems absolutely identical in every physico-chemical respect may behave differently under absolutely identical conditions, this depending upon whether, and how, the entelechy takes part in the process. It is a very serious admission of experimental indeter- minism, which for some minds is enough to con- demn the theory. It should be stated that Driesch has replied vigorously to the criticisms brought against his position, and that he never for a moment pretended that we could understand
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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, it is the animism so ably expounded by McDougall in his Body and Mind (1911). The panpsychism or mentalism in which the animistic position of Bergson should also be considered.

According to McDougall, 'not only conscious thinking, but also all other centers of activity, and even the energy of life which constitutes the organism are a psychical or spiritual process. All alike are conditioned and governed by psychical dispositions that have been built up in the course of the experience of the race.'

5. Provisional conclusion.—Looking backwards, we cannot admit that the study of animal behaviour, for instance, is no more than the study of some 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 believe it a fact, that mechanical formula do not begin to answer the distinctively biological questions. Biochemistry and bio-physics added together do not give us one biological answer. We need new concepts, such as the idea of the organism as an historic being, a genuine agent, a concrete individuality, which has traded with time and has enregistered within itself past experiences and experiments, and which has a capacity to endless development 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 of the organism 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, as so often 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 inorganic domain. We must not think of the stones and mortars of the everlasting life of the cosmos; 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 the central problem of organisms, and we call it 'life.' It is neither a product of 'matter' and 'energy' nor an outcome of the increasing complexity of constellations; it is an expression of the reality of which atoms and their movements are also but conceptual aspects. It may be regarded as that aspect of reality which is clearly manifested only in protoplasmic systems—and in normal conditions in all of them. May it not be that the qualities which render the protoplasmic cell or vital impetus necessary to some minds have been in kind present throughout 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, we suggest that a new aspect of reality is revealed in organisms—that capacity for correlation, persistence, and individuality, for growing, multiplying, and developing, for behaviour, experience, and experiment, which we call life, cannot be explained in terms of anything simpler than itself.

To the biologist the actualities are organisms and their doings, and life is a generalized concept denoting their peculiar quality. What life in essence or principle is he does not know. Taking life in the abstract, therefore, as 'given,' we have had to 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 liveness in ourselves and in other organisms, not for knowledge alone, but as a source of sympathy wherewith to enliven the larger data of biology; and we need not be afraid of exaggerating the wonder of life. Sympathetically and imaginatively, we must seek to envisage the variety of life—hundreds of thousands of distinct individualities or species; the abundance of life—like a river always tending to overflow its banks; the diffusion of life—exploring and exploiting every corner of land and sea; the insulation of life—self-assertive, persistent, defiant, continually achieving the apparently impossible; the cyclical development of life—ever passing from birth, through love, to death; the intrinsic value of life—within the cosmos; the subtlety of life—every drop of blood an index of idiosyncrasies; the inter-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—even under our short-lived eyes; the progress of life—slowly creeping upwards through unthinkable time, expressing itself in ever nobler forms; the beauty of life—making out of the human organism an artistic harmony; the morality of life—spending itself to the death for other than individual ends; the mentality of life—sometimes quietly dreaming, sometimes sleep-walking, sometimes wide awake, capable of valuing or destroying material things to its will and in its highest reaches controlling itself towards an increasing purpose.

See, further, ABIOGENESIS, 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 and almost unendurable state, and, as a rule, the life of the individual is very brief. Exception is to be made when a man kills his quarry or his foe; here the satisfaction of an end achieved inhibits the feelings aroused by the non-violent death of a tribesman. According to the philosophy, a man would live an insignificant life, except 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 reasonable opinion. The savage, like the majority of civilized men, lives in the present; this fact involves a certain inertia of thought as to the contrast between life and death, and it is true of both stages of culture that 'the fear of death is as nothing.' But this 'principle' is a replica of the individual, and a mimic of the life of the living man, with the acquisition of physical strength and moral influence, rather than with the problem of the nature of vital activity; 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 living and dead is in some cases confusing, and in others not drawn. Again, the latter concept includes several ideas. We have, however, to deal with a 'life-principle' wherever there is a clear connexion between a concept and facts of life. For the earliest stage of thought the chief datum is the difference observed between the dead body and the living 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 by touch with some precision, as a special entity, or identified with one or other part of the living organism.

Certain Australians speak of 'something,' a youpe, 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 primary stage. Put in another form, the inference is that the 'soul' does not finally leave the body until decomposition is well advanced. 

Such instances of the notion of life from observation of movement is not in itself primary. Many peoples regard inanimate objects as 'alive,' but the meaning of this is clearly shown by the Tongan and West African notion that these objects 'die' when they are broken or destroyed. The view that so vaguely indicated a content is concrete is supported by the fact that any haphazard identification serves as 'life.' 

...
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

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 *śāmāṃput* of the wild Malays differs from the body held by the latter in the same regions, for that which gives life is the *jīva.* The Patani Malays also believe in a 'life breath,' *nāyana;* the *śāmāṃput,* 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 Moluccas and neighbouring districts, A. C. Kruijt finds a permanent distinction between the soul of a living man and the soul of a dead man. The former he considers to be impersonal, though in many cases it is certainly itself a person, and always in a miniature replica of the owner; it gives him life. Its material is fine, ethereal substance; it has various seats in the body where its action is most conspicuous, such as the pulpes. It dies when the man dies. The other soul is a continuation of the individual after life and does not appear till death. In the latter conception we seem to have a combined result of the memory-image and the hallucinational ghost.

A later detail, which involves the idea that all things in nature either are animate or possess 'soul,' is attached to the theory of the *śāmāṃput,* though it is chiefly things concerning or interesting man that possess the miniature replica.4

The *śāmāṃput* of the Eastern Senam is red like blood, or is in the blood.5 Life is usually regarded as the concrete or abstract life—the natural inference from observation of wounds or of death by loss of blood. Life and blood are identical.6 A vaguer identification is frequently found with various parts or states of the living organism, to some extent, as the heart, life is the flesh—a conception 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.8 The Australians regard the kidney-fat as an important seat of life, and the cam-fat and omentum are so regarded.10

The absence of breath in the case of the dead is a fact naturally assuring a belief that the breath is the life, or that the life is in the breath. In the Malays it was connected with the blood—a natural inference from observation of wounds or of death by loss of blood, in order to prevent death.11 In primitive thought there is no explicit inconsistency in the identification of life with various things; the early books of the OT hold, now the breath, now the heart, now the flesh. In the primitive psychology, in its secondary stages, has a larger list.12

In this is to be included the shadow of a man, which is (like everything connected with personality) a vital part,13 and a man's reflexion is also closely akin to it, if not identified with, his life. In Melanesia is a pool 'from which if any one dies he dies; the malignant spirit takes hold upon his life by means of his reflection on the water.'14 The lore of shadow, mirror-image, and portrait becomes prominent, however, only in the third stage of culture—that of the higher barbarism.

The Chinese place the dying man's picture upon his door, in the hope of saving his life.15 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.16 The comparison of the life-essence with fire is the best known of many metaphorical analogies, and occupies a prominent place in myth—e.g., the fire of life infused by Prometheus into the clay 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 excuse in the same regions, that of the Hervey Islanders, who regard a 'point' as the beginning of existence, are rare. Rare also are such pseudo-biological ideas as the Māori concept that the life of a man is contained in the fatamorin,6 but the usual conclusion is that the 'soul' is the source of life or is itself life.

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

The view of Tylor, that in primitive animism there is 'a belief in the animating of all nature, and that a man recognizes in every detail of his world the operation of personal life and will,17 can be applied only to certain developments of the higher barbaric stage.

'It is not likely that at one stage man regarded everything as alive, and at a later stage gradually discriminated between animate and inanimate. The fact is, that he began by regarding everything as neutral, merely as given. Yet, though he never thought about the matter at all, in his acts . . . he distinguished as well as we do between animate and inanimate.18 Whatever power and importance he may afterward have ascribed to inanimate objects, he drew the strongest of lines between such objects and what was endowed with life.19

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.'20

Throughout the fluid and ill-defined psychology of primitive man we may distinguish a tendency to mark off the concept of things as living from the concept of them as ideas, whether in life or after death. The latter aspect is ideational, the former perceptual. An excellent illustration of the distinction is the Indonesian view, expounded by Kruijt, that the life of a thing is a physical constitution, but never confused or compounded with the after-death soul. In later psychologies, on the other hand, Tylor's hypothesis, that eventually the 'life' of a thing and its 'phantom' are combined, holds good. Language has probably had much to do with the combination. The view of Kruijt, however, that the Indonesian 'life-soul' is but a part of the world-soul, applies only to the higher developments of animism.21 Here we have a parallel with the pantheistic theories of the world.

3. Regard for life.—Another parallel with these is the regard for life generally, a regard which develops with culture but is more pronounced in Oriental than in Western morality. At first this feeling is a vague notion, but later it is fixed as will.22

2 *Jfr.* pp. 57, 206; the Kinjin Dayak term is in point, *wirisap* the 'life breath' (p. 125).
3 See references in *Crawley, Mystic Root,* London, 1912, p. 101.
5 *Crawley, Idea of the Soul,* p. 324. 6 *Crawley, Idea of the Soul,* p. 325.
6 *Crawley, Idea of the Soul,* p. 325.
7 *Crawley, Idea of the Soul,* p. 326.
8 K. E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Rokee,* London, 1898, p. 110.
9 *Jfr.*, pp. 57, 206; the Kinjin Dayak term is in point, *wirisap* the 'life breath' (p. 125).
10 *Crawley, Idea of the Soul,* p. 324.
11 *Crawley, Idea of the Soul,* p. 325.
with metaphysical estimates of the intrinsic value of life, as such.

As to China, Bushman, and Tanaim the respect for animal life is extreme. 1 A disciple of Buddhism may not knowingly deprive any creature of life, not even a worm or an ant. He may kill in which animal life of any kind whatever is contained, and must not even pier it out on grass or clay. 2 The Jain is stricter still in his regard for animal life. He supplies the life of him as he goes, lest animate things be destroyed; he walks veiled, lest he inhale living organism; he is careful that the evening and the morning are not times for eating, since one might then swallow a life thing by mistake; and he rejects not only meat but even honey, together with various fresh fruit to which he is usually bound, not because of his distance for worms, but because of his regard for life. 3

Throughout Japan no life of animals has always been held more or it is regarded as 'meritorious' to save animals from death—even insects if the number mounts to fifty or a hundred—to set, liberty广场s intended to be slaughtered. 4 To kill ten insects without reason to kill animals food—'to be foremost to encourage the slaughter of animals' are regarded as errors of the same magnitude as the crime of devising a person's death or of dressing or murdering a child. 5 The Burnese 'lunch at the suggestion made by Europeans, that Buddhists abstain from taking life because they believe in the transmigration of souls, having never heard of it before. 6 The same position may be assumed with regard to the Brahman doctrine of ahimsa, which includes the sanctity of all life. On the other hand, 'no creed in Christendom teaches kindness to animals as a dogma of religion.' The Manicheans prohibited all killing of animals, but, 'did not exact the shedding of a blood — but did it by a method similar to that of the(seed) life-interest. 7 When the conception of life as a moral essence is established, the formula is applied round all the social and religious spheres. The elementary conception of the life element is a basis of an elaborate vitalistic philosophy. In its more primitive forms this appears as a practical science of life insurance. Food . . . during thousands of years occupied the largest space in man's mental area of vision, 8 This conception helps to explain the existence of so large a body of superstitions concerning food. And into these enter the magical and, later, the vitalistic theory. Particular creatures are eaten because of their particular vital force. 9 The slyer 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 Zulus ate the flesh of long-lived animals. 10 Media injected in the veins of 'Ezon an infusion of the long-lived deer. The lower culture special virtue is assigned to human flesh. 11 Besides the eating of flesh and the drinking of blood, there are various methods of acquiring the 'life essence.' The Ibis transfers the life of the animal to the boy by rubbing up a stone, into his body. 12 Anointing with emu oil and with gold-grease are methods of procuring life found in Indian and Chinese folklore respectively. 13 The Tibetan Buddhist acquires 'life' by drinking the 'ambrosia' from the 'Vase of Life' 14 (see, further, art. Food and Eating the God).

Long life is often the subject of charms. The Chinese war a longevity garment on birthdays.

The Hindu are long the 'life-trees.' 15 Most religions include prayers for long life. After

1 Frazer, Balder, ii. 151. 2 ib. p. 279.
3 ib.
5 Payne, de Groot.
8 Ovid, Metam., vii. 277 ff.
9 Parker, p. 38.
13 de Groot, i. 60 ff.
14 Eusev., ii. 142.
a death, magic is employed to prolong the life of the survivors.\footnote{Ejendalslåta, Ivar, 
Isto-Arigna, Calcutta, 1911, ii. 145.}

Magical persons, 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 breathe life into an object. Breathing upon the object gives it the breath of life (as in Ezekiel's apologue of the dead bones; smearing with blood gives it the life of the blood.\footnote{I. G. Ettler, 
Die Todesbraterei, London, 1857, p. 104.} According to the Tantras, a king may slay his enemy by infusing life into his foe's belly and thus destroying it.\footnote{J. G. Miller, Gesch. der sogen. Urguinea, Basel, 1856, p. 607; W. B. Smith, p. 329, 344.} 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;\footnote{R. Mitra, ii. 110.} and similar ideas were connected with the Persian Horoma and the Hindu soma. In Scandinavia the myth of the apples of Immortality is eaten by the gods in order to perpetuate their life.\footnote{N. J. G. Milne, Teutonic Mythology, Eng. tr., London, 1883—88, p. 314.} The Egyptian gods were mortal.\footnote{A. F. Wiedemann, Religions of the Ancient Egyptians, Eng. tr., London, 1857, p. 179.} The (tendency to immortality, however, is carried out in the higher religions, probably in connexion with the natural attribution to the deities of a general possession of 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.'\footnote{C. F. B. Husemann, 
Die Götter, ed. II, p. 96.}

6. Renewal of life.—A crude form of the idea connected with a renewed 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.\footnote{J. G. Miller, Gesch. der sogen. Urguinea, Basel, 1856, p. 607; W. B. Smith, p. 329, 344.} Similarly, on the W. Coast of Africa it is thought of himself in a shadowy or ghostly form that continues his existence after death.\footnote{J. L. Mitra, 
Traditions in North and South America, London, 1887, p. 173.} The belief in the revivification of a dead person does not appear until the thranamurtic 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 another of their descendants, the idea being a natural inference from the resemblance of children to their parents and grandparents.\footnote{A. F. Wiedemann, Religions of the Ancient Egyptians, Eng. tr., London, 1857.} The Central Australians have developed it into an elaborate theory of heredity, in which the soul itself is in a shadowy or ghostly form that continues his existence after death.\footnote{C. F. B. Husemann, 
Die Götter, ed. II, p. 96.} The belief in the revivification of a dead person does not appear until the thranamurtic 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 another of their descendants, the idea being a natural inference from the resemblance of children to their parents and grandparents.\footnote{A. F. Wiedemann, Religions of the Ancient Egyptians, Eng. tr., London, 1857.}

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!' The son is recognized as 'the body of the father.'\footnote{C. F. B. Husemann, 
Die Götter, ed. II, p. 96.} This frequent belief has been sug-}

gested as an explanation of certain customs of which killing the first-born is a culmination—the child is supposed to have robbed the father of a portion of his life (cf. \textit{E. E. E. vi. 339}).

7. The nature of death.—Primitive thought has no definition of the nature of death, but the usual attitude towards it, as may be inferred from mourning customs, is a mystic terror. The catastrophic nature of the event is perhaps the fundamental reason for this attitude, but various emotions and ideas are superimposed and sympathy occurs among the lowest races, and they develop with culture. Another emotion is fear of the corpse as a mysterious personality; a parallel fact is that of the departed 'something,' ghost or spirit. Like other taboos and social customs which has not only its \textit{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.\footnote{N. J. G. Milne, 
Teutonic Mythology, Eng. tr., London, 1883—88, p. 314.} These ideas reach their climax in the Zoroastrian conception of the absolute impurity of death, a type of all uncleanness.\footnote{C. F. B. Husemann, 
Die Götter, ed. II, p. 96.} In others of the higher religions, particularly Christianity, the material notions of the state of death have given way to spiritual ideas and the dead soul has less and 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, and the survival of such survival reasons is very common among the lower races.

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 resign himself to his fate with the greatest calmness, and carry on his labours and occupation throughout his life. Moreover, the fear of death may be dispelled by thoughtlessness, checked by excitement, or mitigated by dying in company. There are peoples who are conscious for their braver, and yet have a great dread of death. Nobody is entirely free from this feeling, though strength among different races and in different individuals. In many savages it is so strongly developed that they cannot bear to hear death mentioned.\footnote{C. F. B. Husemann, 
Die Götter, ed. II, p. 96.} The last objection, however, may often be due to mythical notions.

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

Speculation on the origin of death is considerable in early thought, and myths innumerable have been invented to explain it (cf. art. \textit{Death and Disposal of the Dead, Introductory}, vol. i. p. 411 f.). A return to a former life was perhaps the result of these is a misterror or a trick. At a higher stage death is attributed to the malice of demons, often supposed to eat the life of men and so produce death.\footnote{N. J. G. Milne, 
Teutonic Mythology, Eng. tr., London, 1883—88, p. 314.} Otherwise, the separation of the life-giving soul from the body as a fact, not as a theory of origin, is usually explained as the result of sorcery, except in cases of obvious violence or accident.\footnote{N. J. G. Milne, 
Teutonic Mythology, Eng. tr., London, 1883—88, p. 314.} By various means the human sorcerer, like the supernatural demon, destroys or abstracts the life. In the higher religions, death appears as a punishment for breaking tabu or other supernatural injunctions. The greater religions connect its origin with sin, Christianity with the primordial sin of disobedience.\footnote{C. F. B. Husemann, 
Die Götter, ed. II, p. 96.} Throughout, humanism is the fundamental idea, 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 form of of mythical life-source, primitive thought makes little use of the concepts of life and death as motives of.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Crawley, Mystic Rose, p. 86.} \textit{M. H. xxv.}
  \item \textit{E. E. E. vi. 339.}
  \item \textit{Crawley, Mystic Rose, p. 86.}
  \item \textit{M. H. xxv.}
\end{itemize}
story. Their deification is rarer still. In some stories one or more remarkable personages are brought into close connexion with the facts of life and death, and the lands they inhabit have been deathless as Maui, the culture-hero, had succeeded in passing through the body of Night. In Scandinavian story Lif and Lifthrasir ('life' and 'desiring life') survive the destruction of the world. The usual result is that some great deity possesses control over life, as in Hebraism, Christanity, and Islam. There is a tendency also to connect vitality with the sun-god; the Rigveda speaks of the sun in the character of Savitar, the Vivifier. In Hindu 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.

1. Let him hope for and, if possible, provide for proper burial. He will then, at least, not suffer the pang of hunger in the world of spirits.

The Scandinavian figures, Lif and Lifthrasir, are among the rare cases where life is personified. Death is frequently personified. Old Slavic myth seems to have had a godess Samh, and the Baganda are said to have a god of death, Wabumbe. The Etruscan figure of Charun may be similar to the last, the concept being derived from human experiences 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 Sheol of the OT and the Hel of the Eddas are originally places which received 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 has his messengers, and the Tatra believes in an 'angel of death.' The latter is the type of Christian ideas. The Greeks had both Charon and Hermes Psychopompos, but in modern Greek folk-lore Charon has become a figure of terror, Death himself. Death with his scythe seems to be a transformation from a personification of Time.

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

The fear of retribution in a future existence has been impressed by several of the great religions.

1. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, Religion of the Teutons, Boston, 1897, p. 352.
3. J. Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 126.
4. J. Jastrow, Religions of Babylonia and Assyria, Boston, 1897, p. 40.
5. Grinn, iv. 1600.
9. Pindar, frag. 197; Cicero, Legg. ii. 11.

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 spectral 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 feared, and there are more carefully propitiated. If it is true, there 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. E. T.ye's exposition of animism in his PrimitiveCulture, London, 1891, 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 an individual character.

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

In many American languages the Great Spirit and the Great Wind are seen as the same both in word and significance.

The Aztec word checaltli, e.g., means 'wind, air, life, soul, shadow.' A phrase attributed to an Indian orator is: 'The fire in your huts and the life in your bodies are one and the same thing.' Spirits and human magicians, such as the shamans, devour men's souls; the result is death. Death is 'infectious'; a dead man's belongings decay quickly. Such is the ancient opinion among the Irish also, who hold that a dead man's clothes wear out more quickly than those of a living man. The belief in the reincarnation of the dead in children is widely spread and firmly held. The Haida refine upon it by saying that after five such reincarnations the individual 'soul' is annihilated.

A special feature of American religious theory, on which practically the whole religious world of the central nations was founded, was developed from the usual primitive idea that divine persons are subject to senility, death, and decay. Among the Mexican gods Tezcatlipoca is credited with perpetual juvenility. The principle was developed that the gods, in particular the sun, would die if deprived of food. Hence the perpetual round of human sacrifices offered on Maya and Nahuat 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 serve as victims. The heart, as the symbol of life, was the choicest portion.
It is natural that an old chronicler should say:

'The Maya have an immediate, fear of death, and they seem to have given it a figure peculiarly repulsive.' 1 In the Breton chronicles the soul is represented as a figure with exposed vertebrae and skull-like countenance, with the marks of corruption on its body, and displaying every sign of mortality. The mind, however, is singularly lucid, the Aztec sign of birth, perhaps to signify the connection between birth and death. He also wept for his dead brothers. The hieroglyph which signifies this figure represents a corpse's head with closed eyes, a skull, and a sacrificial knife. His symbol is that for the calendar date 7, corresponds to the month in which death occurs. He is with his father and mother, and prepares himself for death. The hieroglyph is not connected with the figure and is therefore a word.' 2

Like Hel and Hades, Mictlan seems to have developed from a place into a person. He is a 'grimy monster with capacious mouth,' like the medieval English identification of the whole and hell. Medieval Europe evolved also, by poetical rather than religious imagination, a figure akin to that of the American god A. For similar reasons the Sindon are said to have devoted most of their worship to Coochumne, who is Death. 3

Another detail of the human sacrifice is this:

'The idea that the god thus slain in the person of his representative, even if not immediately, was graphically represented in the Mexican ritual by skinning the slain man and clothing in his skin a living man, who thus became the new representative of the godhead.' 4

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

In Mexican theology the supreme deity Toquoxanumte (of Mictlan) is the person whom depends the existence of all things. 5 As is the case elsewhere, the sun is connected with vitality, 'animating and keeping alive all creatures.' An interesting point is the connexion of Mexican food-goddesses with the idea of life and its bestowal. 6

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

A feature of the eschatology is the other-world paradise for the brave, comparable only with the belief of Islam, although European chivalry shares the aversion from dying in bed. The 'happy hunting-grounds,' which have become a proverb, are typified in the Cananche belief—here is 'the orthodox Abraham's Paradise.' In the direction of the setting sun lie the happy primitives, where the buffaloes lead the fowler in the glorious chase, and where the horse of the pale-goldades those who have excelled in scalping and horse-clubbing, to attain supreme felicity. 7

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited in the text cf. D. G. Brinley, _Mexico of the New World_, New York, 1868; de Nadaillac (J. P. A. du Fongnet), _Prelatoires Amériques_, 1834.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

LIFE AND DEATH (Chinese).—1. Popular ideas.—Life and death are more intimately connected in the Chinese mind than in the Western. The curtain separating life and death is thinner. The future life to the average Chinese, taught as he is by popular Buddhism and Taoism, is largely a replica of this life on a different plane of existence, but death is no theme of beauty. After passing through the Judgment Halls of the Ten Judges of Hades (a hell with many furies), the victims are supposed to require food, clothing, and all the needs of traveling both on land and on water, and money. All these are sent to them by their friends and relatives by means of burning paper models and imitations.

2. Ancient beliefs.—The ancient Chinese were not able to distinguish between death, sleep, and a swoon. They therefore tried to resuscitate the dead by calling in the伙 to recite spells and provide food for the dead, by keeping their bodies in the dress that they wore, and, at first, by tightly covering the corpse. 8 Many customs now in vogue in China are due to this belief. Death was a prolonged sleep (or due to suspended animation) and, as the sleeper will wake, so the corpse may do the same, should the soul return to its habitation. 9 Articles which were believed to promote vitality, such as jade, gold, silver, pearls, and cowries, were stuffed into the mouths of the dead. 10 No methods of disposing of the dead were employed which would quickly destroy the body, and collars were made of such materials as pine and cypress, for they were intended to preserve human bodies from putrefaction and to facilitate their resurrection by enveloping them thus air-tight in a material which, being possessed of vital energy, was considered capable of transmitting life once more into the clay. 11

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. 12 The strong Chinese repugnance of the mutilation of the body had its origin in the 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 strangling was considered a lesser one. 13 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. 14 There is thus a belief in a life in death itself, or, as de Groot graphically describes it, a habitation of the soul and body after death. 15 In accordance with this idea, there is not a complete separation of soul and body. In the popular ideas of the people, one of the three souls is in the grave, thus death dominates life, and life lives in death and is not extinguished by it. One of the other souls is believed to inhabit the ancestral tablet, while the third passes to the other world. 16

3. Classical ideas.—If we turn now to the ancient classics, which throw light on the early life of the Chinese, we find, besides the views already expressed, higher conceptions as well, or, at all events, less gross ones. Amidst all the ceremonial and ritual, the belief in immortality is clearly seen. 17 Ancestor-worship alone is enough to prove this. Even before the days of Taoism and Buddhism, the souls of the ancestors were believed to be in heaven. 18 Confucianism teaches the existence of the soul after death, 19 but nothing regarding the other plane of that existence. 20 The knowledge of a future life was hazy and indefinite in the old religion of China. 21

Thus they looked up to heaven (whither the spirit was gone), and buried the body in the earth. 22 The body and animal soul go downward; the intelligent spirit is on high. 23

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3. De Groot, i. 331 ff.
5. De Groot, i. 331 ff.
10. Ib. p. 47.
12. J. Dyer Ball, _The Religions Aspect in China_, Hongkong, 1890, p. 49.
15. Legge, _SBE_ xxvii. 467; see also p. 144.
LIFE AND DEATH (Chinese)

The attitude of Confucius towards death was that of an agnostic. He virtually avoided a direct answer to the question asked by one of his disciples about death, his reply being, "While we do not know life, how can we know about death?" The old Chinese proverb may give "no answer, because spirits and death are obscure and unprofitable subjects to talk about." Some of the modern Confucian writers agree with him and insist on the necessity of saying that the answer was "profound, and showed the proper order in which such inquiries should be prosecuted; for death is only the natural termination of life." To the ordinary reader however, it would appear that this reply was only an exemplification of a passage in the Doctrine of the Mean (xii. 2), "There is that which even the Sage does not know." 1

The followers of Confucius have not risen above the agnostic position which he took, and here it must be said that Buddhism came to satisfy the longings of the ignorant to the future with its scheme of rewards and punishments, its firm beliefs and precise statements, its apparent knowledge of Intuity, and its assurance of lives to come and the infinite progress on the road.

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

"...he who does wrong does only bring them to an end in the midst themselves." 2 A man of great virtue is sure to have long life. 3 A concrete example of this is the Great Sage, Li-nu, whose filial piety was so great that he attained the age of 100. 4

Length of days, therefore, was regarded by the Chinese as the reward of virtue, and longevity is often considered the reward of a good and virtuous life. 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, "Worthies are taken ill and die early, and wicked people may be strong and robust and become very old." However, he believed that death and death sentences are not a retribution for evil doing. "When a man expires, his fate is finished; when 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. 5

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

4. Taoism.—In the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C. Chinese philosophy was in its golden period. It created the religious life of the Chinese people, developed original conceptions of the nature, motives, and mysteries of existence. This "pursuit of truth and wisdom" claimed not a few noted men among its adherents. Later, Confucianism, with its love of doctrine and ceremonies and its emphasis on obedience, had the effect of turning men's minds from the inquiries which a philosophical spirit delights to make, and Taoism, under whose reign such inquiries had arisen, to a large extent changed to a system of rites and idolatry. 6

Primitive Taoism—that shown to us developed through the sages and mind of its founder, Lao-tzu (b. 604 B.C.), and its earlier writers—knew little more than Confucianism as to the great secrets of life and death. Licius (Lich-tzu, 4th cent. B.C.) says: "The living and the dead . . . know nothing of each other's state." 7 We have all an end, but whether the end leads us is unknown. 8 Chuang-chieh (Chuang-tzu, 3rd and 4th cent. B.C.) asks: "What should the dead know of the living or the living know of the dead?" Yet

1 Legge, Chinese Classics, i. 104 (Confucian Analects, xi. 11).
3 Legge, Chinese Classics, i. 262 f. and note (Doct. of Mean, xvi. 2). 7

and I may be in a dream from which we have not yet awaked. 9 To him who can penetrate the mystery of life, all things are revealed. 10

The prolongation of life and the cheating of death of its due, or, rather, the raising of mortal life above death's transforming influence to a higher existence, 11 has been one of the aims of Taoism, to be attained by 'quietism and dispassionativism, by regulating one's breath and using medicines.

Lao-tzu is stated to have said that, to a perfect man, "life and death . . . are but as night and day, and cannot destroy his peace." 12 In Licius we find (as 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." It is a "stand-point of the absolute, since there is no such principle as life in itself, it follows there can be no such thing as death." 13 On the other hand, we have the saying of Chuang-chieh: "It gives rest to the noble-hearted and causes the base to cover." 14 The sage looks upon life and death merely as waking and sleeping. 15

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

He says that for the sage "life means death to all that men think life, the life of the individual, or personal, or is not, for being or individual selfhood." 16 He who clearly apprehends the scheme of existence does not rejoice over life, nor repine at great death. If he knows that terms are not final, "life and death are but links in an endless chain." Life is inevitable, for it comes and it cannot be stopped. The quick passage of life is thus expressed: 'Man passes through this sublunar life as a white rose passes a crack. Here, the moment of the possessor's life is but as a stoppage as an imm. 17 The living are men on a journey. 18 'Life is a loan." 19

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. 20

In the Epicurean Yang Ch'u's philosophy (c. 200 B.C.) life is to be lived for the possessor's own self and to be an expression of his individuality. There is to be a disregard of life and death: life is of importance only in the present, and then solely during his brief existence. The Chinese have not followed this philosopher.

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." 21

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 flame can still burn. . . The soul of a dead man cannot become a body again." 22

5. Buddhism.—For the general attitude of Buddhism as regards life and death see art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Buddhist) and KARMA. It is, however, more than questionable whether its esoteric Buddhism, with its metaphysical aspect towards the world of sense, has much or any hold on the mass of the people. 23

Accordingly, many of

1 H. A. Giles, Chuang Tzu, London, 1889, p. 86.
2 ib. p. 225.
5 H. A. Giles, Chuang Tzu, p. 267; cf. Legge, SBE xxxix., 22.
6 L. Giles, Taoist Teachings, p. 21.
7 ib. p. 27.
8 ib. p. 27.
11 ib. p. 262; see also p. 222 f.
12 ib. p. 225.
13 ib. p. 225.
14 L. Giles, Taoist Teachings, p. 28.
15 ib. p. 224.
16 L. Giles, Taoist Teachings, p. 28. 22.
17 ib. p. 224.
18 ib. p. 225.
19 ib. p. 225.
20 ib. p. 225.
21 ib. p. 225.
22 ib. p. 225.
23 L. Giles, Taoist Teachings, p. 28.
24 ib. p. 225.
25 See Legge, Religions of China, p. 161 f.
26 A. Forke, Yung Ch'u's Garden of Pleasure, p. 25; see also Iibs. p. 261, 259 f.
27 ib. ib. p. 261, 259 f.
28 ib. ib. p. 261, 259 f.
29 For Chinese Buddhism see art. China (Buddhism) and the lit. there cited, to which may be added: J. B. Forke, Three Lectures on Buddhism, Hongkong, 1917; J. Edkins, Religion in China, London, 1878; J. Dyer Eal, Religious Aspect in China.
its votaries in the Northern branch of that religion believe in the glorious Paro of the West, to which the souls of the believers in Amida (Amitābha) Buddha can ascend and escape the long exta of lives and deaths supposed to be the lot of the aspirant to Nirvāṇa on his weary road to the goal.

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 views to which Buddhism lent itself, the Chinese mind, death looms largely 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 those of his past. With no inkling, for the most part, as to whence he came, he has given full 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 the two giants, who brought 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 life to the multitude, 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 delicate tact is conscious of a difference of atmosphere, and becomes aware that the elements common to both are not in the same proportion, and that the term has been subjected to some organic change in the later form. In the OT words denoting life occur in 106 passages, and in the Apocrypha in 24; words denoting death occur in 354 passages, and in the Apocrypha in 433, in the NT words denoting life occur in 135 passages, and words denoting death in 128. In this quantitative analysis the striking fact is that death occupied the OT mind more predominantly than life. Qualitatively taken, however, a striking difference at once appears. Life in the OT for the most part refers to existence here in the flesh, and comparatively rarely rises above it, being summed up in the LXX phrase of Sir 37:1, 'the life of man is in the number of his days.' Instances occur, of course, especially in the later Psalms and Wisdom literature, of life being regarded as independent of bodily conditions, but these are to be treated as indications of a transition in thought to a higher plane, as a preapocalyptic 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 even where the necessities of experience compel reference to the fact of physical death. Thus, out of a total of 135 passages more than seven can be referred to physical life. In one (Lk 12:19) the text varies, and the life referred to might be spiritual. In Lk 10:24 the life of Dives is sharply contrasted with the life of Lazarus. In Acts 8:39 is a quotation from a work inspired by Stoic thought. In Ro 8:5, 1 Co 3:3, and Ph 1:21, 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 spiritual and spiritual death face us. In the first passage it is invisible powers personified that are declared incapable of sundering the Christian from Christ; in the second passage the words are equally patient of either meaning; and in the third, if Thoephylact may be followed,1 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' (θάνατος), for in something less than a score of passages in the Gospels, and in eight passages of Acts, the death of Jesus is referred to; in nine passages of Heb. physical death, especially that of the Son of God, is the same as death. For Christmas 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 all mean spiritual death, not physical. Our task is to examine the passages where the terms ζωή and θάνατος, or their cognates, occur in the NT, in order to ascertain their precise meaning.

1. Life.—(a) the plural mode of expression for the 'life' which Christ gives is to be found in the use of the definite article. Examples of this are Mt 7:4, 'straitened is the way that leadeth unto life'; 18:8, Mk 9:44, 'to enter into the life that I have'; Mt 19:10, 'thou wouldst enter into the life'; Jn 5:24 (cf. Jn 3:3), 'hath passed out of the death into the life'; 6:6, 'the bread of life'; 8:51, 'shall have the light of the life'; 11:14, 'I am the life'; 19:7, 'the prince of this world is condemned'; Rom 5:18, 'the law of the spirit of the life'; 2 Co 4:4, 'the life worketh in you'; 5:5, 'the mortal may be swallowed up by the life'; 1 Ti 6:19, 'lay hold of the aeonian life'; 1 Jn 1, 'the word of the life'; 5:17, 'he that hath this Son hath the life'; Rev 1:5, 'the crown, the book of the life'; 21:4, 'the water of the life.'

In all these cases the article is used in those grammarians who regard the neuter of the substantive as a substantive, and to be referring to an object already definitively known. Thus, in the instances given the implication is that the life mentioned is that with which the reader was already familiar as the subject of Evangelical 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 this world (cf. F. W. Blass, Grammar of NT Greek, London, 1905, p. 146).

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

(c) It is assigned a heavenly nature by a predicative clause: Ro 5:19, 'we shall be saved by his [the Son's] life'; 2 Co 4:4, 'the life of Jesus'; Eph 4:24, 'the life of God'; 2 Ti 1:11, 'life that is in Christ Jesus'; 1 Jn 5:25, 'the life in his Son.'

(d) The characteristic NT expression qualifying life, however, is 'immortal,' repeated in Ro 8:11 24 times, and 'eternal' 42 times, but both terms are misleading, as giving a quantitative in-

1 For the philosophical theory see art. Communion and Communion (Chinese).
3 A. M. Fichie, A Corner of Cathay, New York, 1894, p. 113 ff.
4 Legge, Religion of China, p. 25.
5 ib. p. 47 ff.
st. of a qualitative category. "Ionian" as an adjective occurs in all 71 times in the NT, and in 43 of these it qualifies "life." All these passages (to addition to 17 in the Fourth Gospel) are Mt 16:29; 25:1, Mk 13:8, Lk 1:10; 1:13, 2:15, Ac 13:48, Ro 2:5, 11, Gal 6:6, 1 Ti 1:9, 2, 6, 15; Tit 1:3, 6, 11; 1, 2 Pt 3:5, 10. In all these passages it is not the duration of the life itself, but the nature and source. Hence, though the rendering "eternal" may be permissible, that of "everlasting" is erroneous, and even "eternal" can be allowed only where eternity is understood as by Boethius:

Whatever, therefore, comprehends and possesseth the whole prelude of unlimited life at once, to which nothing of the future can be added and from which nothing of the past hath flowed away, this may rightly be deemed eternal (Philo. Cont., v. prov. 6 [PL, xxii. 593]; cf. Dacty, Perirol., xxii. 61-60).

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

The transition from the sense of "aeonian" in the LXX (where it [or its cognates] is used about 200 times) to its sense in the NT is of the nature of an evolution. The NT sense of "spiritual," or "divine," is not wanting in the OT, but the more usual sense of the term is that of duration. Out of this lower by no means futile, first tentatively, but at length surely and far, the ground on which duration rests, viz. the possession of an essence which is superior to the category of time. What endures is that of which time is but the changing expression and the great gift of Christ is seen to consist in the power which He confers of escaping from the jurisdiction of "the prince of the power of the air" into the higher realm where the "aeon" or the "aeonian" king rules.

The term "for" in the NT is important for our present purpose: for, in addition to the passages in which the temporal meaning of the term is required, there are a number which are ambiguous, and also a number where "aeon" 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 "aeon" is given. In Ac 10:19 the rendering should in all probability be "God maketh them" (for the word is found in this sense in Lk 11:49). The same word, together with the prophet's, are said to receive their inspiration "from aeon." The sense of Jn 10:23 is best reached by paraphrasing it: "From the realm of the aeon the news has not been heard of anybody opening the mouth," etc. (In Eph 4:90) no question can be raised, for the 'aeon of this world' there is clearly a personal being, since he is given as a sub-title 'the prince of the power of the air.' In 1 Ti 1:17 God is distinguished as the "King of the aeons." In Col 1:16 the revelation given to the saints is exalted above that given to the aeons. The latter knew nothing of the mystery of the indwelling Christ, the hope of glory. The knowledge of this was the prerogative of the saints. In 2 P 3:8 the "day of aeon" can be nothing but the "day of the Lord," and hence the aeon here is Jesus (cf. also He 1:2, 1 Co 10:4, 14, and the appendix to Mk in the Freer-logion).

When we remember that Christianity grew up in a Gnostic environment, that among the Gnostics the doctrine of personal aeon was universal, and that I Clem. 35, Origin (c. Celsus, vi. 24), Ignatius (Ep. 19), Clem. Alex. (Strom. iv. 13), Ireneus (Herm. i. 17), and Hippolytus (Ref. vi. 20) all refer to the doctrine explicitly as worthy of note and demanding correction, we can understand the present interpretation of the NT. The same fluidity of meaning which attaches to the word "aeon" outside the canon attaches to it also within the canon. Omitting temporary significance as to general to need exemplification, it is enough to say that the "word of aeon" may stand for a superhuman being who is good or evil, supreme or subordinate. Hippolytus (Ref. vi. 20) mentions "the aeons" among the instruments who speak of a situation of good powers to evil, and of a concord of good and wicked aeons, and St. Irenaeus (Out. 2.6. 3) relates that the Valentinians taught the existence of a certain perfect, pre-existent, and self-existent Aeon, Pneuma, Propator, and Bythos. So Eusebius (CSEL. vi. 2) says: "But the god (and man), and the aeons of things are seven, as is written in the Apocalypse." The Valentinians further taught, according to Tertullian, that the supreme aeon ennounced righteous aeons, the good, and these ten others, which twelve more were produced, making thirty in all; they also saw in the vision of Jesus to the Temple when He was twelve years old, and, again, when He was thirty, a cryptic reference to the system of aeons. Reitzenstein (Raisonn. Leipzig, 1901, p. 256) quotes a Hermetic hymn addressed to "aeon" as the "unconquerable," which is said:

It is said: Thou art the beginning and the end, and the last of all, for of there are all things and to (each nation) do they run as to their end. So in the Hermetic tractate Haud unae, 3, it is said: 'God makes aeon, the aeon makes the world, the world makes time, time makes nothing.' Here 'aeon' is the name of the ideal principle which ultimately takes form in the world of becoming. Similarly, Plato (Philo. 5.75) says: 'When the father and creator saw the creature which he had made moving and living, and the created image of the eternal gods (now alive), he rejoiced, and in his joy determined to make the copy still more like the original; and this was the "aeon" (Anaximenes), he was to be the eternal "aeon," so far as might be. In this passage, where Plato wants to express the idea of everlastingness, he has the word "aeon" ready to his hand. But, when he goes on to express the same idea in a different way he uses a different term ("aion"): 'Now the nature of the ideal being was aeonian (apodeiktyon), but to bestow this attribute in its fullness on a creature was the height of presumption. He would make a moving image of the "aion" (aeonian), and, setting in order the same thing for ever, he made the heaven. He then made the aeon abiding in unity (persona aeion) [an image that in itself was aeonian] to move in accordance with number; and this image we call time.' In the latter passage, as in this, the "aeon" is dealing with the quality of the archetypal order, and, therefore, he uses the word "aeon." In the former passage he was dealing with a category of quantity, and, accordingly, he employed the word "aeon," everlasting. J. Adam (Finity of Eternities, Cambridge, 1911, p. 141) translates aside to Pindar (fr. 131, ed. Bury) as the 'living man,' and says that it never means 'eternity' in Pindar. The passage is ιόνος σε' ἐν αἰόνιοι, ἐν αἰόνιοι, ἐν αἰόνιοι ἐν οἷς συνήπτεται ἔνας τοῖς ἄνθρωποι τοὺς τὸν θάνατον. The antithesis of aeon and time reappears in Pindar (ed. T. Maurice, London, 1774, i. 496), who makes the time 'aeonian,' and the "aeon of the aeon" is "aeonian". Similarly, he says (§ 619) that 'the life of the intelligible world is called aeon, as that of the sensible is called time.'

The question whether "aeon" and 'aeonian' are to be rendered qualitatively or quantitatively is not the question whether a Jewish or Greek conception is the determinant, for the Hellenization of Christianity was active, even if not in its acme form, from the earliest NT days. Greek thought had penetrated Jewish before NT times (W. Bouisset, De l'existence de la "monade" dans le neueste Zeitalter, Berlin, 1903, p. 493; cf. "aeonian torment," in 4 Mac 9.; "aeonian life," in Enoch 106.; "judgment of the aeon of aeons," 108.; "the King of the aeon," 272), and is embedded in the NT itself. Moreover, the Rabbinical antithesis of 'this world' and 'that world' lay on the borderline of 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 their record of the teaching of a mystery-religion), the Fourth Gospel as a whole, Eph. and Col., and the constant tendency of the Greek in St. Paul to burst its Jewish fetters. We conclude, therefore, that "aeon" in the NT is life that belongs to a higher order than animal or ordinary human life; it is above, and the recipient of it is lifted, by possessing it, to a higher state of consciousness. It is not this present life indefinitely existing within the limits of the human creature. It is life 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 fact and truth of regeneration (q.v.) occupy in the world of the Christian. All that is required is a reminder of the close connection of regeneration with the aeonian...
life which forms the theme of the NT. To be born from above (John 3:3); to be turned and to become as little children (Mt 18:3); to come out into the resurrection of life (Jn 5:24); to put on Christ (Rom 6:4); to be spiritually alive together with Christ (Eph 2:5); to be in Christ (2 Cor 5:17); to put on the new man (Eph 4:22); to be a new creature (Gal 6:5)—these and many similar passages describe that dynamic process of which the result is eonian life, or salvation, or the Kingdom of God, or blisslessness.

2. Death.—Christian theology has been at once oppressed and confused by its failure to note that in the NT it is not physical life cleared of its effects by Christ's atonement which is referred to as physical death as such as that is connected with sin. (1) Reflexion 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 connection between the self and its physical vehicle. If one be of the transcendental order, so must the other be. (2) It has never been easy to maintain a causal nexus between sin as a wrong act of will and physical death which in its own right will. Modern science has convinced itself that death has reigned not only since Adam's transgression, but from the first appearance of life. Death indeed, apart from sin, is a process of nature and not a super-natural phenomenon. (3) Christianity is 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 permanence of physical death, but in the specie of death as intimately bound up with its own life that death will not be of the physical order. (4) The law of analogy points in the same direction. A principle which is operative on one level repeats itself analogously at other levels. Just as gravity may be described without strain being love embroiled in matter, or, conversely, as love in the spiritual world exercises an attraction which binds spiritual beings as surely as gravity binds aether 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 reality presented under the guise of the actual. If, therefore, a religion which proclaims itself as having the real for its object speaks of death, or attributes to death any place in its world, it cannot be supposed to limit its reference to the death which is merely physical. It will be found on examination that the conception thus reached a priori by careful scrutiny of the evidence. (6) We may conveniently begin with passages in which death is obviously treated as acting in the spiritual sphere. The following passages in the Fourth Gospel may be cited: 'He hath passed out of the death into the life' (5:25; cf. 1 Jn 3:3); 'If a man keep my word, he shall never see death' (8:51); in ch. 11 the difficulty caused by the apparent indifference of Jesus in the beginning, by the reference to sleep, and by the present tense in the future, the obvious implication of death is obtained in what is certainly a gloss. In 1 Jn we have similar references to spiritual death: 'He that loveth not abideth in the death' (3:8), where the death is clearly on the same plane of being as love; in 3:14 the sin unto death (or not unto death) is also clearly a sin which is followed by death of the same order, viz, in the world of free will, of which the sentence 'for them that sin not unto death—are a sentence which is meaningless if physical life is meant, since that is ex hypothesi there already. In Rev. the second death, which is spiritual, is distinguished from the first death, which is physical (20:14, 15). In the Epp. also many passages occur in which death must be interpreted as spiritual. In Ro 1:26 St. Paul, speaking not as a jurist but as a preacher (cf. W. S. Sarve, "Paulus," 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 so with the full knowledge that they deserve death ('and meint damit den ewigen Tod' [H. A. W. Meyer, "Der Brief an die Römer," ed. F. Weiss, Göttingen, 1899, ad loc.]). In the striking passage Ro 5:21, unless St. Paul is guilty of inexcusable logical confusion, the death is not a natural process which in the very act of the same kind in vv. 12, 14. The current exegesis which assumes such looseness of thought in St. Paul is itself responsible for the confusion. The meaning is simple, plain, and consistent throughout. It is St. Paul's conception of the death, conceived 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 a vital union with a race self-deprived of the higher life, that is, by sharing in some sense their loss, has restored what they had lost; He has, that is, obeyed the law that only through death 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 turning the lower nature, in the process of the mystic crucifixion. The one lost eonian 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 eonian life and eonian death that are in question, and the best proof of this view is to be found in the difficulty is a fact in the world of space and time; hence it conceals what is more than a fact—a truth or idea, or a fragment of reality presented under the guise of the actual. If, therefore, a religion which proclaims itself as having the real for its object speaks of death, or attributes to death any place in its world, it cannot be supposed to limit its reference to the death which is merely physical. It will be found on examination that the conception thus reached a priori by careful scrutiny of the evidence. (a) We may conveniently begin with passages in which death is obviously treated as acting in the spiritual sphere. 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EVEN THE FAMOUS PASSAGE IN I Cor. 15 IS GIVEN A COHERENT MEANING ONLY WHEN THE THOUGHT OF SPIRITUAL LIFE AND SPIRITUAL DEATH IS_kept in the foreground. It is true that here the thought is less pure, and that the physical death of Christ and His Resurrection from the dead were made to prove 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 argument is as follows: To be saved, a man must believe. Faith, however, when it comes, annuls this (spiritual) death, for it is essentially life. This living faith (the life of God in the soul) is what filled Christ, and constituted His title to the higher state of being, as is proved by the fact that He overcame (spiritual) death; the proof that He did so overcame spiritual death is to be seen in the fact that He could not be hidden by physical death. Hence death in both senses is abolished, or is in the process of being so. A coalescence of all things was necessary, and it is essentially spiritual, and, if physical death comes into question at all, it is incidental only or by way of illustration. That this is the true interpretation becomes clear when we observe that the remainder of this epistle is divided into two parts. The 5th and 6th chapters are occupied with confirming that higher spiritual, or risen, life will require a cognate spiritual body, and that as God gave the life so He will give the suitable body.

(6) There are, however, unquestionably many passages in the NT which seem, on the surface at all events, to refer exclusively to a physical death. They are those which in the Gospels (12 times) and the Acts (8 times) deal with the death of Jesus Christ. But this is not necessarily the only way of understanding these passages. They are, after all, only words, and their words, with their different conceptions of things, are capable of being made to mean many different things, if one is disposed to construe them. What is signified is that Jesus suffered a physical death at the hands of the civil and religious authorities of His day. What is signified is that His sufferings as such are a sign of divine wrath. The death of Jesus was a physical event, of which many passages in the NT give an account. It is a sign of divine wrath, and, as God gave the life so He will give the suitable body.

The Epistle to the Hebrews also refers explicitly to the physical death and sufferings, but where we must allow for the exiguities of the line of argument adopted. This compelled the author to place the physical death of the man Christ Jesus over against the physical death of the animals slain in OT sacrifices. Yet, even so, the form of the argument depends on the superior worth of the former. His sacrifice was all-compelling, partly because it was voluntary (7th and 10th), 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 (7th) and through an àonian spirit (6th). The life, we may say, that even here is dealt with is essentially spiritual, and is physical only in a secondary and subordinate sense.

(c) A third and small class of passages alone remains where death is of an ambiguous appearance. In Rev. 12:8 and 20:6, death is personified and joined with Hades, and both may attack man on his physical or on his spiritual side. In Mt. 24:29, and Lk. 17:28 the shadow of death falls across the heathen world, where spiritual death is, unmentioned. In Mt. 20:27, Mk. 9:44, and Lk. 16:29, the prophecies of Jesus, it should be observed, should not taste of death till they saw the Kingdom of God come with power. It is impossible to say what was the original context of this triplicated passage, but it is improbable that the passage itself is to be regarded as a falsified prophecy of a historical fact. The Kingdom of God and the 'Son of Man' are terms within which express inner realities, and it is at least likely, then, that 'death' is also eonian. In this case the meaning of the passage is that there were some ('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 for ever.

It will be clear, from what has been said, that the NT and Christian anti-thesis 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 life, and on the other, death. On the other side is the life which creates the very power by which sense and intellect discharge their limited functions, which is in itself doulous of forus, is only partially grasped by perceptions, and for the most part remains outside conceptions—life, in short, whose boundaries are set by the practical needs of the empirical Ego. On the other side is life which creates the very power by which sense and intellect discharge their limited functions, which is in itself doulous of forus, is only partially grasped by perceptions, and for the most part remains outside conceptions—life, in short, whose boundaries are set by the practical needs of the empirical Ego. Life is new creation, is entirely human life, divine, and is that ever-flowing stream from the life of God of which all expressions of life are at all levels fragmentary flashes. We pass from the fragment towards the complete and perfect in exact proportion to our surrender of our lower and separated self to the life of the whole, which is God. It is this enhanced life and expanded consciousness that the religion of Jesus Christ and His Church is primarily concerned with. It is a matter in theocritology, in theories about resurrection, in hypotheses such as that of universalism, of conditional immortality, of the nature of the ultimate union of soul and body, or of re-creation, thought of there is in the NT. It is concerned with a higher life experienced here and now, and to grow hereafter more and more towards the perfect day. It is interested in theories about that life, but its interest in them is not vital.


W. E. COBB.

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 we consider that life and death are 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 questions of fact or 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
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 passionate abhorrence which death inspires as an indignity inflicted upon the living,1 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,' mér, Coptic mér (indefinite), mér (qualitative), is shared with all the Semitic languages, the verb for 'to live,' nh, Coptic nh (indefinite), nh (qualitative), is of doubtful affinities. Several derivatives from the same stem, such as nh, 'sandal-string;' nh, 'goat,' nh, 'eat,' fail to suggest any earlier or more concrete meaning for it, while other words having the same radical letters, such as nh, 'oath' (Coptic anah), or nh, 'mirror,' clearly derive their meaning from nh, 'to live.' Closely related in sense are the verbs wren, 'to exist,' and hpr (Coptic

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

belief in immortality; these are wnh-hrw, 'the justified,'1 and wen nh, '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 ansata, [\(\text{\_<}_\text{\奥林}^\text{\_<}_\text{\奥林}\)], popularly known as the *ankh* (nh), 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 (Sphinx, v. [1902] 138) it depicts a mirror. The true explanation, hinted at but immediately rejected by G. Daressey (LTAP)

\[\text{\_<}_\text{\奥林}^\text{\_<}_\text{\奥林}\]
Life and Death (Egyptian)

xxvi. [1901] 130), was first enunciated by Battiscombe Gunn, who proves the symbol to depict the strings or straps of the sandal.

No demonstration of Gunn's discovery (acknowledged by A. Erman in his Ägyptische Grammatik, Berlin, 1911, p. vii) has yet found its way into print; the crucial evidence in the following argumentation has been supplied by Gunn himself. The Greek word ἄποστατον, roughly meaning 'symbol', is very exactly resembling the symbol and hieroglyph for 'life', which is often represented pair-wise at the foot-end of Middle Kingdom coffins. These coffins are surrounded with pictures deemed necessary for the happiness of the dead in the after-life, and care is taken in most cases to place each object in its appropriate position as regards the body of the dead man within the coffin: thus necklaces are shown on the level of his neck, sceptres within reach of his hands, and so forth. A priori, therefore, it is not to be concluded that the object was connected with the feet—a point clinched by the fact that a pair of these objects is usually shown next one or more pairs of sandals, while the other articles depicted (anklets, bowls for washing, etc.) are more or less clearly connected with the feet (see J. Garstang, British Museum Quarterly, 1903, vol. i. part 1. and H. Schäfer, Fruchterbeiträge, Leipzig, 1905, fig. 73 [pp. 54, 53 [p. 60], and pl. 11]. In several instances the accompanying inscriptions describe the pair of objects as 'the two *hmin on the ground under his feet' (cf. Garstang, loc. cit.).

There is an object which accompanies the sandals that is often shown in this way that seems to indicate that the objects served to land this loop to the sides of the sandal, and possibly a kind of ribbon bow or band was used to make the representations harmonious in detail, but, remembering that this sign is a very old one, that the modes of binding the sandal to the foot vary greatly, and that several objects depicted the signs not as actually worn but laid out in such a way as to exhibit them to the best advantage, we shall hardly doubt that the objects shown on the Middle Kingdom coffins and called *hmin are a pair of sandal-straps for use in the event of those attached to the sandales required to be replaced. The cut on the preceding page depicts various examples of the sandal-straps both as an article of use and as a hieroglyph, together with pictures of sandals for comparison; the hieroglyph is normally painted black.

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

It is, of course, possible that *hmin (Coffin Texts, § 1) of the Coffin Texts, and *hmin (Leb. II. 1913; 721, 1) of the Coffin Texts, who we find death compared with sleep (e.g., Pyramid Texts, ed. Sethe, Leipzig, 1905, 721). Life, on the other hand, is full of activity, and chief among its needs are bread and drink ("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, ozen and geese, 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 breeze of the Northwind" as a necessity of life. The place of life was pre-eminent in the earth: "Of all the places on earth" begins a favourite invocation.

Various views were held as to the whereabouts of the dead, but their habitation was normally not the earth: "those who are yonder", is, in the view of a common designation of the deceased. That the land of death is a land wherein there is no returning was early said; already in the Pyramid Texts (2175) we find the warning, "Go not upon those western ways, for those who have gone yonder come not back again" (the same thought recurs later; cf. Harris 500, recto 7). Religions as to the duration of life and death are often encountered in the texts. The Egyptian prayed that, like Joseph, he might attain to "heaven", the "eternity" of the necropolis, the "lives of eternity" for the innurnery gods, the "span of things done upon earth but is but a dream" (IB 2175). In comparison with death, the endlessness of which was constantly alluded to (the city of eternity) for the necropolis, the lords of eternity for the innurnery gods, the span of things done upon earth but is but a dream) refers only to the dreamlike fuzziness 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 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 form is —which accompanies various words meaning 'prisoner' or 'enemy.' Very often, however, these hieroglyphs are mutilated or suppressed because of their ill-omened associations (Z.A. 111. 1917).

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 thee thy eyes to see, thy ears to hear, what is spoken; thy mouth to speak, and thy feet to walk. May thy hands and arms move, and thy flesh be firm. May thy members be pleasant, and mayest thou have joy of all thy limbs. Mayest thou see thy death (and find it) whole and sound, without any ailment upon thee; thy true heart being with thee, even the heart that thou didst have heretofore (R. Sethe, Urkunden des ägypt. Altertums, Leipzig, 1904-69, 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 heads and phalli indicates of 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 water, it is without air—deep, dark, and void, a place where one lives in quietude. Pleasure of love is not there to be had, nor, but hatred shall be given in lieu of water and air and love, quietude in lieu of bread and beer."

Inertia is the chief characteristic of the dead, therefore they were called 'the weary,' 'the inert' (§ 1); elsewhere we find death compared with sleep (e.g., Pyramid Texts, ed. Sethe, Leipzig, 1905, 721).

Life, on the other hand, is full of activity, and chief among its needs are bread and drink ("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, ozen and geese, 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 breeze of the Northwind" as a necessity of life. The place of life was pre-eminent in the earth: "Of all who live upon earth," begins a favourite invocation.

Excepwho the symbol life is used.\footnote{For this and other valuable references the writer is indebted to Professor Sethe and Godzicen.}
LIFE AND DEATH (Egyptian)

4. The hatred of death.—The opening words of the "grave-stone-formula," "O ye who love life and hate death," strike to the root of the most profound 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 well-dated stone 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, highest—th' heart shall not grow weary of drinking and eating, drinklessness and love. Celebrate a happy day; follow thy heart by day and night; put no care in thy heart. Where are thy years upon the earth? The West (i.e. the place of burial) is a land of shadow, dark and heavy, the habitation of those who are yonder, who sleep in their nameless shapes, nor wake to see their brethren, nor regard their father's testament, and their hearts are rest of their wives and children. The living water of which all have a share, for it gives life to him who is upon earth. There have I, though water is beside me, and I know not the place where I am, since I came to this valley. . . . Turn my face to the North; I am on the bank of the water: perchance my heart shall be relieved of its affliction. Nay but Death, his name is Hor the Great, to whom all called comes to him straightway, their hearts straightened, through fear of him. There is none can see him either of gods or men; great and small alike have visions, nor can any say his finger. He loveth all, and rebuketh the son from his mother. The old man moves to meet him, and all men fear and make petition before him. Yet he turns not his face towards them, he comes not to him who implores him, he hearkens not when he is worshipped, he shews himself not, even though my prayer is given to him." (L. Lepsius, AnnahM der wichtigsten Urkunden der ägypt. Alterthümer, Leipzig, 1842, pl. 16).

This is perhaps the only passage in which death is thought as though the Egyptians were not averse to a sort of fictitious dedication of abstract ideas; Life, e.g., is found beside Health in the outward guise of a Nile-god (J. E. Gautier and G. Jequier, Mémoire sur les fouilles de Léhid, Paris, 1902, p. 25). The exhortation "celebrate a happy day" recurs again and again in the songs of the harpers at Egyptian banquet, together with the reminder that life is short, death inevitable and eternal. Herodotus tells us (li. 78) that at the entrance of the great wooden figure of the 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 shalt be such as this when thou art dead." No reference is made thereto in our texts, but they agree in their Egyptian spirit (see also Plut. de Is. et Osir. xvii.). The old songs collected by W. Max Müller, Die Liebesepik der alten Ägypter, Leipzig, 1889 (pp. 29-37), recall the wretched fate of the dead:

"The nobles and glorified ones . . . buried in their pyramids, who built themselves chapels, their place is no more; what is because of them? I have heard the words of Thoth and Horus, told and told again; where is their place? Their walls are destroyed, their place is no more, as though they had never been. None comfort them who can relate how they fare. . . . Then comes the inevitable moral: 'Be of good cheer, forget and enjoy thyself. Follow thy heart, so long as thou livest, place thy head, cover thyself with the linen, anoint thyself; forget sorrow and remember joy, until arriving that day of putting to shore in the land that loveth all.'"

5. The hope of immortality.—From the same Thèban tomb from which the last words are drawn (tomb of the priest Neferteshp [60], 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 where do they thus speak as concerns the land of Eternity, the just and fair, where terrors are not? Wrangling is its abhorrence, nor does any god2 harden against his fellow.

That land free of foes, all our kinsmen rest within it from the earliest day of time. The children of the Nile-god, who is thither, every one. For none may tarry in the land of Egypt; none there is that passes not yonder. The span of earthly life is but as a night to him who since he has reached the West (PSBA xxv. 169)."

This pretty poem voices the opinions of those who, holding a firm faith in immortality, rejected the cold comfortless views of death already illustrated. No doubt that faith was born of a revolution of feeling against the pitiless cruelty of death; and, being the offspring of the will rather than of the reason, it did not supersede or drive out the opposite belief. There is an argumentative, controversial expression of the discreditation of the old funerary texts: 'Thou hast departed living, thou hast not departed dead' (Pyramid Texts, 134; cf. 833); or we may quote the reiterated assurance: 'Thou diest not,' in the same texts (657, 715, 781, 792, 810, 875, 1464, 1477, 1810, 1819 [2901]). The multiformed funerary rites, the contracts made with ka-priests, and the petitions or threats to passers-by and visitors to the tombs all imply that the benefits of immortality were not to be obtained except by elaborate forethought and delicate effort. It is true that a discontinuance of the funerary cult might not entail complete annihilation; the Egyptians dreaded, for instance, lest the cessation of the offerings made to them might lead to the virtual destruction of their divinity (AA xlvi. [1910] 100—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 chs. 45, 160), this fear giving rise to the strong apprehension of "eternal life" of the second death in the necropoleis (ib. chs. 44, 175, 176).

Similar conclusions might perhaps be drawn from the variety of the theories concerning the fate of the departed, some of which (e.g. the simultaneity or similitude) 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 naive and credulous thoughtlessness, as the rich and the strong of 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 conception of immortality the terms 'life,' 'lives,' in its thoroughgoing sense, with each of the meaning of the other that they no longer contradictory and excluded one another as they had originally done; 'life' was not necessarily the short term of existence upon earth, and 'death' was perhaps but another mode of living. Sometimes, of course, by the abstraction which language permits, the words were used in their old strictly contrasted senses, but often there is left only a shadow of the original meaning; 'living' may become a term of existence vaguely analogous to physical, terrestrial existence, and, 'death,' 'die,' 'dead,' are terms that might 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 translation 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 Pahhatpe we read:—

'As for the fool who hearkens not, he achieves not anything, he looks upon him who knows as one who is ignorant, and upon things useful as things hateful. . . . he lives upon that
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wherewith men die, ... his character is told(1) in the opinion of the nobles in that he dies 'living every day' (Le Papyrus funeraire de Thoutmosis III, 1913, p. 8).

Such was the fear felt by him who was admitted to the presence of Pharaoh that he knew not whether he was alive or dead (Sinuto, 253; Ketler ed. A. H. Gardiner, Literary Texts of the New Kingdom, Leipzig, 1911), 5. 1). The verb ‘to live’ was applied to other things besides beings; and animals; thus, whatever else in a man might die, his name, if properly tended, would continue to live (Pyramid Texts, 764, 899, 1024, and in later texts posthum). ‘Living soul’ (R, ‘nh) is a collation of words which frequently, if not 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 imbued with a sort of life, by virtue of a principle of immortality even after its suspension; the sculptor was called ‘he who makes to live’ (R ‘nh); hieroglyphs representing animals and human beings were sometimes mutilated or suppressed, obviously because they were considered to have the same power to renew as dying things (Zd. ii, 1-64).

7. Death and the gods.—Could the gods be said to live? In a sense, no doubt, they were considered to live more fully, more truly, than human beings. The solar deity in particular was full of vitality; life of which is to be called ‘be granted life like Rê’; Rê ‘lives upon truth’; the solar hymns, especially these to the Aten (the solar god of the heretic king Akhenaten) represent all life as emanating from the god; and all gods and goddesses were, so to speak, semi-divine life. On a closer view, however, we find that kind of life that was predicated of the gods was more analogous to the life of the blessed dead than to the life of human beings; to the virtuous dead it is promised, ‘he who is venerable shall bear a name’ (Ermian, Gruppach eines Lebensauftrt mit seiner Seite, Berlin, 1896, p. 142; cf. Pap. Ptolemaeum, 1116, recto 56). That the gods dwell afar off together with the dead is shown by the Egyptian (hieroglyphic) term for the sepulchral State of the Middle Kingdom: ‘I have given down to the city of eternity, to the place where the gods are’ (Cairo, 1913). Various dead Pharaohs and celebrities were posthumously deified (see art. Honors and Heroes and the Egyptians), and complexes of their images suggest that they were not regarded as wholly alive. Osiris, as King of Eternity, chief of the Westerners, led but a shadowy existence, and similar conclusions are implied by their consideration as dead, not as living, deities, or restitutive representatives. The Pharaoh railed as Horus ‘on the throne-of-Horus of the living’; under another aspect he was the ‘living sphinx-image of Atum’ (asp ‘nk n ‘Hnt). Alternately regarded as ‘son of Rê’ and as identical with Rê, the King did not die, but ‘flew to heaven and joined the sun, the flesh of the god becoming merged in its creator’ (Sinuto, 1. 74). The Aps and Nunvis bulls were respectively living emanations of God and Atum; other animals whose cult was celebrated in late times doubtless stood in a similar relation to the gods whom they represented. Lastly, the historical aspect from which the gods were sometimes regarded regarded them as rulers of a far-distant age, and, in consequence, as beings long since dead.

8. The dead as a class of beings.—In the Book of the Dead and elsewhere, we find the following classification: men, gods, blessed dead (298), ‘bright’ (brightly) (298, 366). 1. In this classification there is a kind of chronological hierarchic arrangement: the dead of the most remote times are holier, and partake more of divinity, than those recently deceased. So, too, the Turin Canon of Kings conceived the earliest rulers of Egypt to have been the gods of the first cemetary; then came the lesser gods, and, lastly, the followers of Horus and earliest historical kings. Moreover, whole persons of the same name, and equal to the successor, were to the living Pharaoh what the sons of the lesser gods were to the gods. In the Book of the Dead and elsewhere the ‘dead’ are spoken of in a way that clearly assumes them to enjoy a kind of existence; they ‘are seen’, hear, feel pain or joy.

9. Relations of the living and the dead.—Some Egyptologists, influenced more by anthropological theorists than by the unambiguous evidence of the Egyptian texts, have asserted that the funerary rites and practices 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 relations might partake of the benefits of the deceased, and that if he died, if he died a natural death, and was not a heretic, a post mortem cult would be established. 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, were not considered as living, except to restitutive representatives. The Pharaoh railed as Horus ‘on the throne-of-Horus of the living’; under another aspect he was the ‘living sphinx-image of Atum’ (asp ‘nk n ‘Hnt). Alternately regarded as ‘son of Rê’ and as identical with Rê, the King did not die, but ‘flew to heaven and joined the sun, the flesh of the god becoming merged in its creator’ (Sinuto, 1. 74). The Aps and Nunvis bulls were respectively living emanations of God and Atum; other animals whose cult was celebrated in late times doubtless stood in a similar relation to the gods whom they represented. Lastly, the historical aspect from which the gods were sometimes regarded regarded them as rulers of a far-distant age, and, in consequence, as beings long since dead.

1. It has often been stated, especially by G. Maspero, that objects found in the tombs have been deliberately broken in order to ‘kill’ them, and so send them into the realm of the dead for the use of the deceased. No authentic evidence in favour of this statement appears to be forthcoming.
bitter reproaches are addressed to a dead woman by her widow, who has fallen ill, blaming her for her neglect of him after all his kindness towards her while she was alive.

10. The dead as malignant beings.—In the magical and initiatory piy-nembitten are often directed against ‘every enemy male or female, every dead person male or female,’ who shall come to injure N, the son of M. The dead are conceived of as the cause of disease, though perhaps only those dead are meant who still wander homeless over the earth. The evidence seems fairly clear that actual ‘possession’ by the dead, conceived of as haunting spirits, is meant in such cases; for the demon is charged to ‘flow forth,’ and honey is said to be a useful medicament ‘which is sweet to men, but bitter to the dead’ (Erman, Zauberspräcke für Mutter und Kind, Berlin, 1901, p. 121). At the same time, the daly-buried dead also had power to take vengeance on those who injured their property or violated their tombs (H. Sottas, La Pré-
servation de la propriété funéraire, Paris, 1913).

Evidently in Egypt, as in other lands, there was a danger inherent in death and in the dead, as also in blood, the symbol of death; in a Leyden papyrus it is said that ‘place of the land, blood is everywhere, death is not lacking’ (Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Soye, Leipzig, 1909, p. 23); and, perhaps because of its association with blood, red colour is in many papyri associated with the terrors of the gods, except in the case of the evil god Seth.

11. Origin and nature of life and death.—The Pyramid Texts (1466) recall a time ‘when heaven was not, when earth was not, when mankind was not, when gods were not, before death had come into existence.’ Many cosmogenic legends were told by the Egyptians (see Erman, Ägyptische Religion, Berlin, 1909, pp. 32-36, for best summary); 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 wet mud. Hence not only did the frog become a symbol of the resurrection (shen net, ‘living again’), but it was intimately associated with the beginning of things; in the Egyptian magical myth the eight primal self-generating creatures had the heads of frogs or snakes, 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, vii. [1909] 215-228). Life, once being started, was continued by the physical methods of reproduction (see esp. Song of Harper, l. 1; Admonitions, 12, 2-4), but the gods, especially the sun-god, Re, were none the less the cause and mainspring of life (the birth-scenes in the temple 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 dated (A. H. Breasted, The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest, in Z. d. Aeg. Reisen (1903) 93), which seeks to explain how Pah, having previously divided himself into ‘Heart’ (the seat of the imaginative, judging faculty), as impersonated by Horus, and ‘Tongue’ (the organ of command, i.e. the executive, with wisdom given to it by Thoth), was translated into his new body, and he was permitted to lead all that lives, ‘all gods, all men, all cattle, and all reptiles.’ It is then shown how all actions and reactions to sense impulses of ‘heart’ and ‘tongue’ when the eyes see, or the ears hear, or the nose sniffs, they convey (this sensation to the heart), and it is the heart that causes every recognition (lookout) to go forth; it is the heart that gives the word for the voice to be heard in the body of all things done by living creatures; he is, in other words, the vital principle itself. This psychological anal-

Other medical views. —A certain pre-natal existence is asserted in many hyperbolic expressions, as ‘he ruled (already) in the egg’ (Sinuhe, R 193). The normal view, of course, was that life began with birth; a writer speaks of the ‘children who are broken in the egg, who have seen the face of the crocodile before they ever lived’ (Leben-
müchte, 70). The medical papyri contain proclamations for telling whether a child will live or not; ‘if it says mahu (a sound like the word for ‘yes’), it will live; if it says emab (a sound like the word for ‘no’), it will die’ (Pap. Ebers, ed. L. Stern, Leipzig, 1875, 97. 131.). Spells were used to prevent women from conceiving, and there are various other ways in which birth is touched upon by the magico-medical literature. Amuletss and charms are used for all sorts with throughout: the case, but contrary, magic was secretly employed to bring about an enemy’s death (e.g., by means of waxen images [Pop. Lee; see J. E. Newberry, The Am-
herat Papyri, London, 18890]). A Turin papyrus contains attempts to cover all cases of suicide by killing all the possible kinds of death that may happen to a man (W. Pfeyle and F. Rossi, Pap. de Turin, Leyden, 1869-76, p. 120f.). Some kinds of death were considered happier than others; death by drowning, e.g., was considered a kind of death less painful, probably because Osiris had perished in this way, and those who died thus were called hesper, ‘blessed’ (ZA xlvii. [1909] 132). Curses were considered efficient magical means of affecting life (for a good collection of curses see Sottas, op. cit.). Oaths are conditional curses; it was usual to swear by ‘the life of Re,’ and so common was this style of oath that the verb ūny, ‘to live,’ was used transitively in the sense of ‘to swear by,’ and the Coptic word for an oath is amāt. Most contracts and judicial depositions during the New Kingdom begin with the words, ‘As Amāt endures, and as the Sovereign endures.’ In the law-courts wit-

nesses often swore oaths affecting their own life and property (e.g., to forebear theft and perjury, as Spie-
elberg, Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen
der Pharaoenreiche, 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 (Pop. 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, Admonitions, p. 9). Capital punish-

ment was less favourably considered than punishment by imprisonment and the bastinado (Pop.

Peterburg, 1116 A, recto 48 f.), and persons con-
demned to death were allowed to make away with themselves.

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

The outlook on life of the average Greek of the fifth century B.C. may be illustrated by the language which Herodotus, in 30 B.C., puts into the mouth of Solon of Athens in his interview with Croesus, King of Lydia.

When Solon visited Sardis, after all the grandeur of the royal palace he had been exhibited for his admiration, he was asked by Croesus whom he considered the happiest man (σατηνος) he had ever seen. To the surprise of Croesus, Solon answered, "Tellus of Athens, because, on the one hand, Tellus lived in the midst of gods and godesses (εκελειας γεγοιτων), and saw children born to them all and all surviving; on the other hand, after a life affluent as we can doubt, he died a most glorious death. He fought for the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis, 272 B.C., when he gained the highest victory; and the Athenians gave him a public burial when he fell, and honoured him greatly."

When Croesus asked whom he considered second in happiness, Solon answered, "Cleobis and Biton." These were natives of Argos, possessed of sufficient fortune, and, moreover, endowed with such strength of body that both were prize-winners in the games. It is further related of them that, on one occasion, when the Argives were celebrating a festival in honour of Hera, it was necessary that their mother, as priestess of Hera, should be conveyed to the temple on an ox-waggon. The oxen not arriving from the field in time, the young men harnessed their oxen and solved to the waggon and drew it to the temple, a distance of forty stades. After they had performed this feat in view of the assembly, there came upon them a most excellent end of life, wherein God clearly revealed that death is better for a man than the strength of Argos standing round praised 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 exceedingly in her sons' deeds and in the speed of the citizens, and, standing before the image of the goddess, besought her to immortalize the children, who had done her such honour the best thing that man can receive. After this prayer, when her sons had sacrificed and feasted, they fell asleep in the temple and were found there the next morning. The Argives, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made and dedicated a temple.

Croesus was ingenuous that Solon should not assign to him even the second place among happy men. Then Solon said: "The elements, human affairs—men know that the deity (ο θεόν) is always just and dexterous in confounding mankind. For in the length of days men are convicted of seeing many things they would not have suffered to suffer many things they would not willingly suffer. I put the term of a man's life at seventy years. . . Now in all these days of seventy years... no one day brings us at anything the like. Thus, Croesus, man is always at the chance (ως κακον ανδρος κακον). You appear to me to be master of immense treasures and king of many nations; but I cannot say that you adorn life. If you find your happiness, then your life is ended your life happily. For the richest of men is not more happy (θελονας) than he that has sufficient for the day, unless good fortune attend him to the grave and make him happy. Many men who abound in wealth are unhappy (θελονας); and many who have only one fifth of them are fortunate (σελερονας). He that abounds in riches, and is yet unhappy (ο θελονας), excels the other too in two things; but the other surpasses him in many things. The wealthy man, indeed, is better able to gratify his desires and to bear a great deal of adversity, a misfortune, than other respects: although he is not able to meet the blows of misfortune, or the claims of his desires, yet his good fortune (σελερονας) wards off these things from him, and he may be able to have full use of his limbs; he is free from diseases, unseized by evil, blessed with a fine form (ο θελονας), happy in his children (εγκυνας), 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 (θελονας). For noth that time we ought to suspend our judgment, and not to pronounce him happy (θελονας), but only fortunate (σελερονας). 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 wealth in plenty; and, further, because no human body is in all respects self-sufficient, but possessing some advantages, is destitute of others; therefore who continues to enjoy the greatest number of these and then ends his life graciously, in my judgment, O King, deserves the name of happy. We ought to consider in every manner how the end shall be, and to know that God has given a glimpse of happiness (σελερονας θελονας), 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 writers, and there seems to be a note of conscious pride in the words with which Herodotus concludes the epilogue:

When he made this reply, he found no favour with Croesus, who held him of no account and dismissed him, considering him a very foolish man (ο δισελεως) who, while professing present blessings, bids men look to the end of everything.'

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.'1 It is a favourite notion in Findr:

'Here hang 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. viii. 24). Here.

Hence the distinction here drawn between the 'happy' man (θελονας) δε της θελονας μεν μακαροτας (Hépeúlois) and the merely fortunate (σελερονας). A man may be fortunate in life; but he may not have been to him in death, and the Asiatic straightforwardly calls him happy, but the 'foolish' Greek refuses that title till he has seen the end of all.

1 'Behold, this is Oedipus; this is he who solved the famous riddle and was a man most mighty... Into what a sea of dire calamity is he fallen! Therefore, while a mortal waits to see that final day, call no man happy (θελονας) till he have passed the final mourne of life, having suffered no evil' (Sophocles, Ed. Rec. 1624 B.; cf. Trach. 17 F.; Eurip. Androm. 150 F., etc.)

Aristotle discusses the saying of Solon in Eth. Nic. i. 10: 'vai θελονον οδοντων αναγχον ανθρωπον εξαιρετικον εν εν εν που κακον θελονας και κακον το γενοθηναι

He begins by asking what the saying means. Does it mean that a man is happy (θελονας) only when he is dead, but not before? If so, then it is absurd, especially if we consider that the term θελονας is an activity (अन्वेषण तिते). Does it mean that only when a man is dead is one safe to call him happy, as being at last beyond the reach of evil and misfortune? Even if this is the meaning intended, the saying is open to dispute. In estimating a man's life, as happy or unhappy, we cannot confine our view to the individual. Man is a social being ( vid. πολιτισμον ανθρωπον [Eth. Nic. i. 7; 18. 670] and Pol. i. 52). If happiness, then, as we have lived many years...
LIFE AND DEATH (Greek and Roman)

seen, is characterized by self-sufficiency (αὐθεντική), it is a self-sufficiency which includes children and other relatives and friends—within certain limits, of course; otherwise it would have to include the relatives of friends, and so on indefinitely (Eik. V. i. 7).

Of the happiness of a man's life, then, we must include in the estimate a consideration of 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) all sorts of things may happen to his relatives, and (2) 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 distant relations, which would mean an indefinite postpondement of our verdict, or (2) to refuse to take into 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 say him sometimes happy and sometimes unhappy. Is not our true solution that we must neglect accidents in our estimate? Most accidents are not determinative of εὐδαιμονία. What determines happiness or the reverse is ηγερμόνατε καὶ ἄφεσθα or the reverse.

This view is supported by our present problem. So long as we judge by accidents, we are no better off when the individual is dead than when he was alive. We are driven, then, to judge by the stable things, i.e. by the ὑγείας καὶ ἄφεσθα, and that is the argument sustained by our present position.

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 εὐδαιμονία, and he will be εὐδαιμός all his life. His happiness may be tarnished by untoward accidents, but it will not be extinguished. He will never become δεήμος, or true-less, until he should have been ἀπαίτης, i.e. long, and have not do any evil. It is the only thing that is possible that he should become δεήμος. Happiness can be affected only by himself, and we judge, and we may qualify it by saying that they are happy, but with a mortal happiness.

To continue our view to the individual's life, and take no account of what happens after his death to those near and dear to him, is to take too unqualified a view. On the other hand, we must make some limitation. There are two further considerations: (1) posthumous events must be regarded as modifying our judgment of a man's life much more than the things that had happened when he still lived; he, at any rate, was spared the knowledge of them; (2) we do not know whether the dead are διάθεται—whether they are aware of what goes on here. If they are, the news that penetrates to them must be supposed to be slight in itself or at any rate of little moment to them. It follows, then, that posthumous events have no determining effect on our estimate of the individual's life.

The doctrine of the two races and souls which appears often in Greek literature, and deserves special notice. It is a mistake to suppose that the Greek view is that the deity acts in an arbitrary and, so to say, sibyllic fashion. It is true that the conception is sometimes expressed as to lend colour to such an interpretation.

Thus in Herod. vii. 10 Aristartous, the uncle of Xerxes, tries to dissuade Xerxes from invading Greece: 'Do you see how God strikes with His lightning those which are near and others, and suffers them not to vaunt themselves, while the loud do not at all excite His hostility? Do you see how He deters His bolts against the most stately edifices and the most lofty trees? For God is wont to cut down whatsoever is too highly exalted. Thus a great army is often defeated by a small number of men; when God in His jealousy (διώγματα) strikes them with fear or with thunder, they often perish in a manner unbecoming of themselves, because God suffers none to proud save Himself.'

But, while this may have been a popular conception, the underlying idea is a much deeper one. It is, in fact, nothing more than the expression of the Greek idea of justice, or Dike. The definition of justice (δικαιοσύνη) which Plato gives in the Republic is nothing new, but is implied in the whole Greek attitude to life, and gives the reason why they would have the gods and mortal men (Hesiod, Works and Days, 107); but the lot of the gods is altogether different from that of mankind. Pindar emphasizes this distinction in a beautiful passage:

'One is the race of gods, the other of men, and from one mother do we both have breath. But separate altogether is the power (τεχνή, ingenium, Indole) that suckers us; for one is naught, but the other allots the habitations unshaken for ever. Yet do we resemble somewhat, in mighty mind or in bodily form, the deathless gods, although we know not unto what line sovereign Destiny hath appointed us to run either by day or by night' (Xen. vi. 17).

Here we have the two characteristic distinctions which the average Greek drew between the gods and mankind: the gods are deathless and ageless, and untouched of evil; the years of man are few and full of sorrow, and the certain end is death; the gods have knowledge of all things, for good or evil. The river of provision is set afar' (Pind. Xem. xi. 46). Now it is implied in the very nature of mortality that human life is a chequer-work of good and evil. A life of unbroken success, even if not attained by or attended with wickedness, is already a breach of nature, an injustice, an encroachment on the attributes of deity, and so excites the jealousy of God, who allows no man to save Himself to be proud.

A life of unbroken happiness is no portion for men:

1 Happiness (ὡς ἔστιν) is he to whom God hath given a portion of glory (καλός, especially success in the national cause), and to have all his life with in enviable fortune (πλουσίον) and in the prospect of immortality (εἰς ἀπολογίαν εἰς ἀποθανοντα) (Porphyry, v. 50 ff.).

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

'In thy new success I rejoice, but also I am grieved that jealousy (here, because God is with His people) is not excited; but only thus, they say, will a man's happiness (εὐδαιμονία) prosper abidingly, if it wins both these things and these (i.e. good fortune and glory) (Pind. Pyth. vi. 14 ff.).' No one is without lot in sorrow nor shall be; yet the ancient prosperity (ὡς ἔστιν) of Eatos attends them, giving them these and those' (Ov. v. 441).
This is the point of Clytemnestra’s words in Ἄρησ. Ἀγαμ. 9041: 

*Let there be no jealousy: for many were the evils that we endured aforetime. For that is certain, our present good fortune should not excite jealousy. It is but the offset to former adversity.*

So Nikias in Thucyd. vii. 73: 

*Our calamities are likely to abate: for the enemy have had enough. The time of our success and our experience provoked the jealousy of any of the gods, we have now been sufficiently punished.*

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

This is the point of the famous story of Polycrates of Samos (Hered. ii. 40). His continued prosperity (ἐρεύνη) excited the covetousness of his friend, Anakles, who wrote to him in these terms: *It is pleasant to hear of the good fortune of a friend and to equalize the felicity of those. But the excess of the prosperity does not please me, because I know how jealous the deity is. As for me, I would choose that my affairs and those of my friends should sometimes be fortunate and sometimes stumble, rather than be fortunate in everything. For I cannot remember that I ever heard of a man who was fortunate in everything, who did not in the end suffer in utter ruin, and advised, therefore, by me, and in view of your good fortune do this: think what it is that you value most and the loss of which would most grieve you, and cast it away, so that it may never be seen again among men; and if after that your good fortune does not alternate with misfortune, and thereby which you have now, it is well known how Polycrates cast a valuable ring into the sea, but, unforeseen by the gods, (heavily, that which you have now.)*

It is well known how Polycrates cast a valuable ring into the sea, but, unforeseen by the gods, (heavily, that which you have now.)*

The jealousy of God in the OT is exactly parallel to the Greek doctrine. It is not a capricious spite, but merely the justice which punishes any invasion of the prerogatives of the Deity by man: *The Lord thy God will make thee a God, if thou keepest my commandments.* (Deu. xxvii. 19). One form of the breach of justice is that a man should desist the God to whom he belongs and follow after strange gods. Just as the civil law recognized the duty owing from a motive to his προστάτης, or patron, and provided for the punishment of the violation of this duty by a man: *Let us therefore be in fear of God.* (Hes. Theog. 646). The wise and good man is the man who recognizes the conditions of mortality and the extent of the limits which this recognition and kicks against the pricks.

*Not for happiness in everything did Atreus beget his Aegaeomnon: they destined for his son Phorbas, and the Dómoi.* (Hes. Iph. 46). *If thou, Hiero, understandest a pithy saying, thou hast heard from them who were old and wise; therefore, that for one good the deadless gods give to mortals two evils. These gods cannot endure with decrecy, but only the good, turning the fairest out.* (Pind. Pyth. i. 98). *With mortal minds shall seek from the gods the things that are meet for us, knowing that this is one of the dialects of the gods. *And death art mortal, says the old man to Aegaeomnon (Ευριπ. Ἰφ. in Ἁγ. 286). *If thou, Hiero, understandest a pithy saying, thou hast heard from them who were old and wise; therefore, that for one good the deadless gods give to mortals two evils. These gods cannot endure with decrecy, but only the good, turning the fairest out.* (Pind. Pyth. i. 98). *With mortal minds shall seek from the gods the things that are meet for us, knowing that this is one of the dialects of the gods. *And death art mortal, says the old man to Aegaeomnon (Ευριπ. Ἰφ. in Ἁγ. 286). *If thou, Hiero, understandest a pithy saying, thou hast heard from them who were old and wise; therefore, that for one good the deadless gods give to mortals two evils. These gods cannot endure with decrecy, but only the good, turning the fairest out.* (Pind. Pyth. i. 98).

Pindar illustrates the doctrine by the story of Ασκλέπιον, 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 Ἀριστ. Ἀγαμ. 954 ff., in a passage which excellently illustrates the Greek doctrine: *Excessive prosperity demands voluntary jeitation, says Ἀριστοτέλης. Then he proceeded to a story of Ἀσκλέπιον, a favorite son of Zeus from the yearly field destroys the plague of famine. But the blood of death that has once fallen on the ground at a man’s feet—who shall call that back by any means? I answer that Zeus for safety’s sake (i.e. repelling an invasion of his divine prerogative of immortality) put him to death. They had not the art to bring back the dead: and were it not that one god was appointed by the gods to check another fate from going too far, my tongue would have outdone my heart.* (Eth. Εὐθ. 121). *Life is based on the principle of justice, compensation, balance, that each should have his own.*

Hence, too, it is τα ἄμεσα χάριτα, the gifts of good-luck, that excite jealousy, not the good things which are won by toil.

The doctrine of the jealousy of the gods is rephrased as a poetical falsehood? by Aristotle, *Met. 2. 983.*

The things which make human happiness are, according to Solon, adequate endowment of worldly goods, health, beauty of person, prosperous children, and a death in accord with the gods. The enumeration of the elements of happiness is consonant with general Greek feeling. Similar catalogues occur frequently. Thus the list rhymed in the temple of Leto at Delos (Aristotle, *Eth. Εὐθ. 121*), *τὰ ὅταν ἄλλα φυσαλία ζωῆς πᾶσσα, ἔσθε ἀληθεώς χαίραι.*

*Poorer (καλλίστη) in justice, best (λαύστως) is health, and sweetest (μελίσσως) of all to attain what one desires.*

The same order is given in Theogonie, 555 ff. (cf. 594).
Sophocles, frag. 328 f.). A popular *scolion*, or drinking-song, says:  

'Health is best for a mortal man; second, to be fair of body (φρίον καλόν); third, to have wealth without guilt; fourth, to be young with a wife's friends.'

Philenon, frag. 163, gives (1) health, (2) success (τερεσία), (3) joy (χαρά), and (4) to owe no man. Pindar (Pyth. 1. 99 f.) says:

'Success (τερεσία), prudence, prosperity or happiness) is the first of prizes: a fair fame (in acropolis) is the second lot; he who has won both on land and taken them to be his heritage to the dead is the third. (5) See L. 1. 46, Pyth. 1. 101; Aristoph. *Ach. *165; Soph. *Oed.* Col. 141; Thucyd. *Hist.* iii. 110; Herod. *Hist.* 27 f.  

According to Aristotle, happiness is an *ευγένεια* καρά σαρκί. But he admits, in Eth. *Nik.* 1. 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 some things mars happiness—the loss of health, children, beauty. You could not well apply the term “happy” to a man who was utterly ugly, or low-born, or solitary and childless. Again, 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 external goods and happiness. Hence some identify good fortune (ευγένεια) with happiness, others identify happiness with virtue (αρετή). In the *Rhetoric* (l. 5), where happiness is defined more popularly, such 'external' goods as the above are termed *ευγένεια* of the man, and the list is *ευγένεια* καρά σαρκί, χρηστοροφια, πλούσιον, ευτεχεία, πολιτισμόν: the physical excellences, as *εύγενες*, κάλλος, εόρον, μεγάλο, δόμα τούρανος; and δέκα, τιμή, ευγένεια, αρετή.

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

(a) *ευγένεια*, 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 both lineage and wealth, and the list must be citizens (*αρετή*, *αρετή*) in lawful wedlock (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 1. 4 f.; *Dem.* *are*, *Nec.*; Aristoph. *Ach.* 1600 ff.); it implies, further, that the earliest ancestors of the family were famous for virtue or wisdom and 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) *πολιστικία* καί *χρηστοροφιά*, the possession of many good friends, a friend being defined as 'one who, if he consider anything to be good for another, is ready to do it for the other's sake.' (Arist. *Rheth.*, *loc. cit.*). Friendship takes a prominent place in the Greek ideal of life.

'Of all kinds are the best of friends; above all in trouble, but joy also seeks to behold their own happiness.' (Pindar, *Nem.* viii. 12 f.). 'To cast away a good friend I count even as that a man should cast away the life in his own house, he loves most.' (Soph. *Oed.* *Rex*, 611 f.).

We hear of many celebrated friendship-ships—Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pythases, Castor and Pollux. The last is the theme of one of the most beautiful episodes of *Pindar's* poetry.

When Castor, the mortal one of the Twins, is slain, Pollux asks to be allowed to die with him. 'Grant me, O Lord, to die with him! A man's honour is departed when he is rift of his friends, and few there be that are faithful in the day of trouble to share the travail!' (Pindar. *Isth.* *II.* 11; *Isth.* *Ath.* 708, et al.). We learn, of course, of a more extravagant display of friendship: one should always look upon a friend as a possible enemy (Soph. *Ach.* 677 f.; Eurip. *Hippol.* 253 f.).

(c) *αρετή*, wealth.

(d) *ευτεχεία* καί *πολιτισμόν* 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 youths, splendid physically—in stature, beauty, strength, and athletic prowess—splendid morally, the moral qualities desirable in the ideal 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 ('*ϕιλοκληρία* ατείνα πολυκληρία').

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

The importance of having children lies partly in keeping property within the family, since the bitterest thought of the childless man when dying is that his wealth will go to an outsider:

'Even as a child by his wife is longed for by his father who has reached the other side of youth, and greatly heeds his heart, since wealth that falls to an outside alien's keeping is most hateful for a dying man' (Pind. *Isth.* *II.* 41 f.)

particularly in that there will be no one to carry the memorial offerings to the dead (προϊσία). These motives find their consequence in the frequency of adoption (*ευτεχεία*).

(e) *εύγενεια*, a good old age. This is described as 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 the physical excellences and good fortune. It is incompatible with weakness or disease, and a man must have good fortune to live long and remain *εύγενες*. 'It is indeed true that some attain long life without physical excellences.'

(f) The physical excellences: (1) *εύγενες*, health, i.e. freedom from disease, full possession of bodily faculties. Such valetudinarianism is not approved of by the *medicalians* (Plato, *Rep.* iii. 340). It is not desirable, as it means the denial of all, or nearly all, human pleasures. (2) *κάλλος*, beauty. A different kind of beauty is appropriate to different periods of life: the young man must be adapted to courage and strength, and pleasant and delightful to look upon. Hence pentathletes 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 exercises as are inevitable, and his appearance must not be repulsive, i.e. must be free from the disfigurations of age. (3) *αρετή*, strength. (4) *μεγάλο*, stature—but not so as to be unwieldy. (5) *σωφρόνισι*, athlete's courage, steadiness, speed: good running, wrestling, and boxing.

1. Of *Isthm.* 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 holies, none to make annual offerings to him (especially *ευγένεια* and *πολιτισμόν*), but to rob him of his honours. Providing for this, Mnesicles, being master of his property, adopted a son, that he might get these things. But now he is persuaded by these men to rob me of the title of adoption, which is all that is left, and make my adoption by him invalid. But, since the matter has come to you and you have power to dispose of it, help us and not now in the house of Hades and do not, in the name of gods and deities, allow him to be insulted by them' (see, further art. *Atonement* [p. 48]).
LIFE AND DEATH

(Greek and Roman) 29

world, whether in their own persons or in the persons of their descendants:

But whereas some evil, insidious, and forward works, for them bring death of Zeus, for the son of Cronus, as a pleasure, as justice. Yet, sometimes a whole city reaps the recompense of the evil man, who smooths and brings death. On them doth the son of Cronus bring from heaven a grievous visitation, even famine and plague together, and men perish. Their women bear no issue, and the men decay by being of Olympian Zeus; or an he or destroyeth a great host of them, within a wall it may be, or the son of Cronus taketh revenge in the face of the city.

In Republic, 363 A.Ff., Plato discusses this view of justice and its rewards. Goods are classified as of three sorts: (1) those desirable for their own sakes, (2) those desirable for their being useful for their consequences, and (3) those desirable for their consequences alone. Whereas Socrates would place justice in the second of these classes, the many would place it in the third. Popular morality holds 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 passage:

'Still grander are the gifts of heaven which Marsyas and his son (Eumelus) offer to the just; they take men to the world below, where they have the saints lying on couches at a feast, everlastingly drunk, crowned with garlands; their souls seem to be the highest of all, and to have the highest reward of virtue. Some extend their rewards yet further; the posterity, as they say, of that justice, which even in this life shall survive to the third and fourth generation. This is the style in which they praise justice. But about the wicked there is another strain; they bury them in a shape in Hades, and make them carry water in a sieve; also while they are yet living they bring them to towns, and inflict on them punishments which Glaucon described as the portion of the just who are reputed to be unjust; nothing else does their invention supply.'

According to Homeric eschatology, there remains for the dead only a shadowy existence in a dim under world, in dank places which even the gods abhor. This life after death, if it can be called life, holds nothing lovely or desirable: it leads to no 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 passage:

'Still grander are the gifts of heaven which Marsyas and his son (Eumelus) offer to the just; they take men to the world below, where they have the saints lying on couches at a feast, everlastingl

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 Hellenic world when he says:

1. "Now may neither the men of mine be just among men! For it is an ill thing to be just, if the unjust shall have the great goods, though they may bring to pass." Injustice may prevail for a time, but justice is better in the end.)

2. "Too swift are the minds of men to accept a guileful gain in preference to justice, albeit they travel to a bane reckoning (πρεπονητον διψωπ), Priam, J. 139)."

3. "On the other hand, and beginning are alike pleasant if God spares,"

4. "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 Hellenic world when he says:

5. "Whatsoever is sweeter to the gods to avert, better to them, they bear out, and the good goods, and the goods perish together. And in their hands is peace, the most excellent and purest happiness for the way of life. Neither doth Famine ever consort with men who doest smooth, but, as they do, they tend the works that are their care. For them earth beareth much livelihood, and on the banks of the most high beareth acorns, the oaks might see, their bloody sheep are reared with wool; their wives bear children like unto their parents; they flourish with go goods, care with much, but they on the earth bear fruit for them." (Works and Days, 295.)

6. "So even the punishment of the wicked is in this way, when he that doeth evil, and the good shall he be."

7. "Pains express the prevailing view of the Greek as of the Hellenic world when he says:

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9. "So even the punishment of the wicked is in this way, when he that doeth evil, and the good shall he be."
which are among the most striking in the range of Greek literature.

Wealth added to deeds of prowess... is a conspicuous star, a most true light for a man, if he hath that knowledge which makes him come to the: that the holiness minded of the dead-pay straitly here their penance, while the sins done in this kingdom of Zeus one judges under earth, pronouncing doom by ablution, but expiation by night and day: the good enjoy the sun, receiving a life free from toil, vexing not the earth with might of hand, neither the waters of the sea in their own glorious life, but with the behatted of the gods they that rejoiced in keeping their onitha live a tenacious life, while the others are tormented, also to be behold. But whose brains on either side have enduring to refrain their souls utterly from unrighteousness, travel by the Way of Zeus unto the tower of Cronus, and around them of the bliss the Ocean breasts, and flowers and crops are giving, some on the land from gold, others the sweet flocks, with wreaths and garlands whereof they entwine their hands by the true counsel of Rhadamantus, wherein the father Cronus hath as his ready assessor, Cronus, husband of Rea, thrown highest of all. Penteus and Cadmus are numbered among these, and thither his mother brought Achilles, when she had with her prayers persuaded the heart of Zeus (Oth. ii. 367).

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 blamelessly is it saved. Such souls, according to another passage of Pindar (frag. 138), receive a final embodiment as kings and wise men and athletes, and after death become, not indeed gods, but heroes:

"From whom Persephone in the ninth year accepts the atone-
ment of ancient woe, the souls of them she sends back to the upper world. From them spring glorious kings and wise men, swift 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 before he goes beneath the earth: he knows the end of life, he knows its god-given beginning."

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

"Or for the poor, after the home of Hades (fr. 132) all travel to an end which sets free from woe. And the body, indeed, of all goes with mighty Death. But there remains alive a phantom of life: for that alone compass the gods. It sleeps when the limbs are active, but to men asleep in many a dream it reveals the coming judgment of pleasant things and hard.

For the souls of the good there awaits a paradise which is imagined in terms of human bliss:

"For there shines the strength of the sun below while here it is night. And in mandays of red roses it shas, with frankincense and ladan with golden fruits. And some in horses, some in games, some in draughts, some in the lyre they take their pleasure, by them thou nourishest all the fair flower of blessedness. And a fragrance spreads above the lovely place, while they give their mingled all manner of increase in in-farening fires of the altars of the gods (fr. 129)."

"By happy dispensation"! Strange, indeed, would this have sounded to the Homeric hero, and hardly less strange, 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 it would not appear that they had done so very deeply. The general attitude to death continues much the same 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 a καλή κασαράγα, a refuge from evil, a dreamless sleep:

"Would that some late might come, speedy, not over-painful, not with lingering bed, bringing to us the bright light and dark sleep" (Eurh. Agam. 113 ff.)

It does not seem probable that the conception of the life of the deceased in the after world played any determining influence on the average man's conduct of his life.

When one attempts to discuss Roman views of life and death, there occurs at the outset the comparative paucity of genuinely Roman evidence. The general influence of Greek ideas towards life and death pervades the same general frame-

work as we have outlined in the case of Greece; the same conception of the gods; the same recognition of the content of human happiness; the same conception of death as the end and not the beginning; the same belief in the duty of paying solemn offerings (perpetuam) to the dead. When we advance beyond orthodoxy, or look to fancy or philosophic speculations, we find that we are merely encountering Greek ideas in a Roman dress.

Greek and Roman alike believed that the dead in some sense survived, and there was a small relish in the living to make offerings to the dead. But for Roman as for Greek, the after-world was but a dim shadow of the present. There was no lively conviction that it would fare worse in the after-world with the bad than with the good; there was no lively conviction that there was any true after-life at all, certainly no such conviction of an immortal felicity as could prompt to martyrdom or self-sacrifice, or alleviate the horror of bereavement with the hope of a blessed reunion hereafter. When a Roman man died he was at death his beloved daughter Tullia, in the letter of condolence written to him by his friend Servius Sulpicius (ad Fam. iv. 5) the topics of consolation are drawn from practical and secular considerations: that all had duties to perform, the evil to come, and that she has been spared the common lot, not of individuals only, but of cities:

"Ex Asia reddem, cum ab Egesta Megara versus navigarem, copi regions circumcurrent prospere: post me est Egesta, ante me Megara, destra Parnassus, sinistra Thessalia: oppida quodam tempore forentissima fuerunt, nume provincia, eorumque divinis et oculis ensibus. Copi genere auctor vero Numa, qui, si quos nostrum intercit ita essent, quemvis vita brevis esse debet, cum uno hoc bove spectaculorum cavat authores uerba postrema, quas tu, Serri, colibere et inimmisimis hominem esse naturam?"

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

Nothing, perhaps, in the consideration of the conception of life and death is more significant than the universal horror and aversion to the notion of suicide. The general feeling both in Greece and Rome seems to have been one of pity for the suicide rather than condemnation. Thus, e.g., Pindar, who three times refers to the suicide of Ajax, in no case hints at any wickedness in the act, nor does Sophocles in the case of Eteocles. And the fact that Aristotle, in his Πίνακος (1533 = 31 f.), and other writers noted that suicide was condemned by the Thebans points clearly to a different attitude on the part of the Greeks in general. Naturally the Orphic-Pythagorean school, insisting on the reality of a true existence conditioned by the life of the present existence, condemned suicide. In the Phaedo of Plato, Plato says that the good man will desire to be dead in order to free his soul from the enervating 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 (κακός Ευπορια), and he proceeds to refer to a 'secret doctrine' (τα δωδέκα μηνυτας Λεγειας) that man is here 'in a sort of prison' (τοι τε φαραος) from which he has no right to free himself or run away' (cf. Cicero, De fin. 294, 293 C. Gracil. F. C. 226, 231 C. Garg. 493 A.). Macrobius (Comm. in Somn. Scip. i. 13) tells us that Plotinus objected to suicide on two grounds: (1) it implies a perturbed state of mind at the moment of dis-
solution; (2) it is a step which, once taken, is irretrievable. On the other hand, in the Laws, 854 C, Plato recognizes that in certain circum-

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 'go and perform expiatory, go as a suppliant to the temples of the gods who aver, go to the society of those who are called good men amongst you; hear them tell, and yourself try to be a man amongst them.' And, if you honour the nation and the state; fly from the company of the wicked—fly and turn not back; and if your disease is lighted by these recommendations, go not; but if God should, then acknowledge death to be nobler than life, and depart hence.'

Similarly Cicero, de Offic. i. 31, holds that in the same circumstances suicide is for one man a duty, for another an evil. And, not (Gnm), Cicero was one who considered suicide as an evil. And, in the same connection, Cicero, de Offic. i. 31, says, 'One man is best—to fight for one's country.' (II. xii. 243). So in Rome Cesar, while holding the office of Quintus Maximus, delivered himself in the Senate of the doctrine that after death there was no place either for trouble or for joy: 'In hast acque miseris mortem summanum requiem, non currus care, caret utam si visutum furem ulna necque carum gandio teneam casso' (Nal. Catull. II.

So widely divorced, indeed, was outward practice from inward belief that Cicero, 'wondered how, when one soothsayer met another, he could help laughing' (Cicero, de Div. ii. 52). 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: 'Id spero vivis noster. Quamquam tempus est non domesticus, ut inper spem lactam, non de hac exspect vita cognitae' (ad Att. x. 8).

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


LIFE AND DEATH (Hebrew).—There are two words which in the English OT are very often translated 'life': nephesh and haggain. Nephesh is a concrete entity, resident in the body, which, if scarcely coming within the range of man's senses, is at any rate thinkable. It is a psychical something, endowed with many attributes, or some other is the chief, though it may also have others, physical and psychical. Haggain represents life abstractly, as a state or condition—vitality, mental and moral activity.

1. Nephesh.—Of psychology has always been a crucial and often desired (as Franz Delitzsch) to form a 'system' of Biblical psychology. They have too often expected to find everywhere the same grade of civilization and the same type of approach and methods and that are very often desired (as Franz Delitzsch) to form a 'system' of Biblical psychology. They have too often expected to find everywhere the same grade of civilization and the same type of approach and methods and have not (until recently) allowed for primitive, ethnic modes of conception. The word nephesh is found in all Semitic languages, in much the same 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 organs of revelation, have survived in occasional metaphors or modes of speech.

There were three ways in which the phenomena of life were regarded by early man: (1) objectively, 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 upon by forces from 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 of nephesh is often defined as the inner principle of life. The vague term 'principle,' however, is much too modern. Early man personalized all our abstractions. The cause of breathing to him—and thus the cause of life—was a living spirit or soul, the breath of the flesh, the breath-soul, which Semites called the nephesh, i.e. a semi-physical, semi-spiritual something, a potent reality, not to be identified with the breath, but the occult cause of the breathing; and, when it left the body for a considerable time, death was the result. To die, or 'yield up the ghost,' is to 'breath out the nephesh' (der 's 69). When Rachel was dying and gave a name to her infant son, 'her nephesh was departing' (Gen. 35). When Elijah prayed for the recovery of the Shunammite's son, he stretched himself on the child and the child's nephesh came into him again (1 K 17). When the Psalmist is sinking in a morass and in danger of drowning, he cries, 'Save me, for thy waters are come in even unto my soul' (Ps 69).

(b) The second startling phenomenon of life was the pulse, and the beat of the heart, which ceased when the blood was shed, in battle or in any other way. The occult cause of the heart-beat was conceived to be another nephesh—the breath-soul, resident in the blood; and, when the blood was shed, the nephesh was released. The shedding of blood received much scrutiny and thought in connexion with sacrifice, and the Hebrew priests assigned the efficacy of sacrifice to the breath-soul. This is most accurately expressed in Lx 17, 'The nephesh of the flesh is in the blood. . . . The blood
maketh atonement by reason of the nephesh,' more laxly in Dt 12:2, 'The blood is the nephesh.' This is the customary Hebrew word for the soul or its organs. The root of nephesh is used in the phrase (so Kn., Kalk), 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, from which the nephesh had not been allowed to escape, one was eating the nephesh, and this is strongly forbidden in the words: 'But flesh with the nephesh... shall ye not eat' (Gen 9:3; cf. Dt 12:2).

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

It was a very general belief in old times that a nephesh might go out from its abode without causing some considerable time. What is to us poetry and metaphor was in the hoary past often accepted as solid fact, as, e.g., when we read of Jacob in Gn 44:8, 'His life (nephesh) is bound up with the lad's nephesh'; and of Jonathan in 1 Sam 20:31, 'his nephesh with the nephesh of David.' In the statement that the soul of Shechem clave to Dinah (Gen 34) we have reference to the primitive belief that in love (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 perii to 'putting one's soul in one's hand' (Job 13:14; Jg 12:2, 1 Sam 18:28, Ps 119:19).

The consequences of the temporary departure of a nephesh might be injurious death or dismemberment, sickness, or dotage (Tylor, Pr. 665). There seems to be an allusion to this in the words of Saul in 2 Sam 2, if, with Graetz, we may alter the difficult, if not impossible, words 79:52 into 79:53. Saul, however, is bleeding to death, and his words would then be: 'Giddiness hath taken hold of me, for my nephesh is no longer in me.' We have a similar underlying belief in the phrase which we use metaphorically: 'I have poured out my soul,' as Hannah said to Eli (1 Sam 1:13); as Job also says: 'My soul is poured out upon me' (36:30); and as is said of the righteous servant: 'He poured out his soul unto death' (Is 53:12). In the first two cases the result is extreme prostration of mind and body, and in the third case death. It is the voluntary surrender of life.

The blood-soul may be 'smitten' when a wound inflicted causes bloodshed (Gen 37:25; Dt 19:11); or this nephesh may be 'shun' in unintentional homicide (Num 31:32-35), or in murder (2 Sam 4); while in Dt 27:25 a curse is pronounced on one who should accept a bribe 'to slay a nephesh of innocent blood.' The Hebrews were forbidden to make 'an incision to thy nephesh' in order to lose the nephesh of blood (1 Kin 19:6).

(2) The subjective method.—It is quite certain that men practised observance long before they practised introspection. When man habituated himself to turn his thoughts within, he became conscious of himself as a unity; the various organs ceased to be centres of activity. Thus came an assemblage of vital organs, as observation led him to suppose, and these were his organs or the nephesh. He was a unity, an organism; and the mysterious cause of his internal activities was his nephesh, his soul, the cause of his energies and emotions. Thus the nephesh in this sense is the seat of appetites such as hunger (Lu 1:15) and thirst (Is 29:9), and also of the outgoings of life in desires, longings, and wishes (1 Sam 31:27, 2 Sam 3:3). It is also the centre of all sensibilities, as disgust (Num 11:1), weariness (Job 14:19), love (Gen 44:31), hatred (2 Sam 17), wrath (Jer 18:8), and sorrow (Jer 13:15); but in all these and similar cases nephesh approaches the meaning of our word 'soul' (g.v.), and is so rendered.

Most ancient peoples believed that the souls of the departed lingered some days near the corpse; and, while some peoples had no dread of the departing spirit, others, including the Hebrews, had a great terror as to the mischief it might effect; and their holiest funeral practices were designed to scare the spirit away. We have indications of this belief in the lingering of a soul in the fact that a Nazirite is forbidden during his vow to come near the nephesh of a dead man (Num 6): a man rendered unclean through uncleanness, by the Passover at the statutory time, but might eat it a month later (Deut 14:11). Indeed, any one, male or female, who was unclean by a nephesh must go and remain outside the camp until purified (5:3), and a high priest was forbidden at any time to enter a room where the nephesh of a dead person was at large (Lev 21:11).

Eventually, after or before the funeral, the soul was believed to pass into Sheol, and to be gathered into its father's arms (2 Sam 12:23). But the dead were not as a rule allowed to eat for a week the food intended for wraiths or ghosts, rephitim, but nephesh is also used of the soul as a disembodied psychical entity. 'Gather not my soul with the wicked,' the Psalmist prays (38:11); 'Thou wilt not abandon my soul to Sheol,' says another (16:10); 'He hath delivered my soul from Sheol,' says a third (80:7; so Job 33:25-26, Is 38:7). By this time the nephesh has become the man's self, his personality.

(3) The objective-subjective method.—Man believed himself to be the centre of all personal influences from other spirits, or from one great Spirit, God. When the influence was gentle, he conceived of it as 'breath' (neshamah); and when it was violent he spoke of it as a 'wind' (ruakh), partly, no doubt, in connection with excitement. The stronger emotions of man were traced to the ruakh, or spirit of man, while the gentler emotions and the inspirations from the Divine were due to the action of the Divine neshamah or the human ruakh. See Spirit.

2. Ḥayyim.—Ḥayyim is a plural form, for which no singular is extant (the root is נוחן, 'to live'). It is an intensive plural, denoting diversity in unity. As the plural form Elohim seems to express the conception of one God with many manifestations, so ḥayyim 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 our purpose to deploy.

(1) Physical life.—Ḥayyim 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 various activities; thus we read of 'the days of one's life' (Deut 4:1; 1 Sam 18:1); 'the years of one's life' (Gen 23, Ex 6:2), and 'the days of the years of one's life' (Gen 25:47); (b) in relation to its antiquity, physical death (Job 29, Jer 22, Ps 89); and (c) in relation to the events

1 OT and NT Theology, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1888, p. 135.

which occur in one's lifetime, or are the outcome of one's energies or activities, as marriage (Lv 18:19), deeds of valour (Jg 16:20), singing God's praises (Ps 104:1), sensual enjoyment (Ec 2:11). They were hated and beautiful in Life (Ps 37:4). "My soul is weary of life!" (Job 10:21): "Preserve my life from the fear of the enemy!" (Ps 64:1).

The remarkable thing as to the Hebrew usage of hayyim is the clear conviction that 'life' is something more than a mere continuity of physical existence. There is a clear recognition of the dignity of man—that man was not meant to live the life of an animal or a life of sense gratification. Such a life is unworthy of so dignified a creature as man is. As the period 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 'work': (a) the acceptance of a man's word or order; (b) the abundance of the good things that he possesses—the objective regard; (c) man's life consists in what he is, his character—the subjective regard; and (d) man's life consists in his relation to the Divine, to communion with the Divine—the subjective regard. In passing through this development, Israel was subconsciously discussing the problem of man and his life. What is man's life? Wherein does man's true life consist? And his three answers were: (a) happiness, (b) goodness of character, and (c) fellowship with God.

(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. Similarly, Ezekiel in the OT, Psalms, speaking of the promises of God, says: 'By these things men live, and wholly therein is the life of my spirit.' (Is 58:11); and in 55 the Lord calls men through His prophet, saying: 'Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live.'

1 AT Theology, p. 400.
and to enter on the new Kingdom, in which God's presence will be much more real and evident (48); to go forth on his errand in the crisis and to be excluded from the Kingdom.


LIFE AND DEATH (Indian).—The earliest Aryans to enter India worshipped a vast number of petty spirits, but they learned, rather later, to revere a number of the greater phenomena of nature, and also had much stress on the worship of their ancestors. This ritual formed the foundation on which all the institutions of the Aryan family were built, though it may well be that the religious belief had its own ultimate origin in the natural organization of the family. At all events, the belief in the pious ancestors profoundly modified that organization. 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 divided into the two great divisions, the Vedas, described the importance of bringing the dead to a happy afterlife. In fact, the Veda deals with the idea of transmigration, and rebirth. 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 births came from the aborigines, that is but one element in the complex doctrine. That which gave the belief its power is the intellect, and also its value for the moral life, was the conviction that man possesses a soul which cannot be destroyed. There are probably totemistic clans who believed that death a man became, like his totem, a tiger, an oak, a cloud, or a wolf.

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The Vedas and Brāhmanas.—In the Rigveda the conceptions of death are not entirely consistent, but the principal belief relating to the ajita bhāga, 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 search to consume the departed, not to tear asunder his skin or limbs, but, after the flames had done their work, to convey to the fathers or ancestors the mortal which had been consumed. His eye was hidden to go to the sun, his breath to the wind, and so on. As for his unborn part, Agni was supposed to kindle it with his heat and flame, and, assuming its most suspicious form, to convey it to the world of the righteous, from where it can complete its course from earth to the third heaven, however, it has to traverse a vast gulf of darkness. Leaving behind on earth all that is evil and impure, and present itself, by the grace of the father's tool, to the spirit, invested with a bālia like that of the gods, soars to the realms of eternal light in a car or on wings, on the undecaying pinions wherewith Agni slays the Raksasas, waiteth upwards by the Maruts, recovered to a perfect body in a complete and glorified form, meets with the ancestors who are living in festivity with Yama, obtains from him, when recognized as one of his own, a delectable abode, and enters upon a more perfect life.

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

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

In the "Pārītrīvā Bṛhatmāna" the souls of the deceased are said to dwell in the heavens above stars, and again in the stars are the lights of those righteous men on the earth.

In the "Satyapatha Brāhmana" death is the sun whose rays attack to mortals their life breath, yet, as the "Katha Upaniṣad" declares: "No mortal lives but the sun goes up and the breath that goes down. We live by another in whom these two reside." There was something which went out of man in sleep and death; something underlying the ego, the I, the vital breath, more subtle than life. In the "Rig Veda," the sun, though it holds the life breath of mortals, is something more. It is the Self, or the Atman, of all that moves and moves not, of all that fills the heavens and the earth. So it was there is also the Atman, "the Self, smaller than small, greater than great, hidden in the heart of that creature." A man who is free from desires and free from grief sees the majesty of the Self by the grace of the Creator. It is this Atman, or Self, more abstract in its conception than soul, psyche, or "ātman," that becomes also the Universal Soul, the Self of the World, "bhūmiḥātman," of which the Veda speaks: "When that which had no bones bore him who has bones, when that which was formless took shape and form," the Indian says had first to sweep away all that had been produced, even the gods themselves, and to his gaze there remained but the nearer essence, Brahman, from which all things issued forth, and into which all things resolve themselves. There remained also the Self, the Soul, the Atman of man. There was but one step further to be reached by the Indian mind, and that was when all duality vanished, and the Brahman became the Great Soul, the eternal and immaterial Self, into which was merged the Atman, or Self, of man.

In other words, the Hindu conception of the soul approached that of the modern monists (see further, art. ĀTĀMAN).

1. Rigveda, x. xvi. 1-5.
4. Bṛhadāraṇyāk Upaniṣad, iv. 4. 5; also see III. vii. 14-22.
5. In the Upaniṣads the soul was supposed to exist inside each human body and to be the one sufficient explanation of life and motion. In the living body it dwells ordinarily in a cavity in the heart, and is of the size of a grain of rice or barley. In later speculation it grows to the size of a thumb and is, therefore, called the "dwar." 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 ether; heat and no heat; desire and no desire; anger and no anger; love and no love. In other words, the soul was conceived as material, although it also possessed selected mental qualities. It could quit the body in dream sleep, and certain diseases were supposed to have this effect on it. In death the soul leaves the body and enters the kingdom of after-life.
to be due to its having escaped from the body, so
that charm and life is not to be done or living its body.
In a sense passes 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, to the transmutation of the soul, from
the ether into the air, from that into the rain;
by the earth, from it into plants which become food to
mammals, whence they pass into females. At an ordinary man's death the top part
of the heart is lighted up, and the soul, guided by
that light, departs from the heart into the eye.
and through it into some other body, exalted or
not according to deeds done in the body which it
is leaving. The soul of the man whose cravings
have ceased goes to Brahma. The Eyonisals are
almost unanimous that the soul will not obtain release from re-birth either by sacrifice or by
penance.  

Jainism.—The philosophy of Jainism, probably
the oldest living Indian creed, defines the universe
as not created and not controlled by any individual
god. As substance it is without beginning and
without end, but it is not homogeneous, since it
consists of substance (dravya), which is either jiva,
'alive', or ajiva, which may be translated 'in-
occluded', i.e., that which is not living. Jiva are
divided into three main classes: (1) living, viz.
matter, space, the two others, and (figuratively) time;
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4. Buddhism.—Buddhism, as an organized creed,
had 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.

5. Medieval.—Three or four centuries before
the Christian era a religion with Vaisudeva as its
central figure and a school of its followers as
Bhagavata was founded in India. According
to the Mahabharata, the sun is the god of the
tree of life, out of which all their material impurities being burnt, remain as atoms
in him (it); then, released from him, they enter the Aniruddha (self-consciousness) form, and,
becoming mind, they enter the Brahman (form). Leaving this, earth, water, fire, and wind,
is possessed of life. In other words, the Jain
philosophy is pure animism. Jiva is sometimes
translated 'living being' and sometimes 'soul,' yet
it is not one individual universal world-soul, but
is mass of mutually exclusive, individual souls, and
every soul having attained its highest state (moksa)
is styled parama-jiva, or 'great soul,' a term only
very roughly translatable by the word 'god.'
Jainism thus fails to draw any definite distinction
between body and the soul. Dravya may be
defined from several points of view. From
the standpoint of its own unchanging nature it is
that which ever exists. For example, the soul now
embodied as a cat may in its next life be incarnated
as a dog, man, insect, or what not, yet remain, in
spite of all these changes, the same individual soul
all the time; and, thus, while the body is merely
a vast multitude of cells which come and go, the soul is a homogeneous substance which
maintains its identity, and which is always
2 ib. p. 555.
3 T. W. Rhys Davids, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of
Religion as illustrated by some Points in the History of Bud-
dhism, London, 1891, p. 81; cf. Appendix vi, for parallel beliefs
on souls going to the moon.
LIFE AND DEATH (Indian)

creation (Samudra) is compared to a pipal-tree, which is to be cut by the weapon of indifference or detachment. When a soul departs from a body it takes away the indriyas (senses), of which avanishh (herb) is the sixth, and brings them in when it assumes another body. The soul itself is a part of Bhagvat and is eternal. By becoming somi (hemp) Bhagvat raises all herbs. By becoming fire he aids digestion. There are two souls in the world, one changeable, the other constant, and besides these there is another, the highest or Paramatman, who, as the unchangeable lord, supports all three worlds after entering 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 older doctrines current in India regarding life and death are reflected in the countless beliefs now existing, but through all the bewildering variations which prevail a few dominant conceptions can generally be traced, and a remote and savage tribe will be found professing a creed which is based on the fundamental beliefs of orthodox Hinduism. Even the regular terminology will reappear in forms more or less mutilated. So numerous are these beliefs that only a few of them can be given.

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

How far this and similar beliefs account for the reluctance to cremate young children does not appear. Both these of dying after infancy or early childhood are very widely believed to pass into another world, at least for a term. Thus in the Panjab the Kansuts of the Kulu valley sometimes after a cremation make a small foot-bridge over running water in the neighbourhood to help the passing of the soul of the deceased.2 Yet the same people practice 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 ones (siddha), and saints, of dutiful widows who have committed sati, and soon. 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 castes, the Doms, and even the lower classes of Brahmans, the Khals Brahmins and Rajputs—indeed, the bulk of the population—believe in the powers of the malevolent or vindictive dead. Thus, if a man has two wives and drives one to suicide, any disease afflicting the other wife’s children is ascribed to her ghost, which must be propitiated, and gradually comes to be treated as a god. If a man is killed in a quarrel, every one who takes part in killing his slayer or his children is ascribed to the ghost.

There is reason to believe that the emotion caused by the dread of the effects of karma is much stronger in the plains. In particular dying in debt is dreaded as theuo3 debtor will, it is believed, be reborn as the ox or pony of his creditor. If a man's son dies it is believed that he was his father’s creditor in a former life, and the debt being now extinguished there is no necessity of his further life. The latter belief is said to provide a great consolation since the death of an ordinary son is a much more serious matter.

The certainty of the operation of karma is not without considerable effect on practical morality.3 It is automatic, so that specific condemnation by Parinicaya (Godd) of any sin is hardly required. Similarly, the idea of forgiveness is absolutely wanting; evil done may be outweighed by meritorious deeds only so far as to ensure a better existence in the future, but it is not effaced, and must be atoned for. As to the objection raised to the theory of transmigration—that it does not follow from that the soul remembers previous existences—such a consciousness is recognized in the case of great ascetics; and even among the degraded position knows that the reason for this 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 over his heart. Next morning they will be found marked with human footprints, claws, exuviae lines, and so on, according as 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 difference 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 for ever 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 transmigratory, is extremely common in India, and may, indeed, be described as the most popular. Thus a woman 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 Divali, 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.3 As in other ritual murders, it is desirable to kill the child with as much pain as possible. And during the śraddha, the ancestral fortnight, when the sun is in Virgo (Kanya), occurs the Kanaganā bāyaa, or ‘fighting in Kanyakā,7 also termed śraśa pāvam (‘sharing with others’), in which women of great Hinduaste, even Khatris and Brahmas, of the Central Provinces. On the first day of the śraddha, the goddess Lakṣumāni’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, reviling on the way

1 Census Rep. United Provinces, 1901, I. 77. 2 Ib. p. 75. 3 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 to pieces, but men must not interfere. The belief is that by cursing the sons of others the female attracts the male souls to herself through the intermediary of the dead. 'Wicked' life 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 make one's own life wretched. Life is lived by day regular fights take place between large gangs of women on their way to the river, and the affair is treated as a festival.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the footnotes.

LIFE AND DEATH (Iranian).—With their marked tendency towards optimism, the Iranians loved life (angiu, grava, jdtta, jti, iiitia) and abhorred death (ufikia, mojlevia); the one is the creation of Ahura Mazda (Ys. xxx. 4), who has been at variance since 'the beginning of life' (Ys. xlv. 2). Not only was life first created by Ahura Mazda (Ys. xlii. 5, xliii. 5), but it only did give life to the body (Ys. xxx. 11), so that Zarathustra asks him how the 'first [i.e. the earthly] life' is to be (Ys. xxviii. 11; cf. xxxii. 1), but he is 'the lord of the deeds of life' (Ys. xxx. 8), and from hence come the 'living' (Ys. xxxi. 19; cf. xxxiii. 14). The Amesha Spentas (q.v.) give aid to the life of man (Ys. xxx. 7), so that Zarathustra fittingly presents the 'life of his own body' as a 'holy offering' (stria) to Ahura Mazda and Asa (Ys. xxxiii. 19). On the other hand, the demon Wrath (Ashna) 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 beyond. For this reason Zarathustra asks from Voihn Manazd and Asa the 'words of life' (avti avangia), while the 'right ways of works' (rrtovac watucv) are to be learned from the religious teacher in the present life (Ys. xlv. 8, xxxiii. 13).

If life on earth is the 'first life,' the 'second life' is in heaven, and that life the 'dreamer' (the 'man of the dream', 'man of the life') who 'looks down' on the devil's side in human life (J. H. Monlont, Early Zoroastrianism, London, 1913, pp. 136, 137) seeks to destroy (Ys. xlv. 1, xxxi. 11, lii. 6). Heaven is the place of 'long life' (Ys. xlii. 2, 13). Most significant of all is the presence of the Amesha Spentas, of the godling Immortality, Amertat (Ys. xlv. 17, xlv. 5, 10, xlvii. 1, lii. 7), for in heaven life is to be for eternity (Ys. xlv. 7).

When we turn to the Younger Avesta, we find the outlook upon life much changed. Long life in this world is a blessing and an object of prayer (Ys. lixii. 11; Afrinokian, i. 18), while both Ahura Mazda and the Gathas are honoured with life and body (Ys. v. 3, li. 1; cf. liii. 3). Life is twofold: 'this' or the corporeal (lit. 'incorporeal', and 'the spiritual' (ahmndia ahyi manahyata). Ys. xl. 2, xli. 6; wcnigia ... wcnigia ... ahvca angui-vd ... auuca angivi-yd ... auuuca angivi-yd. Ys. lii. 25), so that prayer is made to Ahura Mazda to be 'life and corporeality for both lives,' (aoyeiz aoyeiz-tosca ... aoyeiz aoyeiz. Ys. xlii. 3). The 'best life' (eystiia ahyi, Ys. xix. 19, and often) is actually a synonym for 'heaven,' as the 'worst life' (acirviia ahyi, e.g. Vend. liii. 5) is for 'hell,' and this conception of life is in the main Persian term to 'heaven,' bhiSt.

The 'best of the best life' is the 'righteousness of Ahura' (Vend. xviii. 6) and in the time of the final Saohshyan, Avesta-era, men will live for ever, for there shall be no more death (Ys. xix. 59), even as was the case in the happy days of Yima's reign (Ys. ix. 5; Ys. xix. 35; Vend. ii. 5).

In the Gathas death is seldom mentioned. The whole stress of Zarathustra's life is on life devoted to overcoming the powers of evil and gaining the eternal joys of heaven. Even the wicked do not die; they are damned to the everlasting torments of hell (Ys. xlv. 7, xliii. 11). In the Younger Avesta, on the contrary, death is an important feature. We need not detail the corruption wrought by the 'corpse demon' (Nasa; cf. Gr. niea, 'corpse'), which forms the main theme of Vend. v-xii. (see also art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Tarsi]), and we need only mention that a standing epithet of Haoma (q.v.) is umon (from whom destruction especially death) remains afar,' Ys. ix. 5, 19, x. 21, xi. 3, 10, xxxii. 14 (on the latter passage see Monlont, 71 f., 338). Death is one of the sins (Ys. liii. 7-12; cf. xxx. 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. liiv. 15). 'Life' here probably being meant in the eschatological sense, for we have learned that the blessed future there will be no death, but in this present world only the wicked forget death; the man of piety prepares for it (Awend, 32 f.), for it is inevitable (Ys. xxxii. 25 f.).

According to the Pahlavi tradition the 'Yima Mainia-ya Xrst' (viii. 20), which is not strictly orthodox, being markedly fatalistic in tone (cf. art. FATE [Iranian]), the seven planets 'pervert every creature and creation, and destroy the men and the devils up to death and every evil.' According to the Bundahiism (Ys. xix. 20 ff.), the creatures of Ahiran 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 Sarmatic source, being to the tree Gokart (the Gokeraena of Ys. i. 30, Vend. xx. 4, etc.), or white Hon, which is the 'counteractor of decrepitude, the reviver of the dead, and the immortalizer of the living' (Sectio- nes of Zet-Sarmatic, and those who take the zodavorast, is obtained one of the components of the food which will give immortality to all Bundahiism, xxx. 25; cf. ix. 6, xvii. 1, and see F. Windischmann, zur Studien, Berlin, 1863, pp. 106, 235; F. S. Spence, Anewerterbuch, Leipzig, 1871-78, i. 464 f.).

LITERATURE. —The principal references are given by C. Bartholmeae, Aitiora, Wörterbuch, Strassburg, 1896, etc. Anghas, Gaya,' Jhaya, Jhaya, Yasnavi, Mahavri, Mezestav, Pouramadari, 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', 'breath'; and i-no-chi, the expression for life and vitality, is believed to mean ski-no-nuchi, 'during breathing,' or ski-no-guchi, 'the way of respiration.' Similarly, the word for 'to die,' shina, seems to mean ski-inu, 'the wind goes' (a derivation of the word from sugi-inu, 'to pass away,' is disputable). These very ancient words are still in common use, though the people think little of their etymology.

The mythology opens with the primal power of production. Three deities are said to have sprung out of the primeval chaos. One of these is the Eternal-Ruling (Ame-no-mikana-mushi), and the
Life is coeval with breathing, but vitality endures longer and acts beyond bound.
The source of vitality, is considered to be a thing precious and mysterious like a jewel or ball. It is called *tama* or *tama-shiki*, 'subtle aerial ball'. But it is not always a unity or a homogeneous whole, for double manifested that this is divided and are spoken of. They are either *nigi-tama* and *arata-tama* or *seki-nitama* and *kushi-nitama*. The *nigi*, 'nicky', 'quiet', 'refined', is contrasted with the *arata*, which is 'wild', 'raging', 'raw'. Similarly, *seki* 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 soul, aerial and terrestrial, or of the two principles, positive and negative, is uncertain.

The soul is sometimes personified as, e.g., Uga-no-mitama, the spirit of vegetable production, or as *Iki-kuni-tama*, the living-hand-soul. In post-Chinese ages the souls of men, if not gods, are more in vogue. They appear in human form, but they are distinguished from human souls, being specially named the *sci*, or 'essence'. The double souls were almost forgotten, having been overshadowed by Buddhist ideas, and they were revived by the Shintoists of the 18th 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. Yomotsu-kuni, mentioned above, is the opposite pole. Besides these, there are two worlds beyond this, Hi-no-waka-miya ('Solar Young Palace') and Taku-vo ('Eternal World').

The former is mentioned only as the abode of the Male-Who-Invites, and it is sometimes explained as meaning the shrine marking the place of burial. The latter meant any place beyond the sea. Moreover of those who hides himself, or a human being, when he dies, is destined to be born in one of these worlds beyond. Nothing definite or detailed is told of these conditions. A definite systematization of the eschatology, after the models of Buddhist ideas, was made only by the later Shintoists.

The Japanese remained in rather primitive conditions as to the conceptions of life and death, until Buddhism introduced an elaborate system of ideas in the 6th cent. A.D. Contact with the civilization of the Asiatic continent and the importation of Confucianism with its writings may have influenced Japanese ideas in some respects, as pointed out above. But these influences did not materially change the ideas, because Confucianism was not particular in such matters. On the other hand, the Buddhist influence upon the people of the East consisted chiefly in its elaborate eschatological doctrines. It taught the composite nature of human life, made up of the five components (akshara), in order to convince the people of its impermanency. Life, thus made up, is only a knot in a long chain of causation, of deeds and their fruits (karma), which stretches out endlessly before and after.

Along this chain of knots have passed through all possible forms of existence, and will continue to transmigrate further on. There are five or six courses (gotu) of transmigration, ranging from the highest heaven of pleasurable life to the nethermost inferno; and these are again classified accord-
ing to the three conditions of existence (bhavas), which are subdivided 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, and is compelled to live in that condition. The Túśitá heaven of Maitreya and the Sukháváti of Amítábha were the most popular Buddha-lands (káśyapas) in the Buddhism brought to the East. There the soul, no longer subject to causation and transmigration, will 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 kármaka 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 tribute to their simplicity, but the change and widening of thought are undeniable.

Steadi ly progressive Buddhist influence, first among the higher classes and then among the lower, gradually superseded the old national ideas as well as the Confucianist conceptions of life and death. The romances, stories, and lyrical poems of the 10th cent. and later abound in ideas of kármaka, transmigration, and birth in Buddha-lands. These ideas, becomes an ideal 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 names, whom the words of these are used in daily affairs, consciously or unconsciously.

Nevertheless, the native ideas have never died out, and 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 involved as the Great Divinity (O-hi-mi-kami) or the August Heavenly Way (O-tentó-sama), and is worshipped every morning by some, or on New Year's morning and at sunset on the equinoxes by the majority. They breathe the facing sun, meaning to inhale thereby the vital essence (yóki) emanating from it. At the same time prayers, either Shintóist or Buddhist, are uttered. The power opposing life is darkness, which, however, may not merely absence of light, but an evil power or pollution (kármaka or yóki), the cause of ills and death.

This belief in the sun as the life-giver is certainly a survival of that in the Prospecting-Divinity, who follows the Heaven-Shining goddess as her nom enon. The ideas and practices have been influenced by the Buddhist cult of Vairochana (the Great Illuminator) and also by the Confucian dualism of the yin and yang, but we can see here a tendence to the primitive beliefs. These ideas have been systematized in recent times into a cult by some Shintó reformers. One section of Buddhists favours this cult, while the other disregards it, though without opposing it. To the former belong the Shingon sect, the most Hindúistic form of Buddhism, which has tried to amalgamate Shintó, and the Nichiren sect, the most Japaneseized Buddhism. To the latter category belong the Jodo and the Shin sects, the Buddhist Paulists and Puritans, 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

**Shintó.** Kármaka 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 merit or demerit, and some of the folds of the sects. Among the educated classes and educational circles agnostic-doctrine, so common to the Japanese mind and to Confucianists in this connexion, is a recognized principle. Young Buddhists, who are now eagerly engaged in reconquering their faith in Buddhism, are not strict in the doctrines of kármaka and transmigration.


M. ANESAKI.

**LIFE AND DEATH (Jewish).—Optimism is the keynote of post-Biblical Judaism. Everything that God does is for the best (Barakah, 69b), and this life is essentially good, to be contemplated with joy and gratitude. 'For every breath that a man draws, says the Rabbis, 'let him praise God' (Midr. Rab. to Gen. 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 higher aspect of it. At death a man loses the opportunity of obeying the Torah and the Commandments (Shabb. 59b). 'Morality,' says M. Lazarus, summing up the teaching of Judaism on this subject, 'is man's vocation (Ethics of Judaism, § 189), and the Rabbinical legend tells of God's saying at Sinai: 'If Israel accept not the Commandments, it is better that the earth revert to chaos' (Shab. 58a).

The work,' says the Rabbis elsewhere, 'stands upon three pillars: the Torah, the Life of Peace, and the Divine Power (Abot, 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 secure 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 Lv. 24). The supreme hope of the believers is the Kingdom of God established on earth, and thus, in a notable passage of the Liturgy for the New Year Festival, he prays:

> Put Thy fear, O Lord God, we beseech Thee, upon all Thy works, so that all mankind may know before Thee one hand united to do Thy will with a perfect heart; for we know, O Lord, that dominion is Thine, and that strength is in Thee right hand. And so give glory, O Lord, unto Thy dominion; and hope to those that fear Thee, and the opening of the mouth to those that trust in Thee. For then the righteous shall see and be 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 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 his dominion ruleth over all (Cf. Sir 3:1-9).

But, though the true life is the life of service, it must be glad service, for 'the view of life taught by Judaism is serious, but cheerful' (Lazurus, § 256). The Shékoltó, the Divine Preserver, says the Talmud, does not come in response either to grief or to levity, but to glad performance of duty (Shab. 306). This is the essence of Jewish doctrine on the subject; neither asceticism nor hedonism, but joy springing from a religious idea, is the characteristic Jewish temper.

'There should be no unrestrained laughter in this world' (Ber. 56a). The history of Israel, with all its tragedy, is sufficient to forbid such mirth; and the devout Jew denies himself and his pleasures in memory of 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 conformable. On the other hand, the ascetic idea is alien to the true Jewish spirit. In Judaism, desire, 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 burden. '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. Thallim, ed. S. Buber, Wilna, 1891, to I's 87'). But indulgence of these lower instincts must not be allowed to carry its own weight, for as they yield, it but the desire to promote the Divine purpose for which they were created. That indulgence is a duty, but a religious duty.

Thus the Rabbinical law, following the general rule laid down in Gen. 3:15, prescribes a number of prayers to be recited by the Jew on indulging in various pleasures more or less sensuous in character—on partaking, e.g., of various kinds of food, on inhaling the fumes of incense, on inhaling a rainbow, on taking possession of a new house, and on wearing new clothes for the first time. By such means physical gratification, while sanctioned, is also cancelled. The tendency to self-indulgence is not rebuked, but restrained; natural desires are transformed into higher, and purified by dignity and self-restraint. At the same time the laws to prevent against various forms of excess in life are given as an integral part of the ethical code (e.g., Lev. 19:37). In Judaism the life of the individual is primarily an act of service to God, and the law was especially composed for that purpose. The length of a man's life is valued by Judaism, and death is not for Jews a penalty, but an act of man as a whole, a duty (Midr. Thallim to Ps 90); 'if thou desirest life, hope for affliction' (ib. to Ps 104). Such utterances betoken not a worship of sorrow, but a recognition of its disciplinary power, as well as its value for the character of the individual and the life of the people. Judaism sees no merit in suffering, but only in the right bearing of it; and between its teachings and the ideas of the self-mortifying Hindu there is an impassable gulf. Suicide is a crime, and its condemnation is in the words of the Talmud (Midr. Rab. to Gn 9); Maimonides, Hil. Repugach, xi. 4); but the slow suicide that comes of self-mortification or of the neglect of health is also reprehensible. Ye should keep my statutes, and my judgments: if a man do, he shall live by them (Lv 18)—'live by them,' says the Rabbinical gloss, 'not die by them' (Yoma, 85b).

Scattered among the moIy content of the Talmud are the materials for an curious protest against a materialistic view of life. The fact is itself a proof of the importance attached to the physical life by the Jews, but a protest against this is called into a religious duty. Hillel (1st cent. B.C.), on his way to the bath-house, tells his disciples that he is about to perform a sacred rite; it is not the days of the week, or the Sabbath, or the holy days, if it is the latter is the outcome of a devout heart (Kubb al-Kazzari, tr. H. Hirschfeld, London, 1919).

It is due partly to the difficulty of defining the rica medio of moderation, and partly to the sorrowful experiences of the Jewish race, that occasionally temperance has overstepped the safe line, and lost itself in austerity. The Talmud tells of a Rabbi (Ze'ira) who fasted a hundred days (Sanb. mojia, 85a), and of another (Mar ben Rabina) who fasted practically all the year round (Pos. 69b). There have been Jewish sects, like the Essenists and the Karaites, which have been marked more or less strongly by austere 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 Shammali even formally discussed the question whether life is worth living (Erubin, 13b). This uncertainty is often visible. The devout who gives himself to fasting is called, now a saint, and now a sinner (Talmith, 110, 22b); a man must die for the Torah, and not for worshiping idols (Ber. 62b), but these contradictions are either passing or incidental phases of Jewish thought; a main note is the rule, the ascetic and the

pessimist are only by-products of Judaism. It is a bad sign, says the Rabbi, to desire life (Tanna, 114); 'the Elyathin, etc.' and he who is not a hundred is no child of the sin-offering brought by the Nazirite (No 6th) by contending that his very abstinence from strong drink was a sin (Talmith, 11a).

According to our view, says Joseph Hamburger, a p. 135, 'a servant of God is not one who detaches himself from the world, or hates life, which is one of God's bounties. On the contrary, he loves the world and desires it: it affords him the opportunity of desiring the world to come.'

According to a striking Talmudic utterance, in the next world men will be called to account for the lawful pleasures they have indulged in on earth (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. Gudemann, Das Judentum, Vienna, 1902, p. 56). It has no sympathy with self-mortification for its own sake, no commendation for the temper that voluntarilycourts pain and abandons life for the greater glory of God. Suffering has to be patiently endured when it comes; it has even to be welcomed as the seed of moral regeneration. 'With thy very wounds I will heal thee,' God, according to the Talmud, says to man (Midr. Rab. to Lv 15) (the reference is to Ex. 19. 21). 'The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak' (Matt. 26. 41). 'If a man has a will, let him will his will' (Midr. Thallim to Ps 94); 'If thou desirest life, hope for affliction' (ib. to Ps 106). Such utterances betoken not a worship of sorrow, but a recognition of its disciplinary power, as well as its value for the character of the individual and the life of the people. Judaism sees no merit in suffering, but only in the right bearing of it; and between its teachings and the ideas of the self-mortifying Hindu there is an impassable gulf. Suicide is a crime, and its condemnation is in the words of the Talmud (Midr. Rab. to Gn 9); Maimonides, Hil. Repugach, 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: if a man do, he shall live by them (Lv 18)’—'live by them,' says the Rabbinical gloss, 'not die by them' (Yoma, 85b).

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

The Talmud has the story of a sage who, suffering martyrdom at the stake, is adjudged by his disciples to end his agony by-giving himself his lamp. The lamp has two flames. He refuses, "God, says, 'alone can take my life; I may not' (Aboda Zara, 18a).

Regard for life is exalted into reverence. The gift of God, life must be treated with the utmost consideration. The Talmudic laws prescribing kindness to the lower animals are in part enacted by this motive. God has created the various types of animal life, and desires their perpetuation. It is man's duty to pay homage to the Divine will in all his actions for respect, and to make himself the instrument for its fulfillment (see Aaron of Barcelona, Sepher Hahinhinuht [13th cent.], §§ 254, 545).

Life, then, according to the Jewish idea, is not even then so very good but it is not a burden to be shuddled off with a sign of relief.

'This world is not a vale of tears. It is a beautiful world, and one dwells ever by the joy they weave into the lives of others. On the other hand, the true Israelite does not think of this world as his haven. He is not a halting place on the journey from one point in eternity to the other, "the ante-chamber to the palace" (Abot, iv. 16). "a wayside inn" (Mekil. Anton, 98), the post where we are to refresh our hearts and live, gloriously, on our fateful voyage in the great Beyond' (Joseph, p. 287).

Life is not to be clung to unduly, or to be yielded up grudgingly. When a man is called, he must go. Man has no choice fully; for, since he does everything well, the decree that removes us is as wise and good as is the ordinance that places us here. 'Fear not,' says Ben Sira, 'the sentence of death is in the hand of God, yet thou refuse, when it is the good pleasure of the Most High?' (Sir 41: 16). This acceptance of death as the dispensation of Divine justice is the keynote of the ancient Jewish burial service, which takes the form of a theodicy, and, in a measure, of an exhortation. Its sacred name is t'fillin, justification of the Divine sentence, and its essence is expressed in the following quotation:

'Righteous art Thou, O Lord, both when Thou killest and when Thou pourest forth life. It is not for me to murmure at Thy method of judging. Blessed, then, be the righteous Judge, all whose judgments are righteous and true. The Lord giveth, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord' (Authorized Prayer Book, p. 315). On hearing of the death of one dear to him, the devout Jew utters the benediction: 'Blessed be the righteous Judge' (ib., p. 252).

The Israelite, then, is taught not to desire death, but also not to fear it. If in life he sees the opportune time to die, he acts with a view to ceasing his labors. He is so live as to be ready for that signal whenever it is given; his garments are always to be white, 'for who knoweth when the King may come?' (Shab. 153b). And, so remains he, he await the unknown hour calmly.

G. H. Dalman is not warranted in charging the Jew, as does Max Muller also in his Gilded Lectures (Anthropological Reikiwu, London, 1852, p. 369), with undue dread of death. 'The celebration of the New Year and the Day of Atonement,' says Dalman, 'according to the notions attached to it by orthodox Judaism, instead of mitigating or banishing the fear of death, strengthens it' (Christianity and Judaism, p. 28, Oxford, 1910). He is doubtless right in pointing to the passionate prayers for life which fill so large a place in the liturgy for those solemn days. But those days are essentially days of penitence; and if the Jew appreciates the order that by repentance and amendment he may put to life noble uses henceforth. Death itself has no greater terror for him than it has for any other religious Jew. Judaism, at any rate, does not encourage such fears, but exhorts the Jew to contemplate death with a tranquil mind as the end and the climax of the well-spent life.

Such a death, coming in its due season, is likened to the gathering of fully-ripened fruit or the quenching of the flame of a burnt-out lamp. The death to be dreaded is the morally premature one, which is gathering of the impersonal fruit, the untimely extinction of the lamp (Midr. Reb. to Gn 25: 29). Death is a natural ordinance; his work finished, the worker must go and make room for his successor—Abraham for Isaac, Moses for Joshua, etc. (Midr. Talmilin to Ps 116: 2). 'And God saw all that He

made, and beheld it was very good'—it is death that is meant, says a Rabbi (Midr. Reb. to Gn 1: 28). The death of the righteous is like the act of one who gently draws a hair from the surface of milk (Ber. 58b); this is called 'death by a kiss' (Bab. booth, 17a). The death of the wicked, on the other hand, is like the painless disentangling of a thorn from wool (Ber. 58a). Death is the liberator (Shab. 30b): it is like the entering into port of a well-laden vessel (Midr. Reb. to Ec 7: 16); hence it is that the Wise Man declares that 'the day of death is better than the day of one's birth' (ib.). It is fulfilled as compared with mere promise. Far from being the primordial curse, death is a blessing. The day that Adam died was made a holiday (Tana 'boe Kilayah, ch. 16). 'The death of the righteous,' God says, 'is a grief to Me, and never should they die if they did not themselves ask for death; for did not Abraham say, "I would be dust and ashes," and Jacob, "Let me die now"?' (Midr. Talmilin to Ps 116: 2).

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

Even Abraham, who is most instanced, prays for death, is represented (in the apocryphal Testament of Abraham) as being adverse to it. He refuses to surrender his soul even when the archangel Michael comes and bids him to go to heaven. 'I yield the soul of an angel, at the Divine bidding, puts off his fierce aspect, and appears to the patriarch, dressed in the robes of the Angel of Death, finding him absorbed in religious study and, therefore, invincible, has to divert his attention by a stratagem before he can perform his mission (Shab. 200).

The Angel of Death is a familiar figure in the Rabbinical literature, and, as in the later Biblical writings (e.g., 1 Ch 21: 27), he is armed with a sword. Its point is tipped with gall, and it is this bitter drop that slays (Aboda Zara, 96b). According to some ideas, Death is a fallen angel (Pirke R. Eleazar, ch. 13), and identical with the Serpent in Eden (Wis 2: 24). His name, which often occurs in Rabbinical literature, is Summed, i.e., 'the drug of God,' a reference to the gall on his sword. Liberal opinion, however, disavows 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' (Bab. bath, 160b). In other words, it is ignoble impulse alone that tempts and seduces. The knowledge, however, is the friend of men, especially of the righteous. Benevolence disarms him (Deirch veze ze, 8); he will not proceed to harm any one (Rab. 51a). He respects the wishes of the just as to when and where he delivers his summons (Mekil. Anton, 28a).

A Talmudic legend tells how a famous sage, Joshua ben Levi, appointed to die, and permitted beforehand to see his place in paradise, seized the knife of the destroying angel, whereupon a heavy voice rings out the command, 'Give back the knife; the children of men have need of it' (Rab. 71a). The angelic fellow 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 (Pszisa Rebbeithi [ed. M. Friedman, Vienna, 1850], 1616 (the Scripture proof cited is Is 25: 8)). As to the origin of death, various opinions are expressed. The familiar idea that it was brought into the world by Adam's sin has its place in Rabbinical literature (see Shab. 55b; Erubin, 18b; Tane 'boe Kilayah, ch. 5); but we find it much earlier in Sir 25: 25. Closely connected with this idea is the legend, possibly of Persian origin, that the Serpent, when tempting Eve, infected her and, through her, all mankind with his death-deal-
of life and death (Teutonic).

Our knowledge of the conceptions of life and death among primitive Teutonic peoples can be gleaned from three fields: (1) the fragmentary information on Teutonic beliefs and practices given by classical and early Christian writers; (2) the organized religious belief of the Norse peoples, particularly their chief god, Odin, which is common to the general Teutonic stock, and reveals traces of earlier ideas; and (3) the great mass of Teutonic tradition, folklore, superstition, and custom, both in early times and in modern survivals. From such a study of this material we 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 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 symbolical beliefs. The criteria for the attribution of death would be the loss of the power of motion and the phenomena arising from it; from the observation of sleep, dreams, trances, etc., would spring animistic belief. A further stage would appear in the identification of the principle of life with those intangible or tangible manifestations, such as breath, warmth, colour, pulsation, or voice; this last would be animistic belief. The close connexion with trees of the principle of life is proved by the well-attested 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 Hamadryads [Teutonic]). The use of plants and fruits to convey the powers or the properties of death and the power of its transmission; others had an intimate connexion with individual human beings, and from this arises the power of transference or of shape-

1. The principle of life in nature.—The four elements are constantly represented as imbued with life, and the principle of vitality is naturally personified: (cf. Gardner, "The Beautiful," ii. 29). The personification of the living element in water is generally feminine.

The belief in life inherent in fire is shown by the general Teutonic myth of Wieland, originally a doublet fire of Zora, and originally a doubletion by Frazzor, Zora, later confused with, and superseded by, Loki. The life-transmitting powers of fire appear in the customs still practised throughout Teutonic Europe, at the ceremonial bonfires, especially at Easter and Midsommer (ib. ch. iv.; note that Frazzor admits the existence and signification of these customs, although he deviates [cf. v.] from Mannhardt's explanation of fire festivals). Akin to fire-beliefs is the belief in the quickening power of the sun, shown in the connexion between the summer solstice and the Midsommer fires, and in the custom of rolling fiery wheels or other sun-symbols. A curious example of belief in the connection of the sun with the 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. Velaspo, 18); secondly, wind or whirlwind. Wind made known the presence of mysterious beings, and, as Odin, as god of the wind, the shan, the wind, is the culmination of the connexion of wind with the continuance of 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 nature (Nerthus, Erec), and her life-giving and restoring power appears in charms in which sods, turfs, or handfuls of earth figure; many of these, whether in Old English or in modern survivals, as well as the methods of preparing them, show that their origin is unmistakable. The earth's living power is transferred even to inanimate objects resting on or discovered within her, such as stones and metals; we find a life-stone that heals wounds mentioned in the Laxdala Saga (Laxdala Saga, 21). Plants, fire, and water, were credited with volition, as in the story of Balder, and the early idea of the conscious power of weapons (cf. "the sword that lights of itself" [Skjernismulf, 81]) was long retained in poetry and folk-tales.

changing. Another form of this sympathetic connexion appears in the 'external soul'; but totemistic ideas, the logical conclusion of depositing the external soul in animals, seem never to have been in vogue (Y. Lehn, Allteurn. Religion, 

1. 23 ff.). In heroic saga the infant hero is sometimes suckled by an animal, as were Woldfiderich and Sigurdr Sven. In the serpent, in other cults so important a symbol of life, because of the removal of its skin, has little connexion 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 personification 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 decide. Animistic thought generally tends to the Norse type, the Frisian having more distinctly the Saxon form of the Freyr combination, and the Swedish worship of Freyr as a fertility deity all point to the former. All the chief gods had some connexion with productivity, and traces of phallic worship are not wanting. As regards the individual soul this has already been treated (see COSMOGENY AND COSMOLOGY [Teutonic]); the revival of world-life and its different phases were celebrated at the Easter, Midsummer, and Yule festivals.

2. The individual soul in Teutonic conception was prevented from becoming metaphysical by that material view of the soul 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, heredity, and rebirth. Blood-kinship was the closest of ties, and the mingling of blood was the symbolic ceremony for sworn brotherhood (cf. Art. BROTHERHOOD [Artificial], i. 7). The power of heredity consisted in the transmission of racial qualities, especially courage and hardihood, as in the case of Sinjöllr (Volksang Saga, 8). The idea of re-birth, which still persists, was deeply rooted in Norse belief, and accounts for the constant custom of naming children after dead ancestors; the name was of great efficacy in the attraction of ancestral qualities, and even implied the transmission of a personality. The impossibility of re-birth was considered a misfortune (cf. Ælfringmann, Yggdr. Mythol., p. 25 f.). Similarly, thehöumungja, or genius in female form, could transfer itself from the dead to a beloved kinsman (Vega Ælfgja Saga, 9). The different stages of human life were little regarded; we know of no initiatory ceremonies, although Karl Pearson (Chances of Death, London, 1897, vol. ii. ch. ix.) considers that the licentious character of medieval Walpurgisnacht revels proved their origin as sexual festivities; otherwise we hear only of military ceremonies (Finn. Geru, 15) or of heirship feasts (Vegingla Saga, 40).

The material representation of the soul was probably induced by the observation of dreams and similar phenomena, where the soul appears to have an independent existence, or by the location of the soul in various organs of the body, as the liver, heart, or head. An extension of this material representation appears in the doctrine, common to all Teutonic peoples, of the 'external soul': the chief evidence is the story told by Paulus Diaconus (de Gest. Langobardorum, iii. 32) of King Gunthram, whose soul was once observed to issue 'in modum reptilis' from his mouth during sleep. Survivals of this idea in fairy-tales show the control exercised by the individual over his external soul, generally by depositing the soul in a place of apparent safety, in an object or plant, and thereby prolonging indefinitely the body (ib. 116 f.; CF. ch. vii.). A case of control exercised by an external and malignant power is that of Nornagasti, whose life was identified with a burning candle (Signs of Nornagasti, 11). The soul's power to assume an animal form and to go on journeys (haustruar), leaving the body sleeping, accounts for hamnir, or shape-changers, and confusion of such ideas with the observation of states of super-normal activity appears in accounts of berserkgange and shape-changings in THE TRANSMIGRATION [Teutonic] and LYCANTHROPHY, § 1.

An extensive power over the principle of life was acquired by magic, chiefly sympathetic, prophylactic, or coercive, and it was possible to induce annual and vegetable fertility, as by the sympathetic magic of the Midsummer fires. Instances of the sacrifice of human life to ensure vegetable fertility occur in the immolation of the kings Donaldi and Óláfr (Vegingla Saga, 18, 47); a similar fate of Anu (ib. 74), and an added ten years of life for each son sacrificed (ib. 29). Magic use of plants, etc., and of charms could induce prolific human life, and facilitate the soul's coming (Singfsfriandl, 9). Life could be protected or protected world-life could be extended (i.e. as passing the individual through a leafless or hollow stone (cf. Giam, p. 116); Fræzer, ii. 166 f.); the story of Balder exemplifies prophylactic magic to secure invulnerability. By spells then poison could be removed immediately (ib. 44, 75, 79); and sickness prevented or cured, while the perpetual battle of the Þjóðninga exemplifies the power to renew life indefinitely (Skaldsko- trunk, 47). Charms also had power to suspend life (cf. the sleep-thorn), and to harm or destroy it; metamorphoses were often compulsory, the result of external magic.

3. The conception of death in nature.—The elements have all a death-dealing as well as a life-giving power, especially life 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 death in men.—This arises from the phenomena attending sleep, which foreshadowed the soul's departure; the soul is still materially represented as issuing from the mouth in the form of a bird or mouse, and its exit is facilitated in every way by Norse mythology—the dead made an actual journey, and needed shoes to travel the Hel road. The idea of cessation of activity after death, if it ever existed, was soon superseded, as is proved by the universal custom of providing the dead with material implements; the earliest tombs contain cups and vessels, not armour and weapons—a sign that at first feasting, not fighting, was to be the chief occupation. Activity after death could be exercised still on earth, but it was then frequently malignant, and could be prevented only by burning the corpse (Laxdala Saga, 17, 24). Spirits could return in animal or in human form (Erbyggja Saga, 31, 53), and hauntings show the power of ghosts to affect the living; fear was probably great as an incentive to ancestor-worship as reverence. Activity in another world was materially conceived as a close parallel to mortal life, as is proved by the nature of the implements provided, and such activity was often localized in sepulchral howes (ib. 11). The Valhalla belief is the final poetic development of the conception of Óinn as god of the slain; in a less warlike age a more peaceful preaugurment
arises, the Rosengarten of the later German poets; Saxo Grammaticus' account (Gesta Danorum, i. 31) of Hading's voyage to the under-world represents an interpolation in 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 an enemy. The Norse Hel was certainly at first a Teutonic Proserpine, however shadowy: subsequently, her personality was not distinguished from her abode. Popular and grotesque personifications of death prevailed later, and gave rise to the idea of weakening death's power by insinulation or beating a tangible representation (Grinn, p. 767).

In spite of the undoubted fatality of Teutonic people (see art. Doom, Doom Myths [Teutonic]), the belief, born of instinct and desire, prevailed that magic enabled man to exercise a twofold power over death: first, in reassuring or hastening death; secondly, in controlling and summoning spirits (Veroff. Saga, 53). Preventive magic against death might include the wide range of charms to preserve health, prevent barrenness, heal sickness, or stanch blood. Coercive magic to compel death was apparently as frequent as preventive though naturally more secret. It was possible to possess the sword of death upon others, and also to have the premonition of it in oneself—to be fey. The summoning of spirits (heltrun), performed by means of the valpilore, became in Norse mythology an important branch of magic art (see MAGIC [Teutonic]).

5. The ethical aspect of life and death.—It is difficult to deduce the ethical outlook of the average Teuton on life and death because of the extremely subjective character of the literature, but the non-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-tie (see also akin, Gesta Danorum, ii. 1; Beowulf,2435Ec.); 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 (Hildecar. i. 234.ii. 9.); childhood, and the suffering of life was little known, for Saxo Grammaticus' assertion to the contrary can hardly be substantiated from earlier literature (Gesta Danorum, v. 169). The fatality so deeply ingrained in the Teutons coloured their whole outlook, but it was not tinged by remorse for an ill-spent life or by fear of coming punishment; and the lack of a moral division after death is so general that it is tempting to explain apparent inconsistencies by the theory of Christian influence. Suicide was allowable when due to grief for a friend or kinsman, and was more honourable than an ignoble death (cf. Saxo Grammaticus, tr. O. Elton, London, 1894, p. xxxvi.). The practice of human 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. In the West certainly seems to have been a strong idea of sacrificing the life of the body for the welfare of the soul and 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

LIFE, FUTURE.—See STATE OF THE DEAD.

LIFE-TOKEN.—"Life-token" or 'life-index' is the technical name given to an object the condition of which is in popular belief bound up with that of some person, and indicates his state of health or safety. The object may be an artifact, such as a tool, a weapon, or an ornament; or it may be a tree or plant, an animal, or even a well, or a vessel of water or some other liquid. The most familiar examples are found in the Arabian Nights. In the story of 'The Two Sisters who carried their Cadette', with which Galland concluded his version (cf. R. F. Burton, Supplemental Nights, London, 1889-88, iv. 49r ff.), Prince Bahman, on departing in search of the golden water, and the singing tree, leaves with his sister a hunting-knife, the blade of which will remain clean and bright so long as he continues safe and sound, but will be stained with blood if he be slain. His brother, following Bahman, casts a string of pearls, which will run loose upon the string while he is alive, but after his death will be found fixed and adhering together.

The 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 sail 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 Persens. In these tales Persens is often represented by three sons, born in consequence of their mother having partaken of a magical fish. Some portion of the offal of the fish is buried in the garden; a tree grows on the spot, and becomes the abode of the children. Sometimes a portion of the fish's blood is preserved, by its direction, in phials, one for each of the children, to boil or become turbid in case of misfortune. In a story from Persia the fish-bone is fastened to a known tree, the kitchen and sweats blood when anything untoward happens to any of the boys.

There is thus an 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. Sym pathetic 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 his life-token is recorded in the United States. Early in the last century a boy in New Hampshire, was so badly wounded that a piece of his skin, fully an inch in diameter, sloughed off, and was carefully treasured by his mother. When he grew up, he left home and was not heard of after; but his mother used from time to time to examine the fragment of skin, presumed that, so long as it was spread, 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 K. S., reporting in the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi (1896) a recent visit to Easter Island, relates that the native converts persuaded another Roman Catholic missionary, Father Albert Moniton, who had previously visited them. They said that he had caused the great stone cross being cast up as if in the tale the offal of the fish buried in the garden grows up into the tree and becomes the life-token of the children who owe their birth to, or perhaps are a transformation of, the fish, so trees are in actual life-token for the purpose.

The novel-string of a Maori child was buried in a sacred place, and a young sapling planted over it expressly as the babe's sign of life. (Taylor, Te Ika a Maui: New Zealand and its Inhabitants, London, 1870, p. 145.) Sometimes it was buried at the foot of a willow or bush. If the tree whose branches showed signs of decay or died, the results would be similar to the life-token (Journ. Ethn. Soc. i. 1872). In the latter case an already existing tree is appropriated as the life-token by uniting the child with it through the medium of the cord. In the same way, in Germany the birth of a child is thought of as the feet of a young tree, and the child is expected to grow with the tree and thrive as it thrives (K. Bartels, Sagen, Marken und Gleichnisse aus Mecklenburg, Vienna, 1880, ii. 43; Am Urquell, v. 1894) 253. Though it is not now common thus to unite the child with the tree, the practice of planting a tree at the birth of a child is still fairly common in Europe. In Aargau (Switzerland) an apple-tree is planted for a boy, a pear-tree for a girl, and it is believed that the child will thrive or die as the young tree (W. Mannhardt, Wald und Feldkunde, Berlin, 1875, i. 134) the same. Numerous remains of this practice and belief are found in tradition all over Europe.

The cani with which some children are born also becomes an index of their health and prosperity. For this purpose great care is taken of it. Among the Lottos of Russia to lose it betokens misfortune for the child (K. Robert, Hist. Studien aus dem jungen Russland, Inst. der Russ. Acad., v. Halle, 1894-95). In England and Scotland its condition, whether soft and fleshy or hard, dry, and uncurved, indicates wealth or poverty (B. O. Adam, Household Tales, London, 1805, p. 130; J. G. Dalyell, Darker Superstitions of Scotland, Glasgow, 1855, p. 390).

But, as in the stories, the life-token is not always devoted to birth, or the birth of a child.

The case on which the tree is planted is sometimes 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 up and plastered, in the hope that it may grow together again; and according to the success of the treatment the child is expected to recover or not. More than this, so intimate has the connexion between the tree and the child become by the operation that, if the tree be afterwards felled, the child will die. But if the operations are already depicted, the tree is dependent upon the fate of the child; the child is also dependent of the fate of the tree. This mutual dependence is sometimes explicitly mentioned in the stories also. It results from the close connexion between the object being watched, life as the object constituted as the life-token. In the stories it is often forgotten; generally in practice it is at least implicit.

On the Eastern peninsulas of Maryland, opposite Baltimore, when a member of a family leaves home, a bit of fire-for-ever is stuck in the ground to indicate the fortune of the absent one. It will flourish if he prospers; otherwise it will wither and die (J.A.F.L. iv. 1894) 63). At Rome every Emperor solemnly planted a laurel bush, which was said to wither when he was about to die. A successful general to whom a triumph was awarded also planted on the occasion, in the shrubbery set by Livy, a laurel, similarly believed to wither when he was about to die. Two myrtle-trees grew before the temple of Quirinus, one called the Patriotic tree, the other the Pheidian. So long as the Senate maintained its power as the supreme authority of the State, the Patriotic tree flourished. But it begins to wane, and at last withers away, when the Pheidian successfully asserted its rights, and the Pheidian tree, hitherto sickly and shrewd, gained the superiority (Pliny, H. N. xx. 36). The same happens on certain occasions to plant a sort of palm, which is regarded, in the fullest sense of the word, as the palm of the deceased. If it grows prosperously, they reckon on good fortune; but, when it fades or dies, the person concerned has to expect the reverse (Wilken, Verzeichnis der Geschichten, 1870, p. 264). When the sun sets upon the mountains of the Sieben, and other places near Gothic, two young trees are planted at a wedding by the bridal pair, on the property of the commune. If either of the trees withers, one of the sisters of the sponsors will shortly die (Mannhardt, p. 48).
LIFE-TOKEN

are often vague, and, where they are so, to affix terms to them which connect to us something definite is to darken counsel.

In Nigeria a great tree frequently stands in a village, and is used with magic and votive offerings. It is described by the villagers as 'our life,' and it in some sense worshipped as a god. It is called the 'fountain of the land.' From the moment of birth the snake and the man share a life of common duration, and the measure of the one is the measure of the other. Hence every evil or failing is taken by the snake from the infant, and it is said that they are quite harmless to human beings (Journ. Afr. Soc. x. [1909] 29). So at Rom every man was deemed to be accompanied throughout life by a genius, to which he owed all his gifts and good fortune. The genius was represented by, or incorporated in, a snake, which was never killed, but encouraged in the house, and even in the sleeping-chamber. The result was, according to Plato, that snakes multiplied to such an extent that, if they had not been kept down by frequent fires, it would have been impossible to make headway against their infestation (L. Plut. De Byz. Bel. Berlin, 1828, ii. 196. Fl. Pliny, HN xiv. 223. Tiberius Gracchus once caught a pair of snakes upon his bed, and was advised by the soothsayers to kill them. The more he thought of it the more his life was bound up with that of the one, and his wife's with that of the other. Rather than put an end to his wife's life, he killed the male and himself died in a short time (Plutarch, Tiberius Gracchus). At the monastery of Saint Maurice, on the borders of Burgundy, near Lyons, there are a number of snakes, as many fish, and as many fish as there were monks. When any of the monks fell sick, one of the fish floated on the surface of the water, half-dead; and, if the monk was going to die, the fish would die the same day before him (J. W. Wolf, Ueber die Spuren, Leipzig, 1843, p. 239, citing Leonard Vain, Traite des chaunciens, Paris, 1553, p. 263). On the island of Born, one of the Moluccas, the same belief seems to be attached to the catamen. No Burmese, we are told, would kill a cat, for fear of unutterable death. The cause of one of his nearest kinsmen (Wilken, iii. 52). In fact, the belief of the lives of human beings are bound up with those of certain of the lower animals. As trees, and plants are very widespread; and the latter are not necessarily trees as the guardians or incarnations of the souls of the former. Lakes and streams even serve as life-tokens, independently of the animals that haunt or inhabit them.

On a mountain in Frasonia a fountain issues near the ancestral home of an ancient noble family. The clear stream gushes forth incessantly the whole year round; and it was believed that the family was saved from any evil. (I. Gneu, Beitrage zur Sprache, Berlin, 1856-18, i. 162). The waters of the crag-lake of Tritheis in Maniakas are of a deep green colour, and all the youth of the neighboring tribe, especially a member of the kinsmen of the Zanausara, is taken ill, if the water is trodden on, or if he is thrown into it. The death is promptly inflicted; if it remains, he will have a chance of life (K.P. vii. [1892] 709, quoting J. Bier.)

The present writer has elsewhere (LP II. [1895] 13) stated that the custom of siring by crystal-gazing (p. v.) is intimately related to those of looking into the depths of a well or a pool of water or ink, and into a magical mirror, for the purpose of gaining tidings of absent friends or distant events. It will suffice to say here that the hallucination on which it is founded is equally capable of being produced by gazing intently on any dark and polished surface like that of standing water, a mirror, or a piece of stone, and that the supernatural is universally world-wide. The march between the life-token and the belief in omens drawn from objects not specially connected with any individual is ill-defined. It is by means necessary to appoint one's own life-token; the imposition of it by another may be divined by the condition of a life-token arbitrarily appointed by anxious relatives or friends at home.

Here 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 real life.

In an Indian tale three drops of blood appearing on the face while sleeping are a totem to one brother of another pair (V. Gregory, Folklore of N. B. of Scotland, London, 1841, p. 511). An Indian folk-tale tells of a girl who, with a red lotus, saying: 'Take each of you one of these lotuses in your hand. And, if either of you shall be cut off by some separation, the lotus in the hand of the other shall fade, but not otherwise.' When they awoke, each beheld in the other's hand a red lotus; and it seemed to them a sign of their future (C. H. Towne's Journ. of Folk-lore, v. 80). In Indian folk-tales, half-bird, and romances the life-token is by no means a fanciful piece of machinery. It has found its way on to the stage. Among other dramas, the plot of P. Massinger's play of The Picture (1632) is founded on it. Nor is it a new idea. The Hero in Seneca's Thyestes is a leper. He is merely a member of the Stemon tribe in Bengal. Every leper has in the courtyard of his house a 'plant' (Euphorbia)

Further, if my life be united to any external object, whether physically (so to speak), as in the case of an alien child possessed by the demon, or by the holy 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 any case the hero's life came to an end with the burning and extermination of the fateful brand. This belief is the foundation of that department of magic which is used for injuring others by damaging or destroying things which have been closely united to, or to which identity with them is imparted. Fragments of the hair, nails, food, or clothing, portions of the blood or saliva, and earth from the footprints of the victim are all impregnated with his life, are still further impregnated by that of another, and lie may be injured or even done to death by the appropriate treatment of any of these objects. So also to stick pins or daggers into, or to burn, the effigy of a man is to wound or kill the person represented. These are all well known. Parallel with them is the treatment of such objects for the purpose of benefiting the person to whom they belong.

The marvellous string of an infant, taken by a mother to church at her decease, and laid down beside her on her coffin, is, in other suitable place, is deemed in Meisenburg and Thuringia to be efficacious in surrounding the child with such holy influences that he will grow up God-fearing and pious (Witzelsch. I. 203.; Bartsch, ii. 40). For some such reason Athenian women who became pregnant for the first time hung up their girdles in the temple of Artemis. Probably for a similar purpose fragments of clothing and other things are hung by vetaries on a sacred tree, and pins are deposited in sacred wells. To the same order of thought belongs the sympathetic treatment of wounds by means of the instrument immediately employed, or the instrument used, formerly accepted by philosophers and physicians, is now left in Europe to the pessary. It originates in savagery. The Lacang or Sembang, when he is wounded, and the Bambangan, when he is shot, know how to keep concealed the arrow that has wounded a friend, and not to bring it near the fire; for he would become very ill if the weapon, while still covered with his blood, were thrown into the flame (F. Boas, Rep. Brit. Assoc., London, 1890, p. 557). Melanesians keep the arrow when they are wounded by arrows from cool leaves, believing that the inflammation will then be 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 (R. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, Oxford, 1891, p. 310). Similar practices are very widespread among the European peasantry, and not least in our own island.

By a very natural extension of the idea of the life-token the cognate idea of the ineluctable 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 absent one's life. The token of life is, therefore, a common incident both in tales and in actual life.

It is well known in India. In the Ceylon arhatara, or 'stream of the Streams of Story,' a famous collection of Indian tales, the god Siva appears in a dream to ininasena and his wife vihara, appearing to be a woman, and asking for a red lotus. When he woke, he found each beheld in his other's hand a red lotus; and it seemed to them a sign of their future (C. H. Towne's Journ. of Folk-lore, v. 80). In Indian folk-tales, half-bird, and romances the life-token is by no means a fanciful piece of machinery. It has found its way on to the stage. Among other dramas, the plot of P. Massinger's play of The Picture (1632) is founded on it. Nor is it a new idea. The Hero in Seneca's Thyestes is a leper. He is merely a member of the Stemon tribe in Bengal. Every leper has in the courtyard of his house a 'plant' (Euphorbia)
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 fresh 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 a great darkness prevailed, until the sun was made or released. An emu's egg was thrown up to the sky, and either itself gave a great light or set fire to a wood-pile belonging to a sky-being. The latter sees how beautiful earth now is, and therefore he makes a fire every day. There is little warmth in the morning, because it is not fully kindled, and it is cold at night when the fire dies out. The jackass 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 props up the sky and so lets the sun rise.2 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 a fish, come apart and so let in light and darkness.


Hindo (A. Hillerbrand), p. 60.
Iranian (L. H. Gray), p. 61.
Semitic and Egyptian (W. Cruckshank), p. 62.

Maori mythology relates that the Atua o 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 nui te po, a great mother night, or Hades and life are represented by Tana nui te ra, the great son of day. A creation epic describes the cosmogenic periods, the first of which is that of thought, the second that of night or darkness:

'The word became fruitful.
It dwelt with the foolish trembling;
It brought forth night.
The great night, the long night.
The lowest night, the blackest night.
The thick night, to be hid.
The night to be touched, the night unseen.
The night following on.
The night ending in death.'

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.' This idea that chaos and darkness—the state of Po, Hades, or night—precede all gods and all things is widespread in Polynesia. Even the 'liberating' light of Tāne, the light of sun, moon, etc., springs from it; or he sprang out of an egg and so brought light to the world.

The Garo say that earth was at first a huge watery plain, and darkness lay over all. Tatarabunga created earth through a lesser spirit and at the latter's request, placed sun and moon in the sky to give light.

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

Among the Eskimos, a people dwelling for a great part of the year in darkness, many myths deal with this subject. According to one of these, men came out of the earth, lived in perpetual darkness, and knew no death. There came a flood which destroyed all but two old women, one of whom desired both light and death. Death came,

T. Taylor, p. 190 ff.

1 W. Ellis, Polyanae, Researches, London, 1852, i. 322; Waltegerland, i. 249, 269.
2 J. Frobenius, Die Weltanschauung der Naturvölker, p. 10.
and with it sun, moon, and stars. Another widespread myth is that of the brother who, in the two cases, when he returned from the earth, ravished his sister. In her anger at his brutal conduct, she pursued him to the sky with a brand. He became the moon and she the sun, ever pursuing the moon, except in winter, when she remains in her room and there is darkness. The stars are sparks from the brand.

A well-known Chinese myth relates that in the beginning all was darkness. From a great mundane egg, which divided in two, came Poon-Ko Wong, who made the sky and earth out of the lower half. He also made sun and moon. Chinese philosophy speaks of Tai-Khi, the 'Most Ultimate,' which produced the cosmic souls Yang and Yin, male and female, heaven and earth, warmth and cold, light and darkness.8 In Japan an old myth in the Kojiki speaks of a time when Heaven and Earth were not separated and the In and Yo (= Yin and Yang) not yet divided. All was chaos and presumably darkness.

A Finnish etiological myth in the Kalevala relates that from the upper and lower parts of an egg which fell into the primeval waters were formed heaven and earth, from the yolk the sun, from the white the moon, and from the darkness in the center the abyss.13 Scandinavian mythology contains an elaborate myth of beginnings. There was first a void world of mist, ginungaga. On its southern extremity was uuspeli, fire, on its northern, nifl, fog; from the fire proceeded light and warmth, from the water darkness and cold. According to Grimn, ginungaga is the equivalent of the Gr. χώρα, meaning both 'abyss' and 'darkness.' In the Edda, Day personified is the son of Night, each of them having a horse and car, in which they journey round the earth. The primitive method of counting time with Scandinvians, Tentons and Celts was on the principle that night preceded day, the moon, which 'governs the night,' being the measure of time. Tacitus says 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. 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 Mayan myth, light is sometimes prior to the sun (cf. Ge. 1). Some other examples of such myths may be cited. In Bushman belief the sun was a mortar on earth from whose body light radiated for a short distance round his house. Some children were sent to throw him up to the sky as he slept, and now he lightens the earth.

The Baronga think that the reflection of light on the sea after the sun's rising is a kind of source of light whence the sun has come out from the provision of fire, and dies in the West nightly. Light is also called 'that which makes to appear.' 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 the Ja-Luo, Apāthō, father of mankind, appeared from heaven on earth together with the sun, moon, and wind, which caused the sky when he was angry and have remained there ever since. The heavenland 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; the 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 Wambato, an Australian tribe, say that at one time the sun never moved. Nurelli, tired of eternal day, bade it go down by the west. In Banks Island, Qat, after making all things, did not know how to make night, and it was always day. He heard that there was night at Vava, and therefore went 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, and the moon is told of Fagaro. The Mithrais say that at first there were two suns which rose and set alternately. A slave, tired of getting no rest, shot one of them. There was now always darkness. There other sun refused to come forth; but at last he did so as a result of certain ceremonies. The savage Malays of Malacca have a myth of three suns, one of which was always left in the sky, The female sun was induced to swallow her husband and child, and now there was night. A native Brazilian myth tells that at first there was no night. Night, or a cobra who owned night, slept at the bottom of the waters. His daughter would not sleep with her husband till he procured darkness from her father. Slaves were sent to bring him the sun. In spite of all warnings, they opened it, and all grew dark. The daughter now separated from night by night. In Santa Cruz sun and moon are said to have travelled together, but by a trick the sun caused the moon to fall into the sea on before his own. Night is the result of a part of the moon becoming black through this trick. A Finnish myth says that in the beginning there was nothing but water and light—a running water version of the cosmogonic idea. In some instances night is formed as the result of a dualism. The Yezidis say that God made the world beautiful. Then Malik-Tanks appeared before Him and said that there could be no light without darkness, no day without night, and accordingly He caused night to follow day. In a Wallachian Mârchen 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 bears his cogi-
tations to the effect that, if there are several suns, men will get so accustomed to heat that there will be no fear of hell; night will be as clear as day; and the works of darkness will be brought to an end.1 In Breton folk-belief God created the day, and the devil a dark night as an offshoot to it.2

The same dualism is found in a Melanesian story, in which all that Tagaro makes is good. Suqa, who makes evil things, wished to have six nights to one day, but Tagaro sent him underground to rule the souls of the dead.3 An extremely naive Macedonian Mirchos tells how all creation, grateful to the sun for his light and warmth, proposed to reward him with a wife. But the lion said that several sons would be born and all would be burned up. All agreed that it was better for the sun not to marry. In disgust he hid himself in the sea, and all became dark, to the consternation of the animals. But the hen, persuading him that marriage has a disgrace, caused him to rise from the sea every morning.4 This myth obviously originates from the apparent disappearance of the sun into the sea at night, and his apparent rising from it in the morning. An Eskimo myth relates that sun and moon were once removed, causing darkness which no shaman could dispel. A boy sent by his aunt to go south, where he will find the light. He arrives at a hut where light like a lot of fire is burning, but it is hidden by a man shown light which causes obscurity. He steals the light and is pursued. He breaks oil pieces, each of which produces day, which is then followed by night. They are of unequal lengths because sometimes he travels a longer time without throwing a light, sometimes a shorter time.5 This myth exactly reproduces the phenomena of the Arctic dark winter, and the phenomena of days and nights of varying lengths.

Lights of light and darkness; sun and moon.

Day and night or their relatives are symbolic of 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, the sun is female, the moon male.6 It is also found among the Andaman Islanders (the sun is the wife of the moon), the Indians of Guatemala, in Central Celebes, in Curnama, among the Yururo of Peru, in Tahiti, among the Pitos, among the Anima, and among the peasants of Obervolta.7 In another American myth day and night are two wives who produce light and darkness by sitting alternately at the door of their tent.8

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 begins to shine; Tonga-iti throws the other to the dark sky where the moon is. This is explained as Day and Night alternately embracing Earth, their joint offspring being sun and moon.9

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

In many of the myths just cited 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, whether the sun goes at night. The purpose of both implore the demi-god for the sun's release.2 More usually the sun is captured because his course is far too rapid and darkness comes too soon—found in many Polynesian myths, as in a New Zealand myth.4 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.4 Again, he is captured by some persons who wish to amuse themselves, but it becomes so hot that the captors run away.6 The second group of myths is obviously suggested in answer to such a question as was raised by the Inca priest. Why cannot the sun wander freely about? Clearly because he obeys the will of a superior being. This is an idea found also in the mythologies of the higher culture.


Light and darkness, day and night, sun, moon, and stars are often personified or worshipped as gods, or the sun, moon, and stars, as sources of light, are the dwellings of gods. Thus the Lapps believe in a spirit of light who lives in the sun or animates it (EBEE i, 191.5). 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 Bateri, has a name signifying originally Heaven or Sun, and so in many other instances.3 Shango of the Yoruba is the sun, dwelling in a flaming house of brass; one of his trains is Biri, the darkness.4 The Kavorondo worship the moon and its twin, and the latter regarded as apathetic, occasionally beneficent, but usually malignant.5 Among the ancient Teutons and Celts sun and moon were also divinities to whom a cult was paid. Among the Polynesians Ka-ne is the sun, and Tangaloa is the lord of light, his brother being Rongo, god of dark and night.11 The Andaman Islanders connect Pulaga, 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.12 Among the Hottentots Tsni-Goam, the red dawn, is opposed to the dark sky personified as Gaama.13 With the

1. W. G. Wilson, Myth. and Songs from the S. Pacific, London, 1876, p. 49.
2. Grimm, pp. 735 ff.
7. W. Schneider, Die Rel. der aukrit. Naturvölker, Münster, 1884, pp. 43, 60, 80.

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LIGIIET AND DARKNESS (Primitive)

Fijians Nanauina is god of light and fire, whose love of light in his infancy was so great that his mother bound lighted reeds to his head.1

5. Regions of light and darkness.—As in the higher religions the beneficent or loiter gods are connected with light in Polynesia, so also is the sky in which no man can approach unto it, so it is also in savage belief. The Australian high gods, Bunjil, Mangk-njgur, and Balwe, dwell in the sky or in Keladi, 'eternal brightness,' and the Num religion, Murray River tribes is an embodiment of light.2 The higher Polynesian gods, Tangara, Tangada, Ti, etc., dwell in the light heavens, seven or ten in number.3 The Khonds reverence Bura Penna, god of light, or Bella Pooma, the dark god, whose dwellings are the sun and the place where it rises. Pulugia, the Andaman high god, lives in the sky. This is true also of many African gods; e. g., the Zuuls hold that the creator lives in heaven, and Nsamvi Mpana of the Fort Hatts behind the firmament. Similarly one of the names of the supreme being of the Indians of Guiana signifies 'the Ancient One in Skyland.'4 Many of the Teutonic gods, some of them of light, dwell in the sky, where Yathallia was situated.5

So also Elysium, the abode of the blest, whether it is in the sky 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 shades in religions where no deliverance had yet been made between good and bad spirits—the Fab. Aralu, the Hb. Sh'völ, the Greek Hadès (see the series of art. on BLEST, ABODE OF THE)

The subterranean Pukivio or Tarutu of the Caroline Islanders is cold and dark.6 In Polynesia, as Po, 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 whither departed spirits go.7 In Nanumea the wicked go to a place of land and darkness.8 The Japanese Yon, or Oades, means 'darkness,' and is preceded by Sasa-no-wo, a personification of the rain-storm, and a moon god, ruling also the darkness of this island.9 Similarly the Scandinavian Niflheim is a place of darkness surrounded by fog and gloom (see BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Teutonic)).

6. Evil powers and darkness.—Evil gods, gods of death, etc., are often associated with darkness, or divinities who are not evil have often acquired a sinister aspect in so far as they are associated with the night or even with the moon, the ruler of the night. The 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.10 In Polynesia Rongo, brother of Tangarow, is god of darkness and night; Hine-me-te-po, the great mother night, into which all must fall, is a personification of night and death.11 Some Australian divinities to whom evil powers are ascribed are connected with darkness, and, what men's fears peopled with them.2

3 Gill, pp. 4, 13; Ellis, i. 114, 325; Waite-Gerlnd, vi. 2041, 250.
6 Friboul, p. 104.
8 Ellis, i. 296; Waite-Gerlnd, vi. 761.
10 Aston, pp. 54, 257.
11 Gill, pp. 4, 10; Taylor, pp. 198, Ellis, i. 325.
12 Waite-Gerlnd, vi. 895.
13 See E.D. 629.

In S.E. Guinea evil spirits called morotonna inhabit dark places and wander about at night; and in New Britain Kais, a spirit causing disease, earthquake, and destruction of places.1 The Tasmanians thought that lower spirits concealed themselves in dark ravines by day and came forth at night to de-3

deform.2 The Australians also personified darkness in a variety of horrible beings ready to pounce upon men.3 Innumerable other examples could be cited. Similarly, among the Culla and Teutons a variety of demonic and supernatural beings were associated with the darkness, and in folk superstition generally faeries, witches, demons, werewolves, vampires, and ghosts are most powerful in the hours of darkness, especially at the moon midnight hour when spirits have force.4 ART. DEMONS AND SPIRITS, FAIRY, LIGITTIIHOOO, VARIES.

Among savages, as also among higher races, there is a wide-spread fear of the dark. Many savages will not travel or even leave their huts or camps 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.5 For similar reasons an eclipse of the sun or moon is universally feared. Generally a monster is supposed to be destroying these bodies, and, since they are so often regarded as the sources of light, it is feared that their destruction would mean a return to the primordial darkness. Hence the idea that the lower ceases at dawn, or that, if they are surprised by daylight, they are destroyed. This applies to all evil beings, demons, witches, 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,2 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, figured as a beast or demon, but again emerges victorious. Hence in some instances on the lower levels of culture light, or day, and death, or darkness, or night, may be personified and regarded as in conflict. That this was the case is obvious from such a dualistic system as the Parsee, which is fundamentally concerned with an older natural dualism of light and darkness, giving rise to a moral dualism of good and evil. The same dualism is found sporadically in other higher religions, and in faiths in which the influence of Persianism was felt,8 also perhaps in such a dualism as exists in the religion of the Buriats (i. e.). On the other hand, since light, day, sun, seem to rise out of night, they are perhaps more often regarded as produced by darkness, rather than hostile to it, as in Polynesian mythology and elsewhere (s. t). It is also probable that modern inquisitions 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 the sky being necessarily meant a contest between light and dark-

1 Brown, Melanesians and Polynesians, pp. 325, 357.
2 A. Lang, Abor. of Tasmania, London, 1890, p. 53.
3 Waite-Gerlnd, vi. 891; Brough Smyth, i. 457; Spencer-Gillies, 496.
4 Sir W. Scott, Rice of St. John, verse 24.
5 Turner, Signs, p. 341.
6 Lame, 4AR.II 31-137; also art. TRAPPERS AND PIRATES.
8 See Dabinhardt, p. 57, 58.
ness. While it is possible that certain American myths adumbrate such a contest, it is likely that, on arbitrary philologized grounds, such an interpretation has been too easily applied to them. One aspect of such a mystified notion of the contest among the dark gods is often regarded as opposite in nature or opposed to divinities or spirits of light—e.g., gods residing in the heavens. In primitive religion decisive examples of such 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 light, winter summer, etc. If, as has been assumed, the Polynesian Mau is the sun (though, as has been seen, Mau is the sun), then the story of how he intended to pass through the body of Hine-nui-te-po, but was unsuccessful and died, and so brought death into the world might be a myth of the sun or light being swallowed up by darkness. In Khond belief the supreme creator, Bura Pennu, the light- or sun-god, is opposed, not by darkness, but by Yari Pennu, the earth-goddess, the absence of which, in another evil, 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-wo, the storm-god and later maker of the gods. The gods dance in front of the cave, and she comes out to see them and is prevented from re-entering. Light is thus restored to the world. This suggests a myth of the strife between light and darkness that describes 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 Teutonic languages 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.


J. A. MacCulloch.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Chinese).—The Chinese outlook on life and attitude towards religion gives more prominence to light than to darkness. The two principles which pervade all nature and to which everything is assigned—the sin and yung 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 lower world of gloom and semi-darkness. It is difficult to classify as gods of darkness any of the gods of the Chinese, unless Yama (Yen-ma, Yen-lo), the ruler of Hades, with his entourage of officials and demons, be considered as such. The light of the sun is wanting in the Chinese neither world; it is a land of shades and of the shadow of death, for a twilight gloom prevails. The idea of hell in Taoism was derived from Buddhism; but the conception was developed on Chinese lines. Utter darkness may be seen in the beings associated with light and darkness rather than in these themselves personified. Thus the demoninc beings who have power in the darkness are generally powerless and are not feared by day.

In the primitive religion of the ancient Chinese nature-worship was prominently apparent. The sun was the primeval deity; other deities were either fired by lightning, and priests clanged cymbals and chanted prayers to the sun and moon. While all this was going on, the populace fired crackers and clashed pots and pans to frighten the monster away.

There is an altar to the sun in 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 bright (Yung) and darkness or the symbols of, or attributes applied to, goodness and virtue. The rising of the brightest object in the sky is suggestive of advancing, and Hsi Ying-wan of the Yuen dynasty (A.D. 1250-1367) 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 in the Te Tih Chih:

'We should temper our brightness, and bring ourselves into agreement with the obscurity of others.'

'Use the light that is within you to the utmost, and let that darkness in the heart of men, which is the source of the spiritual malady of mankind, work on you to make you gentle, calm, and patient.'

There is the god of lightning, worshiped by both Buddhists and Taoists, who, according to the popular mythology, was appointed to accompany the god of thunder on his expedition 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-bejeweled Chinese kitchen, he mistook it for rice and killed with his chisel and hammer the supposed waster of good food. To prevent the recurrence of such an event the godess carries a mirror in each hand, or one in her two hands, and flashes light on objects before the god strikes. This is the explanation of the lightning's fiery wing.

The god of fire is another of the gods connected with light. His name, Hwa Kwang, may be rendered 'Beautiful Light.' Unlike the majority of the popular gods, he was not originally a human

11 For these myths see D. G. Berlese, Myths of the New World, Philadelphia, 1866, p. 198 ff.; Tyler, PC^, ii. 200 ff. For some arguments against these views see A. Lang, Natures Savoir, Central, xix. (1880) 54-65, and Custom and Myth, London, 1892, p. 107 ff. (against Hahn's theory of a contest of light and darkness, or Taoist mythology).


7 E. B. Tyler, PC^, London, 1891, p. 84.

8 Littlacion, p. 104.

9 Grimm, p. 762.

10 Grimm, p. 804.

11 Grimm, p. 762.
being, but a lamp, of which the sunlings of the vick were turned into a man by the recital of a charm. He is the formal and soul of fire. Both Buddhists and Taoists claim him.

The Buddhists defly light by personification in the bodhisattva Marichiva. The Chinese god represents 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 Heaven. The Taoists also claim her as one of their deities, and fix her residence in a star in the constellation of Sagittarius.

Buddha after Buddha, commencing with Sakyamuni Buddha, has light as one of his attributes, or some manifestation of light appears in the course of his life in connection with him. Five-coloured lights flashed at his birth, and flame burst from his dead body. Every Buddha has, among his characteristics, a circle of hairs between his eyebrows by which he can illuminate the universe.

The Bodhisattva, One whom the Law displays myriad Luminous Figures, 'The Buddha of Fixed Light,' 'Light and Bright,' 'The Bright Effulgence of Sun and Moon,' 'The Bright and Efficient Sun and Moon.' The 59th Buddha of the present era is Amitabha, 'The Buddha of Wonderful Light.' Some twenty billions of Buddhas have the title of 'Cloud Sovereign Illuminating King.' Five hundred arhats will reappear as Buddhas with the name of 'Wide-spread Brightness.' Some variations in this conception in which Buddhism believes shed a glint of light. A realm mentioned in Buddhism 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.' Buddha has five Luminous Treasures, and a fictitious degree of samadhi is also called 'Pure Light and Brightness,' and another 'Pure Light.'

In Northern Buddhism the 'Buddha of Boundless Light,' or the 'Great Cosmic Buddha of Light,' Amitabha (Amithaba), originated in the idea of boundless light, and was thought of at first as impersonal. He is the most popular of all the Buddhas among the Chinese people. In his heaven, the wonderful and glorious Paradise is a light of itself, and in the presence of the Buddha, and three thousand great worlds. Amita Buddha himself, in the words of the Chinese poem singing his praises, has a

'... halo of light that enshrines his head,
The sun at noonday is less glorious than he.'

As to those who enter that heaven,

'The material body of men on earth
Is changed for another ethereal and bright,
That is seen from afar to be glowing with light.'

This new mystical shades make use of the symbol of light in its description of religious states of its devotees.1 In some cases light plays an important part in the advent to earth of a god on his incarnation, and even one of the mythical emperors of China, the Yellow Emperor (2698 B.C.), owed his origin to this.

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

We find a brilliant light in connexion with the preparations for the birth of the Taoist Cummans Sovereign, the Supreme Ruler, and in his later incarnations a golden light or a glimmering light2 descends. Somewhat similar experiences occurred when the Taotist Aged Sire united with light, and became dust and was born on earth.3 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 emptied.

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

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently cited in the 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 OT, as will be seen by the references given below. As time went on, the metaphor of light served as one method of expressing the theological conception of the Persons of the Holy Trinity.

1. The symbolism in the NT.—We may pass by the obvious metaphor by which to speak or act 'in the light' is to do so 'openly,' and to speak or act 'in the darkness' is to do so 'secretly,' as in Mt 10:26, Lk 12:2 (a few OT allusions). More to our purpose are the numerous passages where 'light' denotes knowledge, truth, and holiness, and 'darkness' denotes ignorance and sin—ignorance in all its phases being included in the latter; light and darkness are thus symbols of blindness, error, and wickedness; for blindness, if willful, becomes sin. The opposition between light and darkness is expressed in Jn 3:20: 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 doth ill hateth the light.' 'Darkness' expresses the state of the world before the Incarnation (Jn 1:* 8, Lk 1:30); the idea is taken from Is 9:1, 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 3:5, Is 8:17, 1 Th 5:5, Ro 2:19, Lk 19:4). In Jn 8:* the 'light of life' is the light which both springs from life and issues in life (B. F. Westcott, 'Propel 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:* the 'bodily full of light' (φωτισμός) denotes purity and holiness; darkness here means 'bodily full of darkness' (σκότος) denotes evil; so Lk 1:34 (cf. Lr 14),

1 See T. Richards, The New Test. of Higher Buddhism, Edinburgh, 1900, pp. 64, 154, 151, etc.
2 Dyer Ball, Scraps from Chinese Mythology, in China Review, xi. 17:1, 190, 295, 257

1 See T. Richards, The New Test. of Higher Buddhism, Edinburgh, 1900, pp. 55, 149, 151, etc.
2 Dyer Ball, Scraps from Chinese Mythology, in China Review, xi. 17:1, 190, 295, 257.
In Ac 26:4 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, ‘The work of darkness’; the evil deeds of the present ‘night’, and the ‘amour de lumières’ to be put on view in the approach of the day (Ro 13:2; cf. Eph 5:7; ‘right’, ‘night’, and ‘day’ in this connexion see 1 Th 5:23). We are partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, and have been delivered out of the power of darkness (Col 1:13). The fruit of the light is in all goodness, righteousness, and truth (Eph 5:9, RV). Light has no communion with darkness, and therefore Christians are not to be transferred wholly or partly to unbelievers (2 Co 6:14, quoted in Apost. Const. viii. 34, to forbid Christians to pray with heathen). So St. Paul uses the verb ‘to darken’ (παρασκευάζειν or οὐσιάζειν) in Ro 12:18 and Eph 4:18 metaphorically of the hardening of the heart or the blinding of the eyes by ignorance, just as he uses ‘to enlighten’ (φανερώσειν) in a metaphorical sense in Eph 1:18 (cf. Jn 1:1; see below, § 4). St. Peter speaks of our being called out of darkness into God’s marvellous light (1 P 2:9). The curious passage 2 P 1:11, where prophecy is as ‘a lamp shining in a squallid (άνώτατον) place’, may be compared with Mic 4, where ‘darkness’ is used of want of spiritual perception in a prophet.

The name ‘Light’ is given to God. Not only is light a gift of God, but God is by nature ‘Light’ (1 Jn 1:5 φως αιωνίων); therefore He can be known by His creatures, and is all-holy, for in Him is no darkness at all. This goes much further than St. John, where He is called the ‘Light of the world’. In Je 12:7, He is called ‘the Father of lights’ (τὸν φως τῶν ἐκκλησίων). This divine attribute is claimed by or ascribed to our Lord in Jn 8:12 (‘I am the light of the world’); Mt 5:14, 16; 16:13, 15; (from Is 8); St. John says that in the Word was life, and the life was the light of men, shining in the darkness; He was ‘the true Light which lighteth every man, coming into the world’, i.e. by His Incarnation (but see Westcott’s note), in contrast to the Baptist, who was but a witness of the light (Jn 1:4). Because He is the light, He will shine (τζωταμάτισα) on the awakened sleeper (Eph 5:14). He is to be a light to all men (Ac 13:47; quoting Is 40:5 (the reference is to St. John), and though the Apostles identifies his mission with that of his Master; cf. Is 42, where the Servant of Jehovah is to be a light to the Gentiles—a phrase repeated of the ‘Son of Man’ in Eph 4:18, xlvii. (41st cent. B.C.)). This use of light and darkness (1 Th 5:5) might be applied to the Son (so Chrysostom, Hom. xlvii. in 1 Tim., in loc.) or to the Father, but probably it refers to the Father (cf. Ps 104, Dn 25). See also § 3, below.

In an inferior sense the servants of the Incarnate are ‘lights.’ The Baptist (see above) is ‘a lamp that burneth and shineth’, in whose light the disciples were willing to rejoice for a season (Jn 5:35). All Christians are the light of the world (Mt 5:16, cf. Ph 2:15; 1 Th 5) and Eph 5 (‘once darkness… now light in the Lord’). The angels are angels of light (2 Co 11:14; we may compare the light which shone when the angel released St. Peter, Ac 12). In contrast to this, the devil and his angels are ‘world-rulers of this darkness’ (Eph 6:12), i.e., as the Peshîtha paraphrases, ‘rulers of the world of this darkness’ (meaning of this dark world), and their realm is the ‘outer darkness’ mentioned in Mt 8:27 (for Jewish parallels see W. C. Allen’s note in loc., ICC [1912] 225, 225); this is the place of punishment of unholy and unhallowed, where the fallen angels are said to be ‘kept in everlasting bonds under darkness’ (ἡμετέρας until the great day), and 2 P 2, where the ‘blackness of the darkness’ (τὰ σκοτάδια αὐτῶν) is said to have been kept for evil men. The same idea of punishment is found in Ezh. Enoch, lxvii. 6, where the wicked say: ‘Light has vanished from before us, and darkness is our dwelling-place for ever and ever’; on the other hand, God will for the elect ‘transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light’ (Hev. 4).

2. The same symbolism in the Fathers.—The symbolism of light and darkness is not so common in Patristic writings as in the NT, but a few examples may be given in the 1st and 2nd centuries. At the close of the Apostolic period the Epistle of Barnabas (§§ 18-20) describes the two ways, of light and darkness, i.e. of good and evil (cf. De 30:19); over the former are stationed the light-giving (φωτεινοί) angels of God, and over the latter the angels of Satan. In the 3rd cent. Origen calls Celsus’s arguments darkness, the truth light (cf. Cels. vi. 67). Lecturing A.D. 348, Cyril of Jerusalem says (Cot. vi. 9) that the Father is eternal light, beaming inconstancy, a metaphor is found in the Ancient Church Orders — e.g., in the Egyptian (Coptic) Church Order (662), the Verona Fragments of the Didascalia, etc. (ed. E. Hauler, Leipzig 1890, p. 119), and the Testament of our Lord, ii. 24: ‘The Father is mn σύνορατον της Αλήθειας and Wisdom) to enlighten the saints.’ In the last-mentioned work (Eng. tr., J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, Edinburgh, 1902) the symbolism is very common, both in the apocalyptic prolongue (where it probably comes from an original apocryphal, perhaps of the 2nd cent.; see JThSt xiv. [1913] 601-604) and in the Church Order proper. Christians are children of light (i.e., pref., 1. 3, 12, 37). In the liturgy of this world (v., vi.) it is called ‘the Father of lights’ (Ja 1:19), ‘King of the treasures of light,’ ‘Illuminator of the perfect,’ ‘Giver of light eternal.’ Elsewhere in the book He is called ‘Giver or Maker of light’ (i. 26, 43), ‘God of the lights of the ocean’ (cf. 1 Th 5:20; 1:4), ‘Light (φως)’ (i. 7). Our Lord is ‘Begetter of light… Guardian of light eternal,’ who has ‘shed light on the darkness within us’ (i. 28). Jesus is the name of light (i. 27). The illumination of the heart is frequently referred to (i. 21, 25, 28, 32, 38, ii. 5, 7, 9). Somewhat more sparingly the titles ‘the Light of the World’ and the Apostolic Constitutions, Christians are ‘children of light’ (i. 2, ii. 32, 46, 54), as in the parallel passages of the Older Didascalia (see these, arranged on opposite pages, in E. X. Funk, Didaskalia et Const. Apostolorum, Paderborn, 1905). The Father inhabits light inaccessible (Apost. Const. vi. 11, viii. 15, from 1 Th 5). Jesus is the true light (v. 16), and the bishop must be a student, and enlighten himself with the light of the world, the Lord (v. 7). These phrases (except v. 16) are not in the Older Didascalia. In Serojipon’s Sacramental body is called the ‘Font of light,’ and is prayed to give us the (or a) Spirit of light (§ 1: JThSt [1839] 105, in Funk [op. cit. ii. 172], numbered i. 13). Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. xi. 5, [A.D. 351]) calls angels and men ‘light’ in an inferior sense, though in the highest sense God alone is light.

In the Clementine Recognitions, now thought to be of the 4th cent., Simon Magnus, denying that God has a Son, says that there is a power of infinite and ineffable light (i.e. God), of which power even the Demiurges, Moses, and Jesus are ignorant (i. 49).
3. Light as describing the relation of the Father and the Son.—We may now investigate the use of the phrase 'Light of Light' (φως εἰς φως) as opposed to 'Light of the Father and the Son.' We shall now find that the word Light is in Now Testament Greek, though of course not in the Eusebian phrase 'Light of the Father and the Son.' But the phrase above is not used, though in the Πσ. Ουρανος 1 Light is still the Father and the Son; but the phrase is not used, though in the Πσ. Ουρανος 1 Light is still the Father and the Son: but the phrase above is not used, though in the Πσ. Ουρανος 1 Light is still the Father and the Son: but Light of the Father and Light of the Son. It is therefore possible to use it of the Father and the Son. It is therefore possible to use it of the Father and the Son.

2. Justin. On the other hand, the phrase 'Light of Light' is not in the creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus (c. A.D. 263), which has only 'Sole of Sole (φῶς ἐκ φῶς) God of God' (it is given in Ante-Nicene Chr. Lib. xx. [1882] 5). In Cyril of Jerusalem (c. iv. 7) the Son is called 'begotten Life of Life, begotten Light of Light;' in vi. 4 Cyril repeats this phrase and adds 'Truth of Truth, and Wisdom of Wisdom, and the King of Life and Power of Power' (cf. xi. 18). The phrase 'Light of Light' occurs in R. H. Connolly's reconstruction of Aphraates' creed (4th cent.; J. T. M. 1908) 290, but not in the creeds of the various Church Fathers, though those of the Apostol. Const. (vi. 11) and of the Egyptian (Coptic) and Ethiopic Church Orders are of the Eastern type (those of the Tischendorf, or, as it were, of Hippolytus, and the Western or Roman creed). It is instructive to note the different creeds of the Council of Antioch in Iconium, A.D. 541. The second creed has 'God of God, Whole of Whole, Sole of Sole, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of the living, the living Wisdom, Life, the true Light,' etc. The third creed has 'merely' perfect God of perfect God. The fourth creed, drawn up by a continuation of the Son, has 'God of God, Light of Light, . . . the Word and Wisdom and Power and Life, and the true Light' (these creeds are given in Athanasius, de Synodis, 28, 24, 25, and the second and fourth in Socrates, H. E. i. 10, 18; see them also in Hefele, Concilia, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1876, vi. 77–80).

4. Baptism and light.—In the early Church the symbolism of light was closely connected with the sacrament of initiation. Baptism was, especially by the Greeks, called 'illumination,' φωτισμός or φωτισθεῖν, as in Justin (Apol. i. 61), in Gregory of Nazianzus (Orat. xi. 1; cf. ii. 30), once in the Apostol. Const. (i. 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 xi. 5, v. i metaphorically, of knowledge: cf. 2 Co 5:1, and in the Older Dionysius (Copt. Latin Fragments, ed. Hauler, p. 87; 'post illuminationem quod dictum Chungton fotsimus, with reference to Ιερος [not in the corresponding passage of Apost. Const.]. Similarly the selected candidates for baptism were called φωτισθεῖν, 'those who are in the process of being illuminated,' and the baptized were called 'the illumined' (αὐθίναρχοι) as in Justin (Apol. i. 61, 65, Dial. 122). Clement of Alexandria (Protr. i. 6), who quotes Eph 5:8 of baptism, and wrongly derives φωτισθεῖν,
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. Scundamore, in DC&A ii. 993 ff.).

This may be partly true, though it does not explain all the circumstances: the Arabische Dioscorida (§ 35), which describes its own church buildings from the Testament of our Lord, i. 19, transfigures this name into Arabic (Funk, Dial. et Const. Ap. ii. 124 f.).

The use of light is found also in the NT. In He 11:10 the ardent pupil perceived (‘illuminated’), denoting a definite act, clearly refers to the Christian act of initiation, and the Syriac versions, both the Peshitta and the Harqel, in translating these passages explicitly refer them to baptism.

The metaphor has been thought to have been derived from the Greek mysteries, though the NT αἰνήσαντες are quite unlike the heathen ones in that in the former the revelation of the unknown is imparted to initiates (cf. Mk 4:11; Co 14:13-14, and Co 12, where see Lightfoot’s note).

The custom of the candidates for baptism carrying torches probably came from the metaphor, not the metaphor from the custom, which is perhaps alluded to by Cyril of Jerusalem (Cat., i. 1) and certainly in pseudo-Ambrose (de Lapis. Virg. v. 19), A. D. 374 [2].

There is a 2nd cent. legend, mentioned by Justin (Dial. c. G. 88), that when Jesus was baptized, ‘a fire was kindled in Jordan.’ It is from an apocryphal Preaching of Peter, in the Ebionite Gospel, and in the Old Latin codices α ‘γ’ (in Mt 3:11 they read ‘hunc ingens’ or ‘magnum’; see H. E. Swete, Holy Script. IV. Lorn., 1904, p. 43 n.), and is a commonplace of Syriac literature. In the Diatessaron it was related that a light flashed on Jordan and the river was girt with a white cloud. This reading is attested by Eusébius (Hist. Eccl., iv. 20, and E. C. Harle, The Canonist, Cambridge, 1904, p. 115).

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

5. Liturgical Use of Lights.—There are many traces of the symbolic use of lights in Christian services, from the 4th cent. onwards. Perhaps the earliest is in connection with funerals. At the Spanish Council of Elvira (c. A.D. 305, can. 34) the custom of burning candles in the day-time in a cemetery was forbidden, lest the spirits of the saints should be disturbed—a custom probably borrowed from the heathen (see Heide, op. cit. i. 120). But in some form the custom continued. Lights were carried, as in heathen, so in Christian, funeral processions; see Gregory of Nyssa, de Vita S. Marcius (near the end, ed. Paris, 1638, ii. 204 A; c. A.D. 389); and Funeral Oration in Meteora (near the end; A.D. 381). Eusébius says (Vit. Const. iv. 66) that Constantine’s body lay in state surrounded by candles burning in candlesticks of gold, presenting a marvellous spectacle; and Gregory the Great (Ep. iv. 3, to Januarius, A.D. 608) speaks of relatives at a funeral offering lights for churches.

About the 4th cent. we find the symbolic use of lights in other Christian services. In the Testament of our Lord (1. 19) it is directed that all parts of the church be lighted, both for a type, and also for reading. The derived Arabische Dioscorida expands this phrase thus: ‘Let them be lighted with many lights as a figure of heavenly things, especially in the reading of the pericope of the sacred books’ (§ 35; Funk, op. cit. ii. 125). It has been suggested that lights had necessarily been in use in the catacombs and in the assemblies before dawn.

The candle was carried before the compunctates to the font (ct. § 4, above), and denoted the rising of the Sun of righteousness. The Liber Pontificalis says that Pope Zosimus (A.D. 417) extended the custom of blessing the Paschal candle to the 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 usherers in Good Friday. After each of the three noontides 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 (DC&A ii. 954).

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 carried before a dignity, we gather that the general idea was that, on the one hand, Christ is the Light of the world, and that, on the other, Christianity is the religion of light and Christians are children of light. There is an open religion, not confined to the few, like the Greek mysteries, not hiding itself, as those cults which became so common in the heathen world, and loved darkness rather than light. Such seems to be the symbolism of the liturgical use of lights.
LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Greek and Roman)

In the fields of the Hellenic and the Italian civilizations we have in historic times a divinity recognized as supreme, Zeus or Jupiter, who is a personalization of the sky and the daylight that fills it. He has counterparts in the religious systems of kindred races. Among Greeks and Romans and peoples subjected to their influence there are two groups of contrasted deities, those of the upper world (Olympos, di superi) and those of the under world (Olympos, di inferi), the former the authors of life and increase and prosperity, the latter of death and waning and misery to mortal creatures.

1. Greek.—Certain varying waves of tendency, characteristic of the development of belief 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 repeated entrances to the domain of Hades and darkness were numerous in early Greek days. In many instances, subterranean pheno-

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(3) The symbolism of the NT is treated in H. B. and J. Moffatt, in D.C., art. "Light." on the whole subject see also the works mentioned in the course of the article.

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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 the god of the dead. His divinity was sometimes aided by euphemism, causing the light deities to be propitiated by well-sounding titles. So the avenging spirits of gloom, the Furies, were venerated as 'Eumenides,' 'benevolent ones' (cf. art. EUMENIDES, EINNTES; EUPHEMISM).

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 the old things divine. As human traits were inwrought into the texture of dimly apprehended superhuman existences, 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, even the dawn-god, Hecate, 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 (Metam. xii. 388). But the divine being who is wrenched in need of the sun, and so generally lose that particular contact with nature which gave him his origin. Zeus remained the actual source of events in the sky. Where we say 'it rains' or 'it snows,' the Greek said 'he rains,' or 'he snows,' aness than the delight in heavenly radiance. The spots at which there were repeated entrances to the domain of Hades and darkness were numerous in early Greek days. In many instances, subterranean pheno-

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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 Apollo. It is sometimes a sign of divine anger, as when Semele died by its stroke, sometimes an indication that the god has signified his will and given warning of the impending calamity. To interpret the sign is, of course, a matter for an expert. Lightning was thus connected with divination and prophecy, and spots struck by the sacred bolt were revered.

The fire which is of use to men on earth could not but be regarded as in its origin divine, and as venerable, being a symbol of the eternal. The apparent everlastingness of the fire of which sun, moon, and stars are the manifestations doubtless led to the idea of a constant and unceasing fire in the earth, or, as it is called in Hellenic, the earthly fire. Hence, the great metal-worker, the goddess of the 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, equipment, and equipment of the Olympians, of the scenes of Zeus, of the arrows of Apollo and Artemis. Hestia, goddess of the family hearth, has an especial connection with earthly fire. She is the only one of the greater deities whose name has a transparent significance in life, equivalent to the hearth of the house, always regarded as in some sense an altar. As every house had this altar, so the great State family had its central hearth-altar for all the banquets. When a city sent out some of its sons to found a colony afar, the central fire of the new community was lighted from the central fire of the old home. When a city was under a monarch or despot, its common hearth was in his dwelling in a republican community it was in the town-hall (παρευρεσ [see, further, art. HEALTH, HEALTH-GODS [Greek]). The conception of Hestia remained one of the clearest and simplest in the range of Greek religion. Where the name of a divinity retained an obligation to an altar, the cultus, and an altar itself, was clear; as, for instance, by Hestia, 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 considered that in the sun lay the guiding principle (περασεως) of the universe. It was common to call the heavenly bodies ‘visible gods’ as opposed to the invisible deities. 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., translated the sun at dawn, like many an Oriental of to-day. That the practice was popular in Greece is shown by the salute which Socrates 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 Hellenistic period, received 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 wide-spread in the philosophic age was the legendary account of the sun, 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 Romans notions concerning the regions of light and darkness were clothed in some distinctive forms. The dread of evil that might befall if the inhabitants of the other world,
LIGHT AND DARKNESS

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departed spirits of mortals, did not recidve

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in Hellenic communities.
till Cliristianily prevailed, the bodies of tlie dead
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monies pointed to a remote age when inhumation

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In primitive

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days the tumh
must have been re^'arded as the only place haunted
by the ghosts, and down to the latest age it was so
treated in many ceremonial practices. But quite
early a conception must have sprung up of a general
habitation for those who were colloquially called
the majority.'
The Romans, however, never
imagined for themselves a judgment beyond the
tomb, which .should assign one dwelling-place for
the good, another for the bad. The great sclieme
pictured by Virgil in ^niid vi., which h;vs stimulated the imagination not only of poets but of
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many religionists ever since, was drawn after tireek
patterns.
The genuine Roman under world was a
tract of gloom, and the spirits were minded to do
harm to the living unless tlieir wants were supplied,
though to avoid otfence they were called good
people' (mnnes).
The ritual for the foundation of
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a new city required that somewhere near its centre
an underground chamber called mundus should be
provided, into which were e.ist fruits of the eartli,
probably to satisfy the hunger of the dead, thou.:;li
that may not have been the only purpose of the
mundus.
This chamber was opened at stated
times mentioned in the calendar,'.when fresh oll'erings were made to the departed, who were thus
kept in order and restricted to appearances on the
These gifts, presented by the
daj's set apart.
nation as a whole to the nation's dead, were parallel
to the private presentations at each of the family
tombs. Special days for the service of the dead
existed in Greece, but they were never so general
or so precisely ordered as among the Romans.
There was one mvndus on the I'alatine Hill supposed
to have been the work of Romulus when he founded
Rome there was another in the Forum, and others
elsewhere.
Otlerings at these places were made to
all the di infiri
a phrase in which dead mortals
Every
are included, as being in some sort divine.
Roman tombstone was inscribed Dis manibus,' to
the divine spirit.s.' The Lnrra and Leitiures, to
whom propitiatory offerings were made, are merely
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the ghosts regarded collectively, in their unsatisfied
and therefore terrifying aspect.
As to special divinities of the realms beneath,
the earliest worshipped at Rome seems to have
been Tellus, Mother Earth, 'the parent of all
things and their common tomb,' as Lucretius calls
her (v. '259). In the later age slie was le.ss and le.ss
regarded, in consequence of the attractiveness of
Greek invasions in the sphere of religion. Names
like Genita Mana, Lara, and others invoked in the
indigitameiilii (}.!'.), appear to have been epithets
So, in (Greece, Gaia was in some sense a
of Earth.
goddess of the dead, and the same attribute was,
of coarse, given to the divinized Hgure of Earth in
other mythologies (cf. art. Earth, Earth-gods,

when Horace acted as laureate and suiqilicd the
Carmen Hweulare.
The idea of a <'ommunication with the realms of
darkness through an opening in the earth can be
traced in other rlirections. The dcvotio, whercliy
a citizen could give himself up to the powers of
gloom and thereby secure a favour for his country,
Livy (vii. 6) and other ancient
is an exami)le.
writers have told how, in 362 B.C., Curtius, riding
in full armour, made his horse jump with him into
a chasm in tiie Forum, which closed up after him.

The spot retained the name of the pool of Curtius.'
Here in the reign of Augustus the populace cast
down coins every year on the emperors birthday,
to .secure his welfare (Suetonius, Auq. o1).
The
dcvo/io of the Decii, who vowed themselves to
death by the enem}', thereby binding the powers
to favour the s.afety of the country, w as somewhat
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Hut, should the devoted man fail to
lind his death, the terms of his vow were satisfied
by burying a lay figure in the earth with due ceiemony a curious example of the ease with which
the gods might Lie cheated in Roman ritual. Tha
walling up of the erring Vestal Virgin is an instance of the penal application of the devotio.
It is hard to discover in Roman religion the
worship of divinities clearly connected with
dill'erent.

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heavenly objects before the time when Greek and
Oriental influences became powerful. Even the
relation of Jupiter to the light of the sun does not
come out with distinctness. The word Lencesie'
addressed to him in the very primitive hymn that
survived in the ritual of the Arval Brothers' {rj.r.)
refers to him as god of light, and a con'esponding
epithet Lucetia' was applied to Juno, indicating
a connexion between her and the moon. The
antiquarian scholars of the late Republic declared
that Titus Tatius, the Sabine king of Rome, had
introduced the worship of the sun and moon into
Rome from his own country, and that a temple of
the sun on the Aventine was founded by him.
This was the opinion of Varro (</« Ling. Lett. v.
74), and Tacitus {Ann. xv. 41) attributed a temple
of the moon (Luna) on the Capitol to Servius
Tullius.
But the official Roman calendar of festivals, which is known to enshrine very ancient
usage, gives no sign of official reverence paid to
sun or moon, nor have we any sound evidence of
a public priesthood devoted to them either at
Rome or elsewhere among Italic peoples, though
Varro assigned such an office in old days to the
gens of the Aurelii. They were supposed to have
come from the countiy of the Sabines, in whose
tongue ausel denoted the sun. The Aventine, as
is well known, was a home of cults introduced
from Greece. The existence of a deity called
Noctiluca (the night-shining one ') on the Palatine
is hard to explain. The situation ini]rlies high antiquity, for no god realized as foreign was allowed to
take up an alKide w ithin the pomrrium of the city
The
before the age of the Second Punic War.
name may have been an epithet of Juno, who was
connected with the sky. In a ceremony connected
with the fixin" of the calendar she was addressed
as Juno Covella, Juno, goddess of the sky.' The
name Lucina (closely connected with lux) was
attached to her as the power which brought the
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§8).

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curious place of communication with the infernal regions was a spot called Terentus' in the Campus Martins, where probably at one time mephitic
vapours escaped. 'I his became in 249 B.C. the
centre for a cult newly imported from Greece that
of Dis (whose name is a rendering of Pluto or Plo»ton)and Proserpina. The cult was probably grafted
on to more ancient and jmrely Roman ceremonial.
The blend gave rise to the characteristically Rom.in
secular games,' celebrated theoretically, but not
always in practice, at intervals of a century, to
ensure the safety of the city. The most famous
celebration is that ordered by Augustus in 17 B.C.,
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(Greek and Roman)

child to light

and

birth.

When

tlie .ancient Italic

goddess Diana was equated witli Artemis, the
function of the Greek goddess, a-s superintending
human birth, was transferred to Diana.
The veneration of 'V'olcanus as god of fire belongs
but, unlike
to an old stratum in Roman religion
Hepluiistos, he was worshipped, it seems excluto
men from
sively, as iirotector against danger
He was a popular divinity, and his cult was
fire.
one of those which longest survived the introduction of Christianity. The forms with which
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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 complex than that of the Greek. The structure of the Roman family resisted the assaults of time more stoutly than that of the Greek family. A great feature of Roman religion is the parallelism in many respects of the religious ceremonial of the family and that of the State. And the private and public worship of Vesta resembled each other not a little. Every house bad a cult of Vesta, and the name was restricted to the divinity; it had no connotation like the name Hestia, which meant 'hearth' as well as goddess. So thoroughly is Vesta a Latin deity that outside Latium hardly any signs of her existence have been found—a surprising fact when the similarity between Hestia and Vesta is remembered. In the home the cult of the goddess belonged to the matron and the virgin daughters, whose duty it was to see that the fire on the hearth was not extinguished. The centre of worship for the great State family was the ancient shrine of Vesta in the Forum, and the Vestal Virgin was the chief attendant in the service 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 dwelt her priestesses, the Vestals, who, in their sacred possessions, the Vestals had not 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 anthropomorphic impulses of her worshippers. The Vestals dwelt by the side of 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 office an appanage of the emperor, and made over the official house to the Vestals. He then set aside with proper ceremony a portion of the palace on the hill; this was the Palatine, and established there a second State temple of the goddess (see, further, art. HEARTH, HEARTH-GODS [Roman]).

We turn now to the later age of Rome. The conscious worship of the sun marked distinctively the dying days of Roman paganism. The oldest shrine dedicated to the sun was on the Quirinal, and seems to belong to the time of the Second Punic War, and to be a result of the mighty tide of religious influence which poured upon the world from Hellas. 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 before the temple of Caesar, and they were supposed to be devoted to the sun. Vespasian transformed it into a representation of the sun a great colossal figure erected by Nero in his own honour. Several inscriptions attributed to increase Roman reverence for the hamiltar. But, when Calpurnius, the son of the emperor, was killed in the summer of the century, A.D., bear increasing evidence. Some of the most powerful divine invaders who came from the East to conquer the West were solar divinities. 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, especi-
the emperor as embodying the monothetic conception; and, in so far as that is concerned, he may be said to have borrowed from the East. An interesting inscription recently discovered in Mysia records that the elder Constantine had ordered the consecration of an image of the sun and the establishment of a ceremony in his honour just before the great crowning victory of Constantine, for Arianism in 323 A.D. Some years later, Constantine had ceased to put the sun on his coins, a practice common since Aurelian's time.

We come now to the most dominant of all the representatives of the sun in the Roman sphere—Mithra. It was during that Empire that the cult of the sun in many inscriptions. The Mithraic system was complex and many-sided, however, and this is only one aspect of the god. His cult embraced elements derived from many sources, not only from the Persian religion in which his origin is to be found, but from Babylon and elsewhere. Sun, moon, and stars were prominent in the ritual. The extraordinary spread of Mithraism in the Roman empire was mainly the result of tendencies which had been noted in the vague of Mithra was especially notable on the fringes of the empire and in the camps situated there. Many of his shrines have been found in the inner lands, especially on the sites of sea-ports and he the Roman college, where M. Gaecleker a few years ago discovered a remarkable shrine. Another lies under the church of San Clemente, and memorials have been found also where the Vatican now stands. The certainty of the Mithraic worship was especially due to the provision which it made for satisfying some yearnings which afterwards found a fuller gratification in Christianity. So many were the resemblances between the religion of Christ and that of Mithra that Christians attributed them to the subtle maladaption of evil demons. The religion spread rapidly among the freedmen and soldiers, but also attracted the educated and the officials, and found favour with princes. It's close-knit organization, with its official priests and its ascending grades of illumination, kept believers together in the manner of the Christian rites. It owed much of its hold over the West to the moral element which its mysteries embodied. It instilled into its followers a high sense of life and a hope in death than any other form of pagan creed.

The conversion of Constantine, however, gave it its deathblow. Like other heathen cults, it lingered on to the end of the 4th cent., revived a little in the intervening time through the redemption of the forbidden gods by Julian, who himself entertained a religious veneration for the sun. It may be observed that Mithraism never took any great hold on Greek lands where the Greek culture had been already established. It is found nowhere on the outskirts of Greek civilization in the East and on the Danube (see, further, art. MITHRAISM).

In conclusion, we may note that the evil associated with the darkness left its mark on some usages connected with the administration of the Roman State. The taking of an oath, which preceded the carrying out of many public affairs, originally took place at dawn. It was just as the sun was rising that the flight of eagles which gave him the kingship. No profitable business was valid unless conducted between sunrise and sunset—neither meetings of assemblies nor of the Senate, nor the administration of justice. Clerical and lay rights to Marzabul date through decrees of the Senate after the sun had sunk (Senats-consulta user-pertina, Phil. iii. 24).

Something of the same usage can be seen 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 recent investigation are collated and discussed, such as: H. Knoke, Lexicon, now approaching completion, is invaluable. O. Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie. 3d ed., Munich, 1908, is important, on the Greek side, and G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, 4th ed., 1922, on the Roman. Roman religion has been interestingly treated by W. Warcke, Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, 4th ed., 1922, on the Roman. Roman religion has been interestingly treated by W. Warcke, Roman Festivals, London, 1908, and Religious Experience of the Roman People, do. 1911. Many illustrations of the topics here treated will be found in PBS.

J. S. R. E.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Hindu).—The great contrast between light and darkness with their life-stirring compounds has been recognized naturally in all ages taken deep root in the human mind, which welcomed the reappearance of light as the release from the night or the long darkness of winter, and transformed the contrast of light and dark into one of life and death, freedom and bondage, good and evil, virtue and sin. The great representative of light, life, freedom, and goodness was to the mind of ancient India Usas, the goddess of dawn, and her rival Ratri, the night, or, in a sense more adverse to human life, ftames, the darkness. The imperishability of light found its expression in the personification of Aditi, which other scholars explain merely as eternity (cf. Hillebrandt, Vel. Myth. iii. 185 E.). Usas is not only on the Urihess of the dawn of every day; in many songs that glorify her reappearance the turn of the year is alluded to, and Usas means the first dawn of the New Year (cf. A. Ludwig, Der Rigiw, Prague, 1876-88, iv. p. xi. vi. 179; Hillebrandt, Vel. Myth. ii. 204). The Usas' are the Ostara of the Rigveda poems (F. Kluge, Zeit. für deutsche Wortforschung, ii. [1901] 42). She brings back the sun, the fire, the sacrifice which has been discontinued during the decaying period of the year; sometimes she is also called sirya or ekloka, and under the name 'saranima, she became the mother of the two heavenly dogs, the sarmanas.

The Indias divide the year into two periods, the Uttarayana, when the sun proceeds towards the north, and the Dakshinayana, 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., Sattrapatha Brāhmaṇa, ii. 3. 1) it is said that spring, summer, and a hot season, and a dry season, and a cold season are the pitruro-saha, sacred to the ancestors. We may begin the New Year with the winter solstice or with Easter time, according as we lay greater stress upon an astronomical or a practical point of view. Indian writers also oscillate between the two possibilities, and faced the problem in the same manner as their brothers did among Teutonic, Slavic, and Italian tribes (cf. e.g., F. M. Müller, Contributions to the Science of Mythology, London, 1807, ii. 715). The Vedic authors speak of the dark half of the year as toras, and originally meant thereby the winter, the personification of which was Vṛtra, not the retainer of the heavenly rain, as has generally been believed, but the demon of winter, who was slain by Indra, and who regains the light and sets free the streams bound by the fetters of frost and ice. This idea was inherited from pre-historic times, and formed under the influences of a that the flight of the Indian plains. The further the Aryans tribes advanced towards the south, and the longer they settled under a drier climate, the less that idea harmonized with the surroundings and the actual climate; the new hero represented that the really dark season of India—that the rains; and the residue of the past and the germ of a new time were thus equally precipitated in the ancient

VI.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Iranian). - The antithesis between light and darkness among the Iranians was closely connected with the antagonism between Ahura Mazda and Ahriman. This feature attracted the attention of Pintarch, who says (De Is., xxvii, 3), that when Ahura Mazda appears in human form he is always accompanied by a female, Anger Mainyu, of darkness, so that "תא תבשה" φώτος και θάνατος, for example, is a synonym for 'light,' but 'darkness' is the opposite of 'light.'

The view recurrs not only in the late "Ulamat al-Islam" (tr. E. Blochet, "Kitab al-bulut wa-l-amlah") (tr. T. Haarbrucker, Halle, 1890-91, i. 278), but also in the Armenian writers (tenom Artinian's "Hwirtu"), while Dio Chrysostom (Orat. xxxvi) goes so far as to make the assertion - not thus far substantiated elsewhere - that, in order to create, Ahura Mazda had to surrender much of his light.

In the Gāthic we find the striking statement that Ahura, 'well-working, created both light(s) and darkness(es)' (Ys. xliv. 5). This at once recalls the passage in Is. 43, 1 'Thou art my light,' and creates darkness.' It seems advisable to assume, with H. H. Crooke ("Zoroastrianism," 1913, p. 129), that the Iranian and the Hebrew developments are only parallel and not connected (cf., further, E. Stave, "Einfluss des Persischen auf das Judaisische," Haarlem, 1898, p. 98; and the fuller and more critical and exhaustive section below, p. 65, note 3).

The origin of the two what it may - and the true explanation of the Gāthic passage doubtless is, as Moultt 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 Anger Mainyu and his rabble. It was Ahura Mazda who in the beginning filled the blessed realms (reatra) with light (Ys. xxxvii, 7), and in the realms of light (reatin) it is to be beheld by him whose thought is right (Ys. xxx, 1), while the light of the sun is one of the things that glorify Ahura Mazda (Ys. xxvii, 7). Apart from the passage already noticed, darkness (tonath) is mentioned only once in the Gāthas, in Ys. xxxii, 20, where it refers to the blackness of hell (on the blackness of hell see Moultt, p. 172); F. Spiegel, "Bewegung, Alterthumsforschung," 1871-78, ii. 120, gives a similar passage.

In the Younger Avesta the dualism between light and darkness appears in full vigour, so that Spiegel is amply justified (ibid. 219) 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" ("he roya,

For an admirable discussion of the latter word see E. Wilmann, "Hymnen," in "Hymnen," Vol. of the Sir James and the A. J. Lehmann-Zoroasth., London, 1814). Light was created by Ahura Mazda (Ys. v. 1, xxxvii. 7), and is one of his prerogatives (Ys. xii. 1); hence prayer is made to Ahura Mazda: "light of the Creator!" (Ys. lvi. 6), and the light of the sun is praised him (Ys. lxxv. 6). Together with Asha, Ahura Mazda created 'the shining light and sunny abodes' (Ys. lii. 1), so that the abodes of Asha are light (Ys. xvi. 7), while the abodes of Ahriman are darkness. Righteous dead dwell (Ys. xvi. 7), and light: cf. lvi. 11; Arianian, i. 15; Vend. xii. 26, for paradise (eshtaka abo); see also, LIGHT AND DARKNESS: AIR (Iranian) and, as such, receives worship (Visparad, xxxii. 1; Sih roaya, i. 27). Indeed, 'light' (roaya) is a synonym for 'heaven' (Ys. xii. 26), another synonym being 'the shining house of praise' (roaya, gera-sana) (Yt. xii. 124, xiii. 44) to which worship is paid (Sih roaya, i. 27). Still another synonym is 'the light without beginning' (munaya roaya, Ys. lxxvi. 9, xvi. 15; Vend. xvi. 1 f., xiii. 10; Purušasr, xxxv., i., 10), which is likewise an object of veneration (thri, iv. 17; ydush, iii. 9; Sir, roaya, i. 30), and also in the Persian, in the "Paradise," i. 11; cf. A. H. Anw, "Zoroastrian Texts," Bombay, 1909, p. 145, tr. O. E. Donnert. "Vend-Avesta," Paris, 1893-92, iii. 178), the righteous men hopes to attain to 'the place of light' (yow-ca-xa) not to 'that of darkness' (Gahz-ta-xa).

The general creation is given the epithet of 'bright' - Asha (Ys. v. 4), the Amesha Spentas and their protectors (Yt. xiii. 22, 84, xiv. 15, 17), Ashi (Yt. xii. i, 6), Apam Napat (Yt. xii. 22; Sir, roaya, i. 30), the "Avesta," and especially Yama, whose conventional epithet wakta ("shining") is so completely blended with his name that in modern Persian he is known only as Jamshid.

The sun, moon, and stars are hidden to give light (Vend. xvi. 5, 9, 13), and the light of the moon is hauled (Yyamis, iii. 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 hold no tarrying place and no abiding place in this corporal existence (Yt. vi. 3; Yyamis, i. 15; cf. in general Yyamis, i.-iii.; Yt. vi.-viii.) Indeed, the finest of the forms of the universal, earthly and the heavenly light, i.e., the fire and the sun (Ys. xxxvi. 6, liii. 8); and in the palace which Ahura Mazda built for Mithra there is neither night nor darkness (Yt. x. 32).

Darkness is a special attribute of hell (Vend. iii. 35; Aryanwadatha, xxvii.), for which 'darkness without beginning' is a synonym (Yt. xii. 33; cf. Spiegel, i. 18 f.). The demons are 'spawn of darkness' (or perhaps, 'possess the seed of darkness,' tundemithi) (Yt. vi. 4; Yyamis, i. 14; Vend. viii. 29), and seek refuge in darkness (Ys. lvi. 18), or hide in the earth (zoware-za) (Ys. ix. 15; Ys. xii. 8; Westernavard Frag. iv. 5) or in caverns (Vend. iv. 7, 19), - a phrase which may possibly point to survivals of an old chthonic cult (cf. Moultt, pp. 57, 128 f., 132, 390). Properly enough, therefore, divine aid is sought to resist 'darkness, woe, and suffering' (Ys. lxxii. 17; cf. Yyamis, i. 15).

Turning to the Pahlavi texts, we are told that "the region of light is the place of Ahuramazd, which they call 'endless light'" (Briedan, i. 2), and that the place of the Amesha Spentas is "in that best existence of light" (Visparad-Dag, lxxv. 2), while Artā-ī-Vārat, when in the presence of Ahura Mazda, perceived only brilliant light (Artā-ī-Vārat Nānum, i. 2), and the radiance of
Zarathustra within his mother, during the three
days'-before his birth, was so great as to illumine
his father's whole village (Dinkart, vi. ii. 2, vii. ii.
56-58).
According to the same texts, hell is full of darkness
(Dinkarta-Dinkar, xxvii. 2, 6, xxxii. 2, 4,
xxxvii. 20, 45), so intense that it 'is fit to grasp
with the hand' (Bandehshin, xxviii. 47; cf. Dinkar-
Mainyu-Yad, vii. 38). In the midst of Angra Mainyu
(Dinkarna, i. 3), and when, in his fruitless endeavour to destroy
the light of Ahura Mazda, he emerged from hell, he
made the world at mid-day as dark as midnight,
returning, after his defeat, to the darkness, where he
lived in darkness. 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
(Dinkarta-Dinkar, xxxvii. 5). In contrast, although sun, moon, and stars will con-
tinue to exist after the renovation 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 demon Mainyu was immense as darkness. 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' (Singaat-la-Singarat, ix. 8; two
translator's glosses insert 'if one rushes them (the hands); and the eighteenth section of the vast
Satur Shok of the Avesta dealt, among other
topics, with 'the horses that spills anything after
sunrise, or whoscars a morsel of food to the
north.' Sassanian literature during the second
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. Moli). According to this
'Rvayat 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
hostile to the demons of Ahurray; if there were notalways 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 another of nine stanzas, recounting the miraculous cure of a
dying child by the lighting of a lamp at the root of the house.

The problem of the relation of light and darkness
was even 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 Zoroastrian sects.

The Sassanians see so far as to declare (G. 273) that 'all
problems of the Magians turn upon two main points: why the light
mingled with darkness; and why the light cleansed itself from
darkness; they posit the mingling as the beginning, and the
cleaning as the aim.'

The Gynaiorean sect maintained, according to
al-Shahristani, 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
which shared with light the properties of creation
and eternity. Their rather lame solution was that
Ahura Mazda thought to himself: 'If I had an
opponent, how would he be formed?' From this
thought, which did not harmonize with the good-
ness of Angra Mainyu, Zarathustra was produced. The
mingling of light and darkness was due to the fact
that the light gave men, before they were
embodyed, the choice of degradation to the realms
of Angra Mainyu or battle with them. They chose
closely according to the quality of the idea that
they were lifted by the light to eventual victory and
the final resurrection at his defeat.

The Zartarist sect held that the light produced
a number of creatures of bright, divine nature, the
most important of whom was Zarvan (Time), who,
after murmuring prayers for a son during 9999
years, entertained the thought: 'Perchance this
world is nothing.' From this thought Mainyu was
born, and from Zarvan's wisdom sprang Ahura Mazda. There were a number of
minor speculations among this sect—e.g., that
Angra Mainyu was originally in heaven, but
meditated upon treachery with Ahura Mazda, and fell. The Mithraeans thought that a portion of light
had transformed itself into darkness.

The Zarathushtrians (Zoroastrians) entertained,
according to al-Shahristani, the views of light and
darkness which had conditioned thought from
the Avesta and Pahlavi texts. Both light and dark-
ness had existed from the beginning. Good and
evil, purity and impurity, etc., had arisen from the
mingling of light and darkness; and, had there
been no such mingling, the world would not have
existed. God was the source of both (cf. Ps. 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 cannot be forever to last until the light shall be victorious over darkness.

Thus in Zoroastrianism the problem of the rela-
tion between light and darkness becomes part of
the greater question of the origin of good and evil;
and from this point of view the antithesis of light
and darkness is found again—whether independent
or derived—in several Gnostic systems (cf. ERE,
vol. vi. p. 238 ff.), as well as in Manichaeism
(A. J. H. W. Brunot, Manicheische Religion, Leipzig,
1889, p. 301 ff.) and Persian literature (KAH,
PREI. xii. [1903] 205 ff.). See art. MAZANDAR.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references given in the art.,
other citations from the Avesta may be found in C.
Bahloloz, Altiran. Worterbuch, Strassburg, 1904, s.v. 'Rash.'
Rassanna,' 'Ravash,' and 'Tabas,' 'Temash,' etc. (coll. 1577-
1615, 648-550). No special treatise on the subject has as yet
been written.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Semitic and Egyptian).—1. Peoples and period.—Babylonian
(Assyrian), Egyptian, and Hebrew beliefs on the
subject of light and darkness may all be taken
together. Although in course of time they became
widely divergent, at the outset of the
same period they showed many points of similarity
—a fact to be ascribed to the contact and the
common origin, in part if not in whole, of the
peoples inhabiting the countries of the Near East.

For the Babylonians and the Hebrews it is
generally admitted, both being of the Semitic
stock. Further, in the words of Cheyne, 'a primitive
contact between the early Egyptian race and the
Babylarians has been made extremely
probable by Hommel. Winekler, too, remarks with
justice that the cultus of the Horns-child belongs
to the same religion as the Babylonian, and is in
this sense Semitic.' Sayce, while tracing many
analogies of the same kind between Babylonian and
Egyptian beliefs, takes no further step, and
sees in 'the triumph of the gods of light and order
over the monsters of chaos not only the birth of
the present creation, but also the theological
victory of the Semite over the Sumerian.' Without
going so far as this, other writers, influenced by the
mythological compositions of the Babylonians were
derived from Sumerian sources. The upper
limit of the period to be considered may therefore
be placed in Sumerian times, about the middle of the

linguistic affinities are worked out by G. J. Hall in
the Hespelheth Anniversary Volume, Leipzig, 1905. For 'darkness'
pp. 34, and for 'light,' pp. 35-36. A condition that
they were warded by the light to eventual victory and
the final resurrection at his defeat.

The Avestan sect held that the light produced

2. A. H. Sayce, The Relations of Ancient Egypt and Babylonian
(Trinity Lectures), Edinburgh, 1907, p. 198.

3. E. W. King and H. R. Hall, Egypt and the Western Asia in
the Light of Recent Discoveries, London, 1907, p. 220.
LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Semitic and Egyptian)

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. Throughout this period of three millennia the predominant feature of religion in Babylonia and Egypt is the dualism of light and darkness; we should therefore expect to find in the records that have survived much that is cognate to at least the first member of our subject. Owing to syncretistic tendencies always present, and the case with which those ancient peoples tolerated antinomies in belief, no uniform presentation of their views about light and darkness can be given.

2. Various relationships of light and darkness.

While the words 'light' and 'darkness' appear to stand in a co-ordinate relationship, in reality they are contrasted terms, to be compared with 'day' and 'night,' 'life' and 'death,' 'good' and 'evil.' In all these cases the co-ordinate relationship holds good in the sense that light and darkness, etc., can be regarded as complementary terms, conveying the idea of the whole,—e.g., the daily round, the sum-total of existence, and the ethical contents of life. The exceptional view whereby both light and darkness are traced to the same creative source (Jehwism) may also be brought into this connexion. In general, however, the relation between light and darkness continues to be regarded in Semitic thought as adversative, slightly veiling a dualism which perhaps has been inherited from pre-Abrahamic beliefs, and which is not resolved (Jehwism excluded), even theoretically, to a monism until the limit of our period has been passed. We have throughout to reckon with that 'Oriental resignation to the contrast in life, the theory that prevailed might at best be termed 'optimistic dualism.' With special reference to light and darkness there was a contest present in the beginning (cosmology), with yearly renewal, 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. While light and darkness have, therefore, each a separate being, the one being for day and 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's domain, resulting in a measure of fusion. This is often summed up by saying that one star was oseanized and the other system was celestialized. A subtle theory of a similar kind has been formulated for Babylonia, as an instance of which we may quote the representation of the sun as under-world divinity: 'because in his light the stars disappear and perish.' There is much less warrant for such crossing over of the ideas of light and darkness in Babylonian thought. Regarding the 'Astral Theory' as a whole, it may be remarked that, were it accepted, it would greatly extend the possibilities of our subject. It requires, however, more agreement than at present exists as to the date of the origin of scientific astronomy among the Babylonians before its findings can be accepted with any degree of confidence.

3. No science of light.

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

'The matter of light issues forth from its place and spreads over the earth; at night it withdraws itself; it transmutes forth from its place, each in a hidden, mysterious way.'

The 'substantiality of darkness' may be specially remarked in Ex 10:12. A higher conception of the quality of light was reached in Egypt.

According to Heliog, in the later parts of the OT light is used as a symbol of deity because it is the finest and most immaterial substance known, and there is no danger of corporeal form being attached to it.

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

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

4. Light and darkness as associated with deities.

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

2 Cf. EEE, art. 'Dualism (Iranian) and 'Dualism (Jewish),' vol. i, pp. 97 f.
5 See EEE, art. 'Ages of the World (Babylonian),' vol. i, p. 181.
6 Breasted, p. 190 f.
certainly did not hold undisputed sway, either at the beginning or afterwards, and the light between light and darkness, typified by Marduk (or Bel) and the Dragon, was continued down the ages. From HDB, Maspero, lb., the Aton (Gn 18:1), how the Babylonians readily associated with Hezekiah (Is 30:21) the god of darkness, the 'natural antithesis' of light, also enters into the imagery of the OT (Ex 20:12, Dt 41:6, 1 K 8:2, Ps 29:2, 97: Am 5:15, Zeph 1:5). It is surprising that, though the Hebrews were surrounded by races more or less allied to them, 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 the darkness, which is distinguished by two conceptions one of which Marduk presumably forms part. Sayce finds in Mummu (tablet I. 4) the 'flood,' or chaos, the equivalent of the 'darkness' which in Gn 1 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. (16-9.) 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 1:4; cf. Ps 104:2). In the 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—an which might well have been entertained in spite of the Hebrew account 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, Chayyeh 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 to be distinguished from the 'lights'—sun, moon, and stars—in which light is, as we localized (Gn 1:6). In Egypt there is no detailed account of creation. Sayce and

2 H. Radd, Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times, Chicago, 1906, p. 46 f. (with reference to the same writer's Creation Story, ib., 1902, p. 54.1.)
3 ERE, art. 'Babylonians and Assyrians,' vol. II, p. 312;
4 Jastrow regards them rather as a legend (op. cit. p. 51). 12 An equivalent to Ishtar is found in Hathor, who by some scholars is
6 ERE, art. 'Babylonians and Assyrians,' vol. II, p. 313.
7 A. H. Sayce, in Hulsebach Anniversary Volume, p. 70f.
8 ERE, art. 'Babylonians and Assyrians,' vol. II, p. 313.
9 ERE, art. 'Babylonians and Assyrians,' vol. II, p. 313.
10 ERE, art. 'Babylonians and Assyrians,' vol. II, p. 313.
12 ERE, art. 'Light,' vol. 230ff.
13 ERE, art. 'Religion of Egypt,' vol. 2, p. 170f.
14 Religion of Ancient Egypt, pp. 106, 225ff.

1 Sayce, p. 146.
2 Sayce, p. 146.
3 ERE, art. 'Diasia (Egyptian),' vol. v, p. 106f.; Breasted, p. 106.
4 Sayce, p. 132.
7 F. Delitzsch, Mehr Licht, Leipzig, 1907, p. 41.
10 For a revised tr. of the most important of Khonhot's hymns see Breasted, op. cit. p. 234 ff.
11 Sayce, p. 165.
12 Sayce, p. 165.
LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Semitic and Egyptian)  65

Jeremias'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-egg, waiting to be revealed. The second creation would seem to be found in the narrative of Berossus, according to whom the animals apparently were not 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.  3

Deuter-Isaiah's exalted conception (457), whereby the creation of light and darkness is referred to the same divine source, is the logical outcome of monotheism. 3 It has an anthropomorphic parallel in the words ascribed to Ra: 'When I open my eyes, there is light; when I close them, there is darkness.' 4 This, of course, applies to the daily renewal of light and its withdrawal every night.

A reduction of earth to primeval conditions would involve among other things the extinction of light and by inference the return of the darkness of chaos (Jer 4). An Egyptian myth, found in the Book of the Dead, represents Atum (see also the previous paragraph) bringing about the return of water, as it was at the beginning. Over this Osiris (lord of darkness) is to rule. 5

6. Light and darkness in human experience—

The cosmology, although relating to what is first in the creation, 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 subsequent 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 they hindered development. We may suppose that light and darkness, especially light, would in time have been accepted as in the course of nature, and have ceased to attract attention. But there came interruptions of the usual order—e.g., in the eclipse of moon or of the sun. It is possible that the general process of the secundum ridiculy. The cults also were of such a kind that they kept the mythology alive. The great hymns to Shannu, Sin, Ishtar, etc.; the transcription and frequent recitation of funerary hymns; particularly the Book I. 5. 6, this 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 Tuat. 6 The multiform representations on cylinder seals of the orbs of night and day, especially of the figure of the sun-god rising between the mountains of the East, depicted with streams of light flowing from both sides, or with rays of light protruding from his shoulders, give a vivid conception of the ideas constantly at work in the minds of the Semites and their neighbours. In addition to anthropomorphic representations of the deities of light, their symbols, especially the sun's disk, winged or unwinged, abounded both in Egypt and Babylonia. More telling all, were the gods of the sun 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 that the sun was in the east at morning, evening, and every morning was resurrected. In the interval he moved with difficulty through the realm of darkness, and, as a passive body, had to be lighted through the under world by other creatures of light. 7 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 (Nanmar), 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, but it would seem that the rejoicing which attended the moon's appearance every month, and the lamentation which accompanied its disappearance, point to the belief that the sun was in the presence of the moon, or that it was no less than by day, the ancient Babylonians found safety and happiness, whereas in darkness there lurked danger and woe. In this connexion 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. 8

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 Believers, or the gods were invoked as a due fulfilment of the duties owing to the dead. Darkness both of earth and of the underground being the miseries of demons and the spirits of the deceased, contrariwise they could not have their dwelling in the light. Anu and as 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 holiness was enjoined was termed 'the house of light' (Assyr. bit nari). The light is associated with Girru or Nusku, the fire-god, which may be taken to mean that the purification was by fire. 9 The subject of artificial lights is closely related to that which has just been dealt with. The peoples 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. 10 Out-of-doors torches served the purpose. The torches of the Anunnaki (gods of the 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 Bred_gate, affords an excellent idea of the use of artificial lights in the ritual of Egypt. One of the duties of the priests and ministrants in the temples was to attend to the fires and lamps (cf. 1 S 3, 1 K 7).

Thoughts of light and darkness were further kept in the minds of these ancient peoples by the terms assigned to the

3 Quoted in EREW. 228; cf. Sayce, Religion of Anc. Egypt, p. 227.
5 A. W. Judge, The Egyptian Heaven and Hell, London, 1890, iii. 178 ff.
7 A. W. Judge, The Egyptian Heaven and Hell, London, 1890, iii. 178 ff.
8 Judge, ii. 107, 147, 187, 194. According to the Babylonian conception, the sun seems to have entered on a better fate at nightfall, feasting and resting in the abode of the gods (King, Bab. Religion and Mythology, p. 23).
9 Judge, p. 233.
10 Josh. p. 41 ff.
day (Assy., ururu, Heb. or, 'light'); to the morning, or East (Assyr. or Sami, Heb. midrath, 'the rising of the sun'); to the evening or West (Assyr. or Sami, Heb. h13b-arkh, 'the setting of the sun'); and by certain Babylonian month names (Assr. Ajarun, the second or 'bright' month; Addaru, the third or 'dark' month; Addaru, the second or 'dark' month). One series of directions in Hebrew gives north (םלעפ) as the 'obscure' or 'dark' place, and south ( REPL) as the 'bright' or 'illuminated' place.

7. Light and darkness in relation to the state after death.—The contrast between light and darkness, the idea of the ancients is most strikingly 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 the same as darkness without light, and that to which the dead are consigned is 'the dark-dwelling' (Sumerian U.NUN), which in its extended meaning is applied to the under world, the abode of the shades (cf. 1's sqq. 12, 2). The departed soul itself is a 'creation of darkness' (Sumerian, g13l-la, Semitic, gidmuunu). The darkness attending death was to some extent relieved in the practice of the living by the use of artificial lights in the preliminaries to burial and by occasional illuminations in proximity to the tombs destined to be used. It has been ascertained that lamps are exceedingly common in graves, where their intention is evidently symbolic. Their purpose has been variously explained, and one and the same interpretation will have to be given for the era. But the exact explanation of the lamps would place them—at least in the earlier period—on a level with food and drink vessels deposited with the dead. Whatever was of service to the living might also serve the dead.

Among the Babylonians the general idea was that it was a misfortune for the dead again to be brought to the light of day. Unless decent burial was given, their spirits would return to earth, but only to plague the living. In the under world (or preferably the other world) was the home, and there their spirits found rest. The classic description of this abode of the dead is found in the myth of Ishtar's Descent to Hades, to the land of no-return (cf. Gilgamesch Epic, II. 400):

'To the house of darkness, brakha'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 dust is its sustenance, its food, chay,
Light they see not, in darkness do they play.

Over a realm of a Babylonian dead
the god Nergal presides, with his consort Ereshkil, the 'dark' goddess. In Egypt Osiris was lord of the under world, and there held his court. This also was a world lying in darkness, which was relieved one hour in twenty-four, during the passage of the sun-god and his train through each division of the Tant. The entrance to this realm of the dead lay, for both Babylonians and Egyptians, in the west, where the sun goes down. On the other hand, the east, as the point of sunrise, is the abode of life; but this has an interest only for the sun-god and the privileged few who shared his daily recurring glory. Although the point of departure to the under world and the point of return thereto are clear, there is doubt as to the location, relatively to earth, of the region of the dead. The Egyptians placed it beyond the circle of mountains girding the earth, perhaps on the same plane with earth, perhaps at a lower level. In the Babylonian world, it seems to have lain beneath earth, even lower than the

waters of the abyss (aplay), themselves associated with darkness. This was a region which the sun, living or dead, could not pierce.

8. A better fate for departed spirits, some if not all, was also contrived. In Egypt, e.g., in the recovery of Tammuz from the under world and in 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 the goal of light can be reached. One of the charms in the Book of the Dead is for making the transformation into the god that gives light (in) the darkness, or light for darkness.

The 'Island of the blessed,' in the Gilgamesh Epic, is cut off from mortals by many barriers, including twelve double-hours of travelling through thick darkness.

The Babylonian heaven was the reserve of the gods, save in exceptional cases. In Egypt, at an early date, the king shared in the delights of heaven, and was exalted to life with the gods in the sky. Later this was qualified by the Osirian doctrine, whereby the realm of the blessed could be attained only by redemption from the under world. In his next life, if he had his other world is a realm of light for the most part. The crested ibis, whose name is equivalent to 'light,' is used as a symbol of the soul, including that of the sun-god. The khuf, or beatiated spirits, feed upon the date palm, and there is an explanation of the date palm as growing in the land of the Light-god. Later, the followers of the Sun-god, who travelled with him in the Boat of Millions of Years, eventually became beings consisting of nothing but light (cf. Is 605).

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 Sh'ol back to the light of the upper world (Is 269).

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently given in the footnotes.

WILLIAM CRUCKSHANK.

LIGHTNING.—See PRODIGIES AND PORTENTS.

LIGUORI.—Saint Alfonso Maria di Liguori was born 27 Sept. 1696 at Marianella, near Naples. He was the eldest son of a 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 had 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 disgraced 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

1 For different locations of Sh'ol, relatively to the Abyss, see charts in HDB i. 320 and Schiaparelli, p. 32.
3 Sayce, Religion of Anc. Egypt, p. 122.
4 Budge, Egypt, Hearen and Hell, iii. 164.
5 Ps. v. 119.
6 SDE. art. 'Eschatology,' p. 230.
supernatural intimation 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 little points by his unwillingness to fall in with an advantageous project of marriage that had been suggested, obstinately opposed his design. Yielding eventually to his father's entreaties, and acting on the advice of his confessor, himself an Oratorian, the young lawyer gave up his idea of leaving home, but began to study for an ecclesiastical career, and in December 1726 was ordained priest. In the first six years of his ministry Alfonso worked under the direction of an associate of the Oratorian order, a priest of Castelnuovo, who, he was led to the conviction that Alfonso was an instrument divinely sent him to carry out a project which he had long secretly cherished of founding a preaching Order to evangelize the godless classes of the Italian people. This scheme eventually took shape in the little town of Scala, near Amalfi, twenty miles from Naples. There the 'Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer,' from which name the members are most commonly known, was formed in 1732. Bishop Falcona was at this first nominally superior, but he lived at a distance, while Alfonso resided with the community. Hence, on the bishop's death in 1745, 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 signed in the early years by the head of Alfonso himself in the vain hope of obtaining the approbation of the king of Naples, Don Carlos (afterwards Charles III. of Spain), supplies a concise account of the special character of the Order's aims:

"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, confraternities, and other devout 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 return from time to time to the districts which have been evangelized, to hear confessions and confirm the people in their good resolutions by another series of instructions and admonitions as well as by spiritual advice and so forth.

In their conventual life they endeavour, with the help of divine grace, to follow closely in the footsteps of the Most Holy Redeemer, Jesus Crucified, in order to instruct the people by example as well as by precept. As a means of attaining this end, there are twelve points of rule and instructions. The headings of these are: Faith, Hope, Love of God, Concord and Charity among themselves, Purity, Purity of Heart, Obedience, Meekness and Humiliation, Mortification, Recollection, Prayers, Abolition of Self, and Love of the Cross.

Each of the associate passes a full year every week (now one day every month in retreat), thus treating alone 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 practised 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 their family resources, which they hand 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" (Berthe, 'Saint Alphonse de Liguori,' Eng. tr., i. 106).

Despite domestic anxieties and contradictions in the government of the new Institute, Liguori, down to about the year 1752, devoted himself indefatigably to the actual work of preaching, while leading at the same time a life of abstinence 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 more severe mental suffering which he himself practised, to take a special vow to accept no ecclesiastical dignities, but in 1762 influence was used with the Holy See to dispense the saint from this vow, and, sorely against his will, he was compelled by the pope to accept the title of Abbot of the Redemptorist Community. As a reward, his name was added to the calendar under the name of the Holy Redemptorist. Thus, in 1766, a tiny see to the north of Naples, among a peasant population unpleasantly notorious for its barbarism and irreligion. Here he worked wonders for the reform of morals, but after an episcopate of more than thirteen years, the Pope, with the advice of his council, on the advice of Pope Pius VI. in 1775 to allow him to resign in order that he might end his days among a community of his own Order. Broken with years, with apostolic labours, and with the incredible austeritys 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 Tarnucci, who was the virtual ruler of Naples, the formal recognition of the Redemptorists as a religious Order had been withheld by the Government. This had 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 the death of Pius VI. in 1775, 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 point of fact modified form (known in the controversies which followed as the 'Regolamento'), which set at naught 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 55, decrepit, deaf, and almost blind, was induced to sign the Regolamento, and it was for the time adopted in the Neapolitan dominions, but the Redemptorists belonging to the houses founded within the States of the Church energetically protested against the acceptance of any such caricature of their rule. The Holy See pronounced in their favour, and the unfortunate zealism...
caused in the Order had not been healed when, on 1 Aug. 1787, the saint died at Nocera del Pagano. It is to this only has Alfonso di Liguori's popular enthusiasm which it evoked and the marvellous events that followed, brought about a happier state of feeling. The Government of Charles iii. in Oct. 1790 approved the original 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 French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the development of the Order was rapid. In 1780 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 1845. The Redemptorists have since made foundations in Ireland (1831), Kintzoull, near Perth, in Scotland (1869), in Brazil, Dutch Guiana, the Congo, Australia, New Zealand, and many other distant countries. At present the Order numbers rather over 4000 members, half of whom are priests, the rest lay-brothers and students preparing for ordination. The strict ultramontane views distinctive of the followers of St. Alfonso di Liguori have been shared by those in contact with State officials, and, like the Jesuits, they have several times been banished from different European countries. Still no serious attempt has been made to connect them with any kind of political power. The Redemptorists have remained steadfastly faithful to their primary work of giving missions and retreats, especially among the poor and un instructed, and the severe rule of the Order has suffered no relaxation.

Liguori was beatified in 1816, canonized in 1839, and declared 'Doctor of the Universal Church' by Pius ix. in 1871. The terms of this last pronouncement, though somewhat vague, may be held to constitute a guarantee of orthodoxy for the saint's writings, at least when taken as a whole. Moreover, it may fairly be inferred from the language used that he is commended for holding a golden mean in his moral teaching between a Jansenistic rigorism on the one hand and dangerous extremism on the other. Liguori's writings may be found in Berthe, Eng. tr., ii. 766 ff. Two works especially in this long catalogue have been subjected to much adverse criticism. Against the Le Glorie di Maria, first published at Naples in 1750, and since translated into every European language, many objections have been raised on the ground of its alleged extravagant 'Mariolatry' (see, e.g., G. B. Pusey, Eirenicon, Oxford, 1866, 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, 1867, p. 105 ff.). The character and traditions of these people are so different from ours, and he was writing to protest against what he considered to be a veiled attack on that simple and childlike devotion to the Blessed Virgin which has often been a very important factor in the religion of his countrymen. It is, however, the Theologia Moralia that more than anything else has been made the object of fierce invective. Liguori originally (i.e. in 1748) published his views on moral questions in the form of a commentary on a well-known text-book for students, the Medulla of the Jesuit Hermann Busenbaum. But the second edition in two volumes (Naples, 1753 and 1755) appeared as an original work, and the author continued to revise and enlarge it as the successive issues were exhausted. The eighth edition, which was printed in 1779, was the last to receive his personal attention. Seeing that not only the Church, but that earlier authoritative decrees in 1803 and 1831 pronounced that there was 'nothing worthy of censure' in his writings (on this cf. Newman, History of my Religious Opinions, note G, p. 338), and that all his opinions might safely be followed by confessors, it is fair to conclude that by the theology of Liguori the moral teaching of the Roman Church must stand or fall. But, while we admit this, it must be said that few of his views concerning society and the Church, but against his teaching have taken the trouble to understand it. It is easy to denomine the 'shocking laxity' of this or that isolated proposition set out, often inaccurately, and always apart from the context, as, e.g., in the notorious pamphlet of Robert Grassmann (Ausenzage aus der Moraltheologie, etc.), but the man who does this is most commonly a publicist who knows nothing of ethical systems and who has never considered the difficulties which follow from the acceptance of a contrary position. Nothing can produce a better impression than to lay down the rule that under no possible circumstances must the truth be departed from, but those who most positively commit themselves to this are also those who are most likely to fall short of them. The extremely difficult problems which arise in practical life, and who have never attempted to square their own conduct by any consistent principle.

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

Now Liguori, like all his fellow-bishops, believed that for those whose duty it was to hear confessions and instruct their flock it was necessary that these and other moral questions should be thought about. Moreover, it must be said, in answer to such criticisms as those of R. Grassmann and those contained in art. Casuistry (vol. iii. p. 249), that priests administer a code of law in the tribunal penance and, like lawyers, doctors, and magistrates, they have to acquaint themselves with technicalities which, in the case of certain offences, involve unsavoury details quite unfit for public discussion.

One of the special grounds of reproach against Liguori's moral system is his adoption or defence of probabilism (q.v.). This charge is only partially justified and would be repudiated by all his own disciples. The principle which he enunciated, at least in his later years, was that of 'presumptuous probabilism' (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 (Lex dubia non obligat), a man is not held in conscience to obey as long as there is sound probability against the law—as long as, e.g., in a matter of extrinsic testimony, where doctors disagree, one unexceptionable authority teaches that a particular precept has no binding force. The adherents of probabilism, 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 exonerated from it, such a precept could not be set aside without sin. Between these rival views comes that of Liguori, who held that, when the reasons or authorities were
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equally balanced for and against the law, then a man without peril to his soul was free to use his liberty.

A doubtful law does not bind. But when two opposite opinions are equally or nearly equally probable, you have a strong reason to regard the absence of the law, therefore the law being only doubtfully pronounced, has no binding force. Therefore it is true that you can follow an equally probable opinion without risk of evil in any such ambiguous cases as in the figures of the ‘Clouds’ and ‘Daws’ of the Tabula Aquinensis (see Italy [Ancient]); or the Angitique of the Marsians—not to speak of the Parce of Greco-Roman fable or the Sareus at Athens.

A critical and definitive edition of the Theologia Moralis, equipped with adequate notes, has only recently been brought to completion: Theologia Moralis S. Alphonsi Maria de Ligorio, ed. Lodron, Venice, 4 vols. The editor in his preface gives a satisfactory explanation of the inaccuracy of so many of the saint’s quotations as printed in the earlier editions.

LITERATURE.—The fullest life of St. Alfonso di Liguori is that by A. Berthe, 2 vols., Paris, 1860, Eng. tr., H. Gaste, 2 vols., Dublin, 1865 (the translation has been subjected to careful revision and is in many respects superior to the original). Other noteworthy biographies are those of A. Tamanini, ed. Istituto del Ilenrerabile Alfonso Maria Liguori, 3 vols., Naples, 1790-1802 (a valuable source written by a devoted disciple of the saint). See also C. Villecourt, L’I. et Institut de S. Alphonse Marie de Liguori, 4 vols., Tournai, 1833; K. D’Hunant, Heil. Bischofs und Kirchenlehrs Alphonse Marie de Liguori, Regensburg, 1857; A. Caprecciatoto, La Vida di S. Alfonso Maria de Liguori, Rome, 1870. A great amount of the Order with the bibliography founded by M. Hennicke, Die Orden und Kongregationen der kath. Kirche, 2 vols., Paderborn, 1908, ill. 315-323.


H. THURSTON.

LIGURIAN RELIGION.—Solitie is certainly known of the early history and geographical distribution of the Ligurians that any attempt to give a general account of the religious life of these ancient people would appear but a fable of the deities that were worshipped in Roman times in the Ligurian area strictly so called may be mentioned. The most noteworthy are those closely attached to a particular spot, such as Mars Cenemenis (CIL v. 7871), sometimes worshipped without the first name, and clearly connected with the town of Cenemenum; and Bormanus, who was probably, like his namesake in the north of Gallia Transpadana, from whom the modern town of Boromea takes its name, a god of hot springs, and who gave the name to the Lacus Bormani on the coast to the east of (Albuna) Intimelium, the modern Ventimiglia. Not less local was the worship of Mars Lencinaulus at Pulsano, a possibly an adjective derivation, of the dedication to whom was made on some festival of waggoners or nulletes (plostrallites). Local, too, was the cult of the Matrone Vedianitie, where the plural is interesting, also honoured at Cenemenum and known as Desuettioni. The worship of Matrone with some local epithet or epithets was fairly common in N. Italy, sometimes combined with Genii, as in an inscription from Tremonza on Lake Como (ib. 227), generally with a local epithet, as Desuettioni (ib. 2571, found at Milan) or Veelassae Concanaeae (ib. 5584, found at Corbeta, north of Milan). They are often joined with Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and sometimes themselves called Iunones—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 polygenous strain in the Ligurian cognition of Olympus; a nearer parallel is the (presumably) generalizing cultual in such anarchy (cf. ii. 145).

On the important question of the ethnic character in the population of the Ligures, reference must be made to EB3, art. 'Ligurians,' and the authorities there cited. If, and in so far as, the view of W. Ridgeway ('Who were the Romans? Brit. Acad. Tran. iii. [1907] 42), with the comments of the present writer, id.) may be accepted as sound, the early history of Ligurian religious worship was the same thing as that of the pre-Tuscan population of Western Italy, in particular of the Aurnici and other early dwellers in the Ligurian lands, which was Latium (see Italy [Ancient], especially the paragraph on the archaic cult of Aricia).

R. S. CONWAY.

LINGAYATS.—The Ligayats are a religious community in India numbering three to four millions at the census of 1911, 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 Deccan districts 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. Description.—The Lingayats, who are also known as Lingawants, Lingangie, Sivalkhatkas, and Viraśāivas, derive their name from the word līgga, the phallic emblem, with the suffix yata, and are the people who bear the līgga habitually. Their name literally describes them; for the true Lingayat wears on his body a small silver box containing either a piece of the sacred thread 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 neck-string. 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 Kanarese, a Dravidian language. They have been not inaptly described as a peaceable race of Hindū puritans, though it may be questioned whether their rejection of many of the chief dogmas of Brāhmanic Hindūism leaves them the right to be styled Hindus at all. Of the Brāhmanic triad—Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Siva— they acknowledge only the god Siva, whose name, the līgga, they reverence. They are called the Vedas, but disregard the later commentaries on which the Brāhmanas rely. Originally they seem to have been the product of one of the numerous reformations in India that have been

1The census of 1911 gives the following figures for Lingayats: Bombay Presidency, 729,431; Mysore, 1,239,483; Madras Presidency, 124,592; total India, 2,976,233.
aimed against the supremacy and doctrines of the Brahman, whose selfish exploitation of the lower castes has frequently led to the rise of new sects essentially anti-Brahmanic in origin. It seems clear that, in its inception, Lingayatism not only rested largely on a denial of the Brahman 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 men holy in proportion as they are temples of the great Spirit, and thus, in his view, all men are born equal. The denial of the supremacy of the Brahman, 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 abolition of the chief Hindu rites for the removal of ceremonial impurity. The founders of the religion could scarcely have forged more potent weapons for severing the bonds between their proselytes and the followers of the doctrines preached by contemporary Brahmanic Hinduism.

Lingayatism must not assume that this brief description of the fundamental doctrines of a religious movement which dates from the 12th cent. conveys an accurate picture of the prevalent Lingayatism of the present day. In connexion with the original Linga movement and its dissection, 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 prevailing existing social structure of caste units. If caste is largely a manifestation of deep-rooted prejudices tending to raise and preserve barriers between classes, it is evident that the evolution of today is in the same way. In the section of the human race, it would seem not unnatural to expect that it would tend to reassert itself within the fold of an essentially casteless religion soon as the enthusiasm of the founders had spent itself; and it is highly likely that many 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 resemblance between the evolution will be found in the history of Lingayatism. The Lingays of the present day are divided into three well-defined groups, including numerous sects, of which a description will be found in the section dealing with their social organization (see p. 72). With the rise of caste distinctions, numerous other changes occurred in the nature of the Lingayat religion. The aghyas or junagams, the priests of the community, devised in time a ritual and ceremony in which the influence of the rival Brahman aristocracy can freely be traced. The more important of these ceremonies are described in § 4 below. But it is essential to a thorough understanding of the nature of Lingayatism that the most important ceremony of all, known as the astavarga, or the eightfold

**The astavarga consists of eight rites known as**

2. Linga.
3. Vihinti.
4. Rudraksa.
5. Mantra.
7. Tirth.
8. Prasad.

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 aghyas, or holy men, from whom the father claims descent. The guru binds the linga on the child, besmears it with vibhiti (ashes), places a garland of rudraksh (seeds of the bastard cedar) round its neck, and teaches it the mystic mantra, or prayer, known as Narasimha Siva-ya;—i.e., 'Obedience to the god Siva.' The child being incapable of acquiring a knowledge of the sacred text at this early stage of its existence, the prayer is merely recited in its ear by the guru. The child has then to be presented to the god Siva in the person of a jinggam, or Lingayat priest, who is summoned for this purpose. On his arrival the parents wash his feet, and the water in which the feet are washed is described as the tirbho or charniyathiring. The water is next poured over the linga attached to the infant. The jinggam is fed, and a portion of the food from the dish is placed in the child's mouth. This final ceremony is known as presad. Occasionally the doctrine of twopersona, or jinggam and linga 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 not unfitly 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 many of them, in the same way, the members of other religious communities undergo the full ceremony of initiation. It would probably be safer to apply the term 'Lingayat' to all wearers of the linga, whether they are entitled to the full astavarga on birth or conversion, or not of that of or components. In so doing, the lower orders, from a social standpoint, of the Lingayat community will not be excluded, as they would otherwise be, from the fold.

Lingayats are not permitted to touch meat or to drink any kind of liquor. The greater number of them are either occupied in agriculture or are traders. They are generally reputed to be peaceful and law-abiding; but at times they are capable of dividing into factions of savagery 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 Brahman, whose intellect and capacity have secured them a preponderating share of Government appointments. Except for these defects, the community may be described as steady and industrious, devoted to honest toil, whether in professional employment or occupied in trading or the cultivation of the land. The Lingayat religion, the movement in favour of this special form of Siva-worship was commonly supposed to
have been set on foot by the great Lingayat saint, Basava, in the latter half of the 12th century. The acts and doctrines of Basava and his nephew Channabasava are set forth in two purânas, or sacred books, named, after them, the Basavepurâṇa (ed. Poona, 1865) and the Channabasavepurâṇa (ed. Mangalore, 1851). But these works were not written contemporaneously. The Basavepurâṇa describes Basava as the son of Brahman parents, Madiraja and Madalambika, residents of Bagevadi, usually held to be the town of that name in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency. Basava is the Kannarese equivalent of '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 stating that he had come to destroy the distinctions of caste. By his knowledge of the Saiva scriptures he attracted the attention of his uncle Baladeva, then prime minister of the kingdom of Kalyana in the middle of the 12th cent., installed Basava as his prime minister, and gave him a wife, Nila lochanâ. The purânas recount the birth of Channabasava from Basava's unmarried sister Nagalambika, by the working of the spirit of the god Siva. The myth in connexion with this conception is strangely at variance with the other accounts, inasmuch as, while engaged in prayer, saw an ant emerge from the ground with a small seed in its mouth. He took the seed to his home, where his sister swallowed it and became pregnant. The issue of this unusual conception was Channabasava. Uncle and nephew both preached the new doctrines, and in so doing encountered the hostility of the Jains, whom they relentlessly persecuted. A revolution, the outcome of these religious factions, led to the final downfall of King Baladeva and to the flight of Basava and his nephew. Basava is said to have been finally absorbed into the linga at Kudal Sangameswar, and Channabasava to have lost his life at Ulvi in North Kanara, a district in the Bombay Presidency. An annual pilgrimage of Lingayats to the shrine of the latter at Ulvi takes place to this day.

Two important inscriptions bearing on these traditions of the origin of the Lingayat sect are preserved. The first is an inscribed tablet recovered at the village of Managoli, a few miles from Bagevadi, the traditional birthplace of Basava. This record (as also many others) shows that king Bijjala gained the kingdom of Kalyana in a.D. 1136. It also states that a certain Basava was the builder of the temple in which the inscription was first put, and that Madiraja was mahâprabhu, or head of the village, when the grants in aid of the temple, which included a small endowment, were granted by the grandson of Revadasa and son of Chandrajira, and as a man of great sanctity and virtue. The second inscription was found at Ablur in the Dhawar district of the Bombay Presidency, and belongs to about a.D. 1290. It relates the fortunes of a certain Ekantada-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 arrangement, 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 his support, and he was presented with gifts of lands for the temple founded by him at Ablur in the Bijapur district. The incidents related of Ramayya are placed shortly before a.D. 1162, so that he would have been a contemporary of Basava. No mention, however, of the latter or of his nephew is found in this record.

If we accept the little history of Basava and his contemporaries, it seems more entitled to credit than the tradition overlaid with myth recorded at a later date, it seems clear that both Basava and Ekanatada-Ramayya were reformers who had much to do with the rise of the Lingayat doctrine, and that the evidence once 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 the Brahmanic is as well as religious. The best opinion seems to be that of Fleet, who considers that there is no doubt that the present Lingayat sect is more or less a development of the gild (mentioned in the inscriptions of 1000) set up by 500 Swamis of Aihole, joining seems certainly to have originated with Ekanatada-Ramayya at Ablur. And probably the prevalent tradition of the present day, that Basava was the originator of the sect and the founder of the Lingayat faith, must only be attributed to his having quickly become acquainted with the new development of Saivism started by Ramayya, and to his having taken a leading part in encouraging and propagating it in the southern half of the Peninsula, which rendered him more conspicuous than the real founder. Basava happened to be a member of the body of village elders at Managoli, and so to occupy a recognized position in local matters. The Aihole Lingayats, however, in the document of that account was unable to tell us anything particular about Ramayya, beyond duly recording the miracle performed by him, and attributed the movement entirely to Basava, assigning to him an assistant, his nephew Channabasava, who he perhaps only a mythical person. But it must be also admitted that the early history of the movement may be capable of further elucidation, and that the present-day claims of the leading Lingayats for a very early origin for their religion, though lacking the support of historical evidence, have this much to rely on, that it is essentially probable that the Dravidian races of Southern India, whose primitive deities were absorbed by the Aryan invaders described by the personality of their god Siva, always looked towards the special worship of Siva to the exclusion of the other members of the Brahmanic triad, and combined with this preference a dislike of Brahmanic caste ascendency which is the real substratum of the movement ending in the recognition of Lingayatism.

In dismissing the question of the origin of the Lingayat religion, it seems desirable to give an instance of the claims advanced by learned members of the community for a greater antiquity for their religion than historical evidence would afford.
at. Mr. Karlekasavasastri, Professor of Sanskrit and Kannarese in the State College of Mysore, contends that the Saiva sect of Hindus has always been divided into two groups, the Lingayats and the other who do not wear it. The former he designates Virasaiva, and declares that the Virasais consist of Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisy, and Sudra, the fourfold caste division of Manu. Quoting from the 27th chapter of the Paramesvar agama, he declares that the Virasais Brahmanas are also known as Suddha Vira, Vira kings as Marga Vira, Vira Vaisy as Mira Vira, and the Sudra as the Ante Vira. In his opinion, the duties and penances imposed on the first of these classes are (1) the astavarna (see p. 70), (2) penances and bodily emaciation, (3) the worship of Siva without sacrifice, (4) the recital of the Vedas. He further asserts that the Hindu dravas, or conditions of life of brahmachari, ghyastha, and sannyasi, i.e., student, householder, and ascetic, are binding on Virasais, and quotes, from various Sanskrit works, texts in support of this view. He publishes a mythical account of the origin of Lingayats at the time of the creation of the world. The importance of this summary of his views lies in the fact that it is completely typical of the claims that many members of the Lingayat community have recently commenced to advance, and in a sense, within the fold of orthodox Hinduism, with the mistaken notion of thereby improving their social standing. They endeavour to divide themselves into a fold of Brahmanas, Kshatriya, Vaisy, and Sudra, regardless of the fact that their is in origin a non-caste religion, and that Manu’s scheme, which can only with great inaccuracy be applied to the more orthodox Hinduism, are wholly unsuited to the Lingayats. A sign of this movement towards Brahmanic Hinduism among Lingayats is to be found in the organized attempt made by certain Lingayats at recent censuses to enter themselves as Virasaiva Brahmanas; and it seems probable that these claims to a great antiquity for their religion and for a caste scheme based on Manu’s model are chiefly significant as signs of the social ambitions of the educated members, who are jealous of the prestige of the Brahmans.

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

(1) The first, which for convenience may be named ‘Panchamalsis with full astavarna rites’ (see p. 70 above), contains the priests of the community, known as nagya or jayyana, and the leading trader castes, or bavjays. It is probable that this group is the nearest approximation to the original converts, who, it will be remembered, could interdine and intermarry without restriction. The seven subdivisions of this group may still dine together, but for purposes of marriage the subdivisions rank one above the other, and it is permissible for a bridegroom of one subdivision to take a bride only from the divisions below his. The reverse process, namely, of a bride marrying a youth of a lower division, is strictly forbidden. Members of the lower subdivisions may only intermarry 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 isogamy and hypergamy, and is not at all uncommon in many Indian castes. It is a probable speculation that the early converts in course of time came to rank themselves as superior to the more recent members 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 wed their daughters to the newcomers, though they would accept brides from the latter and if only slightly so. The Panchamalsis, as they may be called for lack of a better name, are all entitled to the astavarna rites, and rank socially above the remaining groups. In BG xxvii. 218 they are described as ‘Pure Lingayats’.

(2) The next group is that of the ‘non-Panchamalsis with astavarna rites.’ This group contains over 70 subdivisions, which are functional groups, such as weavers, oil-pressers, bricklayers, dyers, cultivators, shepherds, and the like. It seems probable that they represent converts of a much later date than those whom we have styled Panchamalsis, and were never permitted to interdine or intermarry with the latter. In this group each subdivision is self-contained in regard to its ancestors, and to that is to say, a jadar, or weaver, may marry only a jadar girl, a badiy, or carpenter, may marry only a badiy girl, and so on, remembering in this respect the ordinary Hindu castes, which are usually ended by a fourfold separations. Many have recently begun to pass to another. The names of the subdivisions are generally 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 produced among the Lingayats the ordinary communal theories of equality which the Lingayats of early days adopted.

It is interesting to observe that considerable diversity of practice exists in connexion with the relations of the subdivisions to the parent Hindu castes from which they separated to become Lingayats. In most cases it is found that, when a portion of an original Hindu caste has been converted to Lingayatism, both intermarriage and interdining with the unconverted members are finally abandoned, and the caste is broken into two divisions, of which one is to be recognized by the members wearing the linga, and the other by their wearing the sacred thread of the twice-born. But in some instances—e.g., the Jeera of the Belgaum district—Lingayat members continue to take brides from the non-Lingayat section, though they will not marry their daughters to them; it is usual to invest the bride with the linga at the marriage ceremony, thus formally receiving her into the Lingayat community. In cases the Lingayat and non-Lingayat sections live side by side and dine together at caste functions, intermarriage being forbidden. In this form, however, the former must perform their religious ceremonies, and the latter employ a Brahman. The more typical case seems to be the subdivision given in the Indian Census Report (Bombay Census Report, 1901, ch. viii. p. 182). In the last century a Lingayat present of Ujjaini conversions of the Lingayat community; the distinction is the lesser one, and the members also have the astavarna rites. It is described in BG under the name of ‘Affiliated Lingayats.’

(3) The third group of subdivisions is the ‘non-Panchamalsis without astavarna rites.’ It contains washermen, tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, etc., which were as unclean castes among Brahmamic Hindus. It is the practice among Lingayats of the present day to deny that the members of this third group are entitled to be classed as Lingayats at all, and to say that the possession of the full astavarna rites is the mark of a Lingayat, these lower divisions, who at most can claim three or four of the eight sacraments, are only the followers or servants of Lingayats. The contention is the highest possible 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 isogamy and hypergamy, and is not at
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The specially Lingayat ceremonies described by Carr are:

1. Birth.—It is customary for the female relatives attending a confinement to bathe both mother and child. On the second or third day boiled turmeric and water is applied to the mother, and a ceremony known as purúv, or the worship of the afterbirth, is performed. The propitiation of the afterbirth by the offering of food, nim leaves, turmeric, and a coco-nut, is considered necessary for safe nursing. The titi, or the first bath received by the child, is considered of great importance, and the child must be washed in the river. When the afternoon of the third day has passed, the child is washed and dressed in new clothes. The ceremony is regarded as a piece of good luck. The offering of food, leaves, etc., is usually accompanied by singing and playing of musical instruments.

2. Betrothal.—For a betrothal the bridegroom’s family come to the bride’s house on an auspicious day in company with a javanam. They bring a woman’s dress, a jacket, two coco-nuts, five pieces of turmeric, five limes, and betel leaf and areca-nuts. They also bring flowers for the aavanka (a cap of flowers made of pungent things). Rice and sugar are distributed 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. Women also wear 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. The bridegroom’s mother then offers the bride and brother’s 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 and the bridegroom and his companions 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 in with much shouting, and are placed in the god’s room. A marriage booth is erected, and the bridegroom sits under it side by side with a married female relative, and goes through a performance which is called surige. An enclosure is made round them with the ceremony in vogue at birth, betrothal, marriage, and death have been accurately described by R. C. Carr in his monograph on the Lingayat community (Madras Government Press, 1906), and are given below.

The Lingayat ceremony known as the astavarma, 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 jangam, and the administration of astavarma rites, are, however, as usual in India, constantly mingled with many commonplace Hindu beliefs and customs. It is a common practice for Hindus to worship at the shrine of Musalman pirs, or saints, and in this same way Lingayats will combine the worship of the special objects prescribed by Basava with the worship of purely Hindu deities such as Hanuman, Ganapati, Yellamma, Marutti, and many others. The investigations ligherto conducted in the Lingayat and Hindu ritual are liable to be combined; but it can be confidently predicted that the lower orders of the community, 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 castemen, despite the teaching and influence of the jangam.
made of kate grass on the big toe of his right foot. The bride sits on the left-hand side of the bridegroom, and the garm ties their right and left hands respectively with katu grass. The joined hands of the bride and bridegroom are washed, and betel (Areca arecurans) leaves and flowers are offered. The officiating priest then converses the neck ornament 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, repelling some words after the priest.

The tying of the bihi is the binding portion of the ceremony. Before the bridegroom is given to the bridegroom it is put at the round the arm is to be touched by all and blessed. As soon as the bridegroom ties it on the bride, all those present throw over the couple a shower of rice. The bridegroom places some conmin seed and jighri, or marigold flower, on the hand to which the bride does the same to the bridegroom. Small quantities of these articles are tied in a corner of the cloth each, and the clothes and are knotted together. The bride stands up, and the bridegroom, feet, and he throws rice into her hands. The newly married couple offer fruits to live jingrams, and present them with five piece. The relatives worship the bride and bridegroom, wash their feet, and offer presents of the day terminal day. On the third day, friends, and relatives are fed. On the fourth day, bride and bridegroom ride in procession through the village on the same bullock, the bride in front. On returning to the house they throw sweetened powder at each other, and the guests join in the fun. Then follows the wedding breakfast, to which only the near relatives are admitted. The newly married couple worship jingrams and his wife, and take off the consecration thread from their wrists and tie it at the groom. The live matrons who have assisted are given presents and dismissed, and the marriage is now complete.

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

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

4. Death.—The dead are buried in a sitting posture facing to the north; but an exception is made of the old married people, who are buried in a reclining position.

Before the sick man dies, the ceremony called vibhuti-celai is performed. He is given a bath, and is made to drink holy water in which the jingram's feet have been washed. He is made to give the jingram a handkerchief with vibhuti (ashes), radhokaj (seeds of the bastard cedar), dajgaya (coin), and tamarala (betal-leaf). This is followed by a meal, of which all the jingram's friends and the relatives and friends of the patient partake. It appears to be immaterial whether the patient is still alive or not. It is stated that, if the invalid survives this ceremony, he must take to the jungles and disappear; but in practice this is not observed. The death party resembles in some respects an Irish 'wake,' though the latter does not commence until the deceased is well on his way to the next world.

After death the corpse is placed in a sitting posture, who has received the offering before death, places his left hand on the right thigh of the body. The people present worship the corpse, and the usual distribution of coins and betel to jingrams follows. The body is then carried in a ruma, or bamboo chair, to the harr-

The grave should be a cube of 9 feet dimension, with a niche on one side in which the corpse is to sit. The linga is placed on the ground, and ined in the left hand. betel leaves are placed at the side, the body is wrapped in an orange-coloured cloth, and the grave is filled in. A jingram stands on the grave, and, after receiving the usual dower, şouts out the name of the deceased, and says that he has gone to Kailasa, or heaven.

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

'The point in the creed of the Sivaites which appears to me to be remarkable is their entire rejection of that funereal principle of the Hindu religion, marrigung, or the post-mortem accusation of the dead, p. 116.'

From this it would follow that they do not believe in ghosts. But there is a generally accepted idea that evil spirits and ghosts take the form of females. This may be a rude way of expressing the fact that the gentle sex is 'uncertain, coy, and hard to please.' Although the ceremony of śrīdāru is unknown, once in a year or every new moon, the third day of the month, Bladurpada or in Asvina they throw other clothes and food to (a) ancestors in general, (b) childless ancestors, and (c) men who have died a violent death.

Among Lingayats widow remarriage is common, and divorce is permissible. The ordinary law of Hindus is followed in regard to inheritance. Lingayats regard their jingrams, or priests, as incarnations of Siva, and will bathe their lingas in the water in which the jingram has washed his feet, and thus rendered holy. They have numerous superstitions regarding good and bad omens. Thus, it is lucky to meet a deer or a dog going from right to left, whereas the same animals passing from left to right will bring ill luck (monograph on Lingayats by E. C. Carr). They do not observe the prohibition periods of the Hindus, and their indifference to the ordinary Hindu purification ceremonies is notorious (Dubois, pt. 1. ch. ix.).

Members of other religions communities who wish to become Lingayats are called on to undergo a three days' ceremony of purification. On the first day they allow their face and head to be shaved, and bathe in the products of the cow, which alone they may feed on. The second day they bathe in water in which the feet of a jingram 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 pākôshna, that is, they apply to the head and body a paste made up of phutnats, cow's milk, clarified butter, curd, and honey, and wash it off with water; they again drink the tirth, or water in which the feet of a jingram have been washed, and which 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 sketch 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 congress of castes holding a common religion. It has been stated, and the 12th cent., a movement was set on foot and spread abroad by two Brāhmans, Ekanada-Ramappa and Basava, devotees of Siva, to abolish the ceremonies and restrictions that fettered the intercourse between the different ranks of orthodox Hindu society of the period, and to
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establish a community on a basis of the equality of its members, irrespective of sex, by means of the purifying worship of the one god Siva. It seems clear that the movement found favour in the eyes of the Jain traders of the period, who would have ranked, as Vaisyas, below both Brahman priest and Ksatrya warrior under the Hindu scheme of social precedence. 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 the probability that the Brahmins, who in Ladak (W.) existence was possess, historical evidence, tended by degrees to assert for themselves social precedence as upas or phujogas, 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 tirtha, so that it has a prominent part to this day in the Lingayat ceremonies. Once the original notion of universal equality of rank had yielded to the priests a precedence incompatible with such equality, the way was prepared for the introduction of further souls, and the members of the community commenced to claim over the latter converts a precedence modelled on that which the priests had established against them. In such a manner the essential doctrine of equality became compromised, and the Lingayats continued to certain rites and ceremonies as the test of Lingayat orthodoxy. Thus, when the more recent cases of caste conversion occurred, a section of a Hindu caste became Lingayat, not as the founders of the sect would be believed by being admitted to a footing of equality on the common ground of the worship of Siva and of his emblem the linga, but by investiture through certain rites and ceremonies with the linga, retaining their distinctive social status as a functional caste, with which other Lingayats would neither marry nor dine. It must be admitted that in the case of most of the Lingayat subdivisions the linga will take food in the house of the members, but here all traces of the original equality have disappeared; and the Lingayats of to-day present the curious and interesting spectacle of a religious sect broken in the course of centuries into social fragments, of which the other sections remain essentially sectarian, and the Lingayats possess the attributes of ordinary Hindu castes. As in the case of Christianity in some parts of India, the social barriers of caste have proved too strong for the communal basis of the orthodox religion.

Lakkarack.—J. F. Fryet, Epithetios Indicus, v. (1899), also in L.A. XXX. (1901); C. F. Brown, Essay on the Creed, Customs, and Literature of the Jangams, in Modern Journal of Literature and Science, ser. i. vol. xi. (1841); J. A. Dubois, Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, Oxford, 1898; B. Rich, Manual of Manners and Customs, 1895 (1893); See, Bijapur and Bhiwani, 1890; Census of India, 1901, xvi.; J. B. Cass, Lingayats, Madras, 1900; R. G. Bhadkarkar, G.T.A.P.B. 6 (1913), pp. 131-140.

R. E. Entoven

gLING CHOS.—The gLING chos (gLING-mythology), or gLING glos (gLING-hymnology) contained in Tibetan folk-lore, and is perhaps the most ancient religion of that country. It is distinguished from the ancient mythology of countries such as Finland and Russia by the fact that it has not to be pieced together from fragmentary allusions scattered through the whole range of Tibetan folk-lore, but can be gathered from common sources. Among natives of Tibet the use of the term gLING chos (gLING-glos) is in more general use than that of gLING shos (gLING-chos); in more general use.

1 The term gLING shos was first employed by the present writer. Among natives of Tibet this name gLING shos (gLING-glos) is more general use. In a hymnal discovered in Upper Kansu the words lha shos and don shos are used for this type of religion.

2 Some of these gLING glos will be found in E. Lader's Zwei... (1901-1902) 103. 125, seng sen... (1901-1902) 109-109, seng seng... (1901-1902) 110-111, dono rob... (1901-1902) 112.

3 This is the actual pronunciation. In literature the name is spelt bSapta bhaRta (Sakatkar or India).
eighteen agus (see below) take the part of human beings.

3. Yog klu, the under world (literally, the nápas below).—Like sTang lha, Yog klu is also a heaven. There is, however, a king called Icogpo (probably Icogpo is an abomination, with his servants and his subjects, which are remarkable for the large number of their children. The klu, or nápas (female nápas), are famous for their beauty, and Kesar is warned not to fall in love with them. For this reason, at the present day, the Ladakh women still desire to look like klunon, and wear the perog or berog, a leather strap set with turquoises. This perog represents a snake growing out of the neck of a woman, which, according to Indian Buddhist art, is the characteristic mark of nápas.

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 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 lives near the water.

According to the Lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar-saga, the colour system is as follows: sTang lha is white; Bar btsan is red—perhaps on account of the reddish colour of the ground; and Yog klu is black. A still more advanced stage is represented in the Vasistha Mohini (without doubt based on that of Tibet). Here sTang lha is white; Bar btsan 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 Ladakhi Buddhism.

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 gods of the gods. He is in possession of a beautiful castle, great treasures, and a girl who is kept in a cage. Near his castle is the well of milk and nectar. In size, appetite, and stupidity he closely resembles the giants of European mythology and folklore. There seems to be a close connection between Yog klu and the devil's realm, as they both lead a lecherous and dissolute life. Or, gradually the devil developed into a separate denizen of his own, a most dastardly character, while the klu did not. Other names of the devil bDud are aDre lha btsan bog, Curnlug, Srinpo ('gre'), and sDipa ('sinful').

Of a very similar nature is agu pa. 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 him 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 Indi had a group of seven ádítas before there were twelve, we find occasionally a group of seven agus who act by themselves, the others being forgotten. There is a female agus among the group of seven, and there is always a traitor among the agus. They are described as human heads on human bodies, thus being similar in the Ladakhi version to the Chinese representations of the zodiac. The list of the eighteen is as follows:

1. Pànsang yna ru skyen, with a goat's head.
2. sDaug em, with a puma's head.
3. sRig kras khrab thun, with a falcon's head.
4. kha yiin (dga'nya), with a white beard.
5. slya rdo-rje, with a soup-spoon for a head.
6. sZha sngag, with a moon for a head.
7. mBa upon gongsa, with an arrow-blade in the head.
8. Ada rgyal po, with the sole of a boot for a head.
9. Aba dmé bar lhan, with the head of a robin for a head.
10. Bsheg bzhung, with a cone-shaped mirror for a head.
11. Dbyin gongsa, with a colour for a head.
12. Lag la, with a band for a head.
13. sDang khang rings, with a foot for a head.
14. Rong nag mluğu, with a donkey's head.
15. Sál khan bslampa, with a man's head.
16. sDla' rgyud gspod, with an old man's head.
17. sNa yna ru bka' chis, with a turquoise for a head.
18. sZha sa'va, with a white shell for a head.

The following is the list of the seven agus: (1) sDla' pa, (2) d'Kan, (3) Gonnga batha, (4) sTha mihi'i, (5) sNa yna ru a'tha, (6) mBa upon gongsa, (7) sPam otsog.

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

6. The Lokapalas.—There is some likelihood that the gling chos has always had deities for each of the four cardinal points. It is quite possible that the Indian Amoghasiddha, Vajrasattva, Rata-srabhava, and Anahita were the gods of the four quarters before they became Dhyānibuddhas. In close correspondence with them we find in the gling chos the following deities of the four quarters: Don yod gruupa, North; rDoje sems sPung pla, East; rSeres lung khyung klan, South; sNangba mtha' yin, West. It is not necessary to doubt that these deities were introduced from India together with Buddhism. It is more likely that the names represent an instance of mutual influence between pre-Buddhist Tibetan and Indian mythology. The name Don grub, which corresponds exactly to the Indian Siddhartha, was not necessarily introduced with Buddhism. Siddhartha was a common name in India long before the Buddha's time, and may belong to a deity similar to Don grub and Don yod grub 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 Buddhism; 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' tree. It has its roots in Yog klu, its middle part in Bar btsan, and its top in sTang lha. It has six branches, and on each branch a bird with a nest and an egg. On the first branch there is a huge bird Khyung with a turquoise 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 an iron egg.

8. Outline of the Kesar-saga.

(1) Prologus to the saga: the creation of the earth.—The forefather and his wife sow some seed which grows into a huge tree, the fruits of which are gathered into a barn. There the fruits become changed into worms, which eat one another until one huge worm is left. This worm becomes the worm maila. The child kills an ogre with nine heads, and builds the world (gling) out of its body in seven days. Don yunma mna is married to eighteen girls, to whom she bears the eighteen agus. The agus, eager to gain riches, start for the castle Puchi djal don. sDla' pa arrives there first, all the rest the richest, and bears the prophecy about what will happen in the course of the Kesar story.

(2) Birth of Kesar.—sDla' pa assists the king of heaven in his flight with the devil, in the shape either of yaks or of birds. He is allowed to ask a boon, and asks that one of the three sons of the king of heaven may be sent to the earth as king. All the sons are asked, and Don grub, who is the eldest in spite of his youth, decides to go. He dies in heaven, and is born on earth as Gov bzhag bhamo. (The name Kesar or Kyesar is still in use in the present day.)

The 'reborn one' arrives from Gov bzhag bhamo's eating a halibone, and the child is born
through the rites. It is a most ugly shape, but at pleasure expands into a beautiful shape with wings and moon and moon as attributes. The traitor among the agus makes some unreasonable attempts to hide himself. Together with Kesar, sun and moon and all kinds of animals are born.

(3) Kesar's marriage to dBruguma.—Kesar meets dBruguma on the hill of gathering roots. There are a great number of stories as to how he teases her. dBruguma is to be married to the traitor among the agus, but Kesar wins her through his skill and cunning. Her parents are distressed with them, as they see him in his ugly shape, and treat him with contempt. He promises her a beautiful shape, and should a cloud of beautiful shape (this yak looks almost like a cloud), and who will bring a wing of beautiful shape, she will look at it. The yak looks almost like the sun). The agus try; but only Kesar succeeds. Now he is accepted as son-in-law, and the wedding is celebrated. (Here Kesar is the inventor of bows.)

(4) Kesar's victory over the giant of the north.—After religious preparations Kesar decides to start for the north to kill the devil. He sends his wife to leave dBruguma, and allows her to accompany him, but the queen of heaven sends her back. In the north Kesar is met with a giant in an ugly shape, which he delivers. They have an enjoyable time together until the devil returns. Before his arrival Kesar is hidden in a pit which is dug inside the room in a miraculous way. Although the smell of the woman's body, and, although his book of magic is smashed, he is not deluded. By means of the bow, the girl goes to sleep. Then Kesar is dug out again and kills the devil. The girl gives Kesar the food and drink of forgetting (This yak, thus can forget dBruguma, the land of gling, and everything.

(5) iBruguma abducted by the king of Hor.—Because Kesar does not return to the castle, the young king of dBruguma is absent. At that time the traitor among the agus sits on the throne of gling, and takes the title of king. He has a beautiful form, but is easily pleased. He uses all sorts of means to seduce dBruguma, and takes her away to the castle of Hor. She, however, finds the king of Hor admirable, and goes to him. But when she looks closer, she finds the king of Hor hideous. The king of Hor, who is the bride of Kesar, and the girl goes away to the castle of dBruguma. (This is the Siegfried story.) Agu d'Palle sends two words to dBruguma, and Kesar is rescued. In the meantime the girl reaches the land of gling. The horse arrives there before him, and Kesar's adventure story is set in.

(6) Defeat of the king of Hor.—The road to Hor, with its many obstacles, is described. First Kesar is led by a fox, then he gains the shape of a cow. There is the door of rocks which opens and closes of its own accord; there are the stones flying about between heaven and earth; and the watchmen of Hor, who are killed in the same manner as Sansone killed the Philistines in the ball. Kesar arrives in the shape of a beggar, and pretends to be a son of the smith of Hor. Unfortunately, after certain difficulties and leeds the trade of the smith. At a tournament he shows his superior power, and gains the victory in every contest. He is therefore sent with a message to the approaching agus of gling. On this occasion he dresses all his followers from gling home again. He compels the smith to assist him in the fabrication of an iron chain, which is to be thrown on the top of the castle of Hor. When it is finished, Kesar climbs to the top of the castle by means of the chain, and kills the king of Hor, and regains dBruguma. On their way back to gling, however, he is met by Kesar, who is offered to the door of rocks to induce it to open. In gling, dBruguma is first punished for her treachery, then she is restored to her former position, and another wedding is celebrated.

(7) Kesar's journey to China.—(The Tibetan word for China—yang rgya—means 'the black country'.) In a certain practice story until the castle of the king of China falls to pieces and the kingdom of China becomes ill, Kesar is sent to go to China and heal the king. He sends the traitor auy, Khar thang, in his place. Then he starts himself. The journey is one chain of obstacles and defeats. He is killed, blinded, and wounded. All are overcome, and on Kesar's approach the king of China becomes better. He now tries to keep his word, and gives Kesar his daughter (Yul dgon mo chenpo). But the girl runs away with Kesar. He is, however, induced to go back again. The king of China points him into a pit with three dragons, with which he does not meddle. He escapes in the shape of a fly, goes back to gling, andrules the land of China with leprey (snow apparently). The traitor among the agus has meanwhile gone back to gling, turned dBruguma out of the castle, and seized the treasure. Kesar, however, fished, and Kesar lives happily with his wife. The leprey in China is stopped by another journey made by Kesar to that country.

9. Is the Kesar-saga a myth of the seasons?—This was the present writer's idea from the first. As he was, however, assailed by several critics on account of his practice to write the story of the 'Lower Ladakhí version of the Kesar-saga' for the Bibliotheca Indica, he was driven back to his former position. At any rate, he cannot help believing that myth and the seasons (mixed up, perhaps, with other material) were 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 (see above, §§ 8 [5]); the agus seem to point to an antecedent zodiac; winter is apparently contrasted to leprey; marriage to the yak, and the animal leaves the female one, but leaves them with the hope of new offspring; Kesar's enemies are powers of darkness; the giant of the north; the king of Hor, also in the north; China is the black empire.

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 much, for even Kesar himself is a created being, and his wife is an ordinary, earthy human being, which he converts into a beautiful shape, while the male animals leave the female one, but leave them with the hope of new offspring; Kesar's enemies are powers of darkness; the giant of the north; the king of Hor, also in the north; China is the black empire. The similarity is very apparent.
even called, in historical works, a sinitor to the white grandma. (3) There can be hardly any doubt that the system of colours as we find it in the gLing chos has influenced the pantheon of Lamasism with its white and black (and golden-faced) occupant. Still, it cannot account for all the different shades of colours. Some of them were probably introduced from India. (4) Most of the deities of the gLing chos, dbangpo rgyudshab included, have been incorporated into the pantheon of Lamasism, where they have to be satisfied with an interior rank.

12. gLing chos and Bon chos.—The gLing chos was perhaps not such a pure religion of nature as it was in the past. Of the dances of the gLing chos, 1) the künsal, 2) the rgyudstan, 3) the great nyingma dances, 4) the goals, c.e. in the world songe in the name sengge dkarmo yu rabcan, 'white lioness with the turquoise locks,' the personification of the glacier has something to do with the Indian word stambha. In the name of the smith Hemis, who teaches Kesar, the first part hem seems to be the Indian word hintam, 'snow.' We find the word hem in the sense of snow also in the name Hembabs, which means snow-falling, and such Indian words as rikampa, 'monster,' Sitra, Sitia and Liaqar as names of the gLing chos which are found occasionally in the name gLing chos—which shows what an important part India has played in the shaping of certain tales of this ancient religion.

13. Sacred numbers in the gLing chos.—Holy numbers in the gLing chos are 3, 7, 9, and 18. But it is remarkable that, whilst the first three of these numbers are quoted without a following number, the 18 is often followed up by 19; e.g., 'They danced for 18 days and 19 priests.' The 19 is favoured apparently as the sum of 12 + 7, the months of the year plus the days of the week.

14. Animism in the gLing chos.—Here we may mention the following peculiarities: (k) ykyer, the wind; shag gling zilupa, the rain; sengge dkarmo yura, the glacier; bya khyung dken skgma, (apparently) the sun; sengge dkarmo, the moon; mya mo mig duwa, the morning-star; yon, skyur, animals living in rocks and trees. It is remarkable that several of these personifications are mentioned together with the representatives of the animal world. Some of such representatives are: kyung yon yod nyla, for fishes; byo snyig snyadro, for birds; kyungkhyung khaklo, for horses; byo snyiog snyadro, for yaks.

15. Festivals of the gLing chos.—(1) The Lohan, or New Year's festival. It is the festival of lamps and lights. Pencil-cedars are used for the decoration of houses. There are horse-races, and a goat is offered before a white tho tho (altar of the gLing chos). The heart is torn out of the living animal and offered to the tho. In the monasteries mask-dances are held, which were probably intended originally to drive the evil spirits 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) Strange phantoms. This is the spring festival of driving out winter. At Khaltse 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 (donmo) and destroyed outside the village. (3) The Kesar-festival. The festival is called 'Kesar-festival' only in Upper Kanavar. In Ladakh it is called ma dhay, 'arrow-shooting.' It is celebrated in spring. They Ling shes is played and sung; and the boys run themselves with arrow-shooting. There are processions round the fields to bless them, the tho tho (altars) are decorated with fresh twigs, and pencil-cedars are burnt. (4) The Sbrub tho, or harvest festival. In Sbrub tho the boys dance with poles covered with fragrant alpine flowers. Offerings of grain are carried to the monasteries. The dates of all these festivals are fixed by the lamas, and the lamas take part in them.

16. Anima and gLing chos.—In the course of this article some of the names of the gLing 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 agus which forms his head; thus in no. 4, kha rgyan means 'old month,' i.e. a month surrounded by a white beard; in no. 1, ru skyes means 'horn-producer,' or goat. As for the group of seven agus, which has much in common with the heroes of such folk-tales, c.e., 'Nebel kommen durch die ganze Welt,' in the name of no. 4 the ability to see clearly is indicated; in the name of no. 5, the ability to hear clearly; in no. 6, to shoot well. There are certain names occurring in the gLing chos which are not found in any living language in the world songe in the name sengge dkarmo yu rabcan, 'white lioness with the turquoise locks,' the personification of the glacier has something to do with the Indian word stambha. In the name of the smith Hemis, who teaches Kesar, the first part hem seems to be the Indian word hintam, 'snow.' We find the word hem in the sense of snow also in the name Hembabs, which means snow-falling, and such Indian words as rikampa, 'monster,' Sitra, Sitia and Liaqar as names of the gLing chos which are found occasionally in the name gLing chos—which shows what an important part India has played in the shaping of certain tales of this ancient religion.

LITANY.—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 prayers or invocations, to each of which a response is made by the people. It may be either recital or recitation, it may be liturgical, i.e. connected with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or independent, and it may be used as a usual prayer or used only on special occasions. Proces- sional psalmody which is not of the responsive form is not now usually called a litany, but at one time the word was applied to anything sung in procession. The modern use of the term is the result of a long and somewhat complicated history. It is especially necessary to trace the growth of two forms of devotion which were originally distinct, but which have condescended to form the modern litany. These are the liturgical responsive prayer and the procession.

1. Earliest use of the word.—The word arraesthesia 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 common use with Christian services appears to be by Basil (c. A.D. 357; Ep. cxxvi. ad Cler. Nectes.)." (Opera, iii. 311 l)."

Objection has been raised to some innovations which Basili had made. "These things were not," he says, "the ordinary days of the great Gregory (i.e. Gregory Thaumaturges, c. 254)."

"Neither," replies Basil, "were the litanes which you now use. And I do not say this by way of approving, for I see you using them, 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 πορεία was used in a similar general sense in the West.

2. The liturgical litanies. — The earliest description of Eucharistic worship is contained in the Apologies of Justin Martyr (A.D. 148). Here common prayers are spoken for ourselves, and for all others in all places, immediately before the Kiss of Peace and the Offertory, and therefore after the lessons and homily (Apod. i. 65). Whether these already took the form of the later litanies, is not certainly known; and the response *Kyrie Eleison* is not yet mentioned. And there is not 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 litanies are 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 usual place for it is after the homily, but this is not infrequent. Some form of the kind appears to be almost universal in the Eastern liturgies. Many examples will be found in Brightman (Liturgies Eastern and Western, esp. pp. 4, 471, 921 for the most ancient forms, all the 4th century), and the usual name for these devotions in the East is Λατρεία, but λέιταρία (lit. 'stretched out,' i.e. the earnest prayer), or σωφάρη ('continuous'). There is nothing to show when Kyrie Eleison was first used in the service of the Church. But the use, as is always 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 needed. For the 4th century, when the Byzantine liturgy was most thoroughly harmonized and nationalized, it was pointed out by Claude de Vert (Exposition simple, littérale et historique des cérémonies de l'Eglise, Paris, 1706-13, i. 94; cf. Epictetus, Diss. abi Arriano digesae, ii. 7). The Pericrinitio silece (ed. G. F. Camarurini, Rome, 1838, p. 4) mentions the Kyrie as the response made at Jerusalem to the deacon's list of names, and it appears in the litanies mentioned above as belonging to the 4th century of the ancient liturgy.

3. The liturgical litanies in the West. — It is probable that the Western liturgies originally contained litanies closely similar to those of the East. This was certainly the case, as far as can be judged from their scanty remains, with the liturgies of the 10th century. For example, in the Roman litanies, there is also another place in the service as we know it now, as was pointed out by Claude de Vert (Exposition simple, littérale et historique des cérémonies de l'Eglise, Paris, 1706-13, i. 94; cf. Epictetus, Diss. abi Arriano digesae, ii. 7). The Pericrinitio silece (ed. G. F. Camarurini, Rome, 1838, p. 4) mentions the Kyrie as the response made at Jerusalem to the deacon's list of names, and it appears in the litanies mentioned above as belonging to the 4th century of the ancient liturgies.

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. 235, 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 hymns. 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 lights given by the empress Eudoxia were carried. 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. Sozomen 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. 8; Soc. HE vi. 8). These occasional processions were, however, quite distinct from the litany 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 these originally appear not to have been independent. They were probably at first transformations of pagan processions. The Roman festival of the Robigalia, intended to secure the crops from blight, was kept on the 25th of April, and the procession called the Litanis Major, which took place on the same day, St. Mark's Day, seems to be a direct descendant of this. 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 on St. Mark's Eve, A.D. 490, in order to avert a pestilence, seems to have been distinct from the Litania Major. Another ancient Roman festival, the Ambarvalia, was observed on three successive days in the month of May, and also had the fertility of the fields as its object. There is here a close resemblance to the Rogation processions on the three days before Ascension Day. These are said to have been instituted by Māmertus, bishop of Vienne (c. 150), in the occasion of various public disasters (Sid. Apoll. Ep. v. 14, vii. 1; Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. ii. 34); but such processions had probably been practised at an earlier date, and were only revived on this occasion. These rogation or litanies, called Litanie Minores to distinguish them from those of St. Mark's Day, spread rapidly through Gaul, and were adopted and reorganized at Rome by Leo III. (756-816). Both the Greater and the Lesser Litanies were ordered to be used in England at the Council of Clovesho (A.D. 747) (A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Oxford, 1860-71, iii. 368). It may be noted that in the decree of this council, and elsewhere, the word 'litanies' is used, not as the term 'litanies' is used now. Thus the term 'litanies' has no equivalent terms ('litanie, id est, rogationes'), and also that the terms 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 the churches being carried about. The words 'litanies' and 'rogations' were still used in quite a comprehensive sense.

6. Mediaeval 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 responsorial singing in which the people answer with an unvarying 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 etene came to be very commonly used in processions not only in the Mass, but on all sorts of occasions, so that the word 'litanies' came to mean a form of prayer with a response, either processional or stationary, and either regular or occasional. As the processional use was the most conspicuous and popular, the word 'procession' came to be used almost everywhere in the book which contained the mediaeval 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) a list of books, and for various objects, called the Supplications, with the response 'Audi nos Domine'; (5) the Agnus and the Kyrie, and a collect. Such litanies became very popular, and Cardinal Baronius estimated in 1601 that there were then 80 different forms in use. The invocations of the saints just mentioned formed a conspicuous part of most of these litanies. It is not clear when these invocations were first introduced; it was certainly before the 12th century, but there are to be found in the Stoudseven Missal, and in a litany which probably belongs to the 8th cent. printed in Warren, Lit. Celt. Ch. (p. 175), but they may be much older. Some of the later litanies became little more than a string of invocations. It has been suggested that these lists of saints originally grew out of a heathen formula

excited by the Pontifex Maximus, but there appears to be little or no evidence for this.

It has been noted that litanies, in the sense of responsive prayers, were often, though not necessarily, sung in procession, and so were commonly called processions. On the other hand, devotions sung in procession were often called litanies even though they were not responsive prayers. Psalms and anthems were also frequently used. For instance, Bede says (HE i. 23) that at the first meeting of St. Augustine with King Ethelbert the missionaries appeared in procession bearing the image of our Lord upon the Cross, and singing litanies; and then he specifies what they sang, and it was clearly an anthem, and not a litany in the usual modern sense. Again, the processions before High Mass on Sundays became, during the Middle Ages, a very popular and conspicuous devotion, but the psalmody was not usually in form a litany. In the 8th cent. at Rome it was so, or it was regarded as such; for, when there was a procession, as it has been mentioned, the Kyrie at the beginning of Mass was omitted. Later on the Kyries became a fixed part of the service, and the processional psalmody took a different form. From the 12th cent., however, there was a tendency to use the term 'litany of the saints,' which had been included in the liturgical books. The Litany of Loreto had already been sanctioned in 1587. All others were forbidden to be used without the approbation of the Congregation of Rites. It is probable that this decree was never very strictly enforced, but it was renewed in 1727, and in 1821. A decree, however, of the Congregation of Rites, dated 23 April 1869, allowed the private use of litanies sanctioned by the Ordinary. The Litany of the Blessed Virgin only 'came to mean a form of prayer with a response, either processional or stationary, and either regular or occasional. As the processional use was the most conspicuous and popular, the word 'procession' came to be used almost everywhere in the book which contained the mediaeval 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) a list of books, and for various objects, called the Supplications, with the response 'Audi nos Domine'; (5) the Agnus and the Kyrie, and a collect. Such litanies became very popular, and Cardinal Baronius estimated in 1601 that there were then 80 different forms in use. The invocations of the saints just mentioned formed a conspicuous part of most of these litanies. It is not clear when these invocations were first introduced; it was certainly before the 12th century, but there are to be found in the Stoudseven Missal, and in a litany which probably belongs to the 8th cent. printed in Warren, Lit. Celt. Ch. (p. 175), but they may be much older. Some of the later litanies became little more than a string of invocations. It has been suggested that these lists of saints originally grew out of a heathen formula

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Common Prayer of 1549. This litany was constructed with great care, and several sources were used. The chief portion was taken from the Sarum Rogationtide litany, and the main structure of this was adhered to, but the invocations of the said androgynous prayers were greatly shortened, being reduced to three clauses, which were themselves omitted in the First Prayer Book. Passages were also introduced from a Sarum litany for the dying, called Commenentatio Animæ (also omitted in the First Prayer Book), and a considerable part of the Supplications 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 Consolatio of Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, and so came to England, and it was used for the litany in Marshall's Prayer of 1535. It must be noted that the English litany falls into two main sections: the first ends with the collect that follows the Lord's Prayer—a collect being the natural ending of a litany. What follows is a translation of suffrages which were added to the Sarum litany in time of war. The reason for their insertion was no doubt that war was going on in 1544, but they were appropriate for use at other times, and were retained. These suffrages are preceded by the antiphon and Psalm verse which began the Sarum Procession on Rogation Monday. Unfortunately, the accidental omission of one of the Amens at the end of the collect has led to the ridiculous custom of using the antiphon ('O Lord, arise, help us') as a sort of response to the collect. Until 1601 the conclusions of most of the collects were not printed in the Book of Common Prayer; in the revision of that year the Amens were printed, but most of the endings were omitted by mistake. Although in his adaptation of the old litanies Cranmer added little or nothing of his own, he made a noticeable change in the rhythm: the old petitions were set in short and simple Cranmerian style, with a view to compression or, more probably, because he preferred sonorous periods, grouped several petitions together, and enrichted them with epithets and synonyms. For instance, the Deprecations of the Sarum litany begin thus:

- From all evil—Deliver us, Lord.
- From the crafts of the devil—Deliver us, Lord.
- From the wrath—Deliver us, Lord.
- From everlasting damnation—Deliver us, Lord.

In the new version this becomes:

- From every sin—Deliver us, Lord.
- From the pains—Deliver us, Lord.
- From the anguish—Deliver us, Lord.
- From the durance of hell—Deliver us, Lord.

At the same time Cranmer intended to translate other processional hymns, such as 'Salve Festa Dies,' for he wrote to Henry VIII. in 1545 to say that he 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 'sloth,' were added, and 'Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers of the Church' was changed to 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' The collection of collects at the end of the litany was altered more than once, and most of them were removed to other places in the Book of Common Prayer.

This litany was intended to be used for all the purposes for which the ancient litanies were employed. It was issued for occasional use at a time of distress, and 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 cæteræ as a preparation for Mass. It was ordained from the first to be said on Wednesdays and Fridays, the days of the Passion. For a long time Mass was anciently said, and, although its use on Sundays was not specified in the rubric until 1552, this was probably taken for granted from the first. Unfortunately, this special characteristic of the litany for Mass was obscured later on, partly by the placing of the 'Grace' at the end, and partly by the rubric of 1601, which directs it to be said 'after Morning Prayer.' This made no practical difference so long as Mass, 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 it has led to its being altogether separated from the Mass.

9. Lutheran litanies. Cawood mentions 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 English litany was printed in 1541, and it was used in both languages for some time. The use of the Latin form seems to have died out in the 17th cent., and the German form, although it continued to be used on various occasions in North Germany, never became a popular form of devotion. The Calvinistic bodies objected to this form of service altogether, and the litany was one of the parts of the English Book of Common Prayer which were most disliked by the Puritans.


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

1. Autochthonous literature.—This group in-
cludes songs, orations, stories, legends and myths, rituals and possibly dramas, and chronicles. The sources of this literature are mainly oral tradition, that is, the telling of some time before the coming of Europeans and the annunciation of their written records, the most curious of which are the quipus—knotted and coloured cords—employed by the Peruvians. Petroglyphs and pictographs were wide-spread, and reached a considerable development in the direction of abstract symbolism, while among the Mayas, Aztecs, and other Mexican tribes they clearly gained the stage of hieroglyphic writing. Little progress has been made, however, towards the decipherment of the Mexican codices, even when conducted by the most skilled. Similarly, the records and chants of the American Indians will be treated under SECRET SOCIETIES (American) and PRAYER (American). Oratory was an art of prime importance among the many tribes who conducted their internal affairs by means of oral expression and obtained their policies. Gravity of men and strict decorum characterized the orator, but his expression was often intensely passionate, and there is abundant testimony from white hearers to the power and effect of Indian oratory, of which many fragments are preserved in scattered reports. More systematic records have been made of myths and legends, which are often documents of considerable length and no mean artistry. Their compilation and study, as a rule, of formal literary composition may be studied in records of identical myths taken from different tribes (e.g., the three versions of the ‘Irquonio Cosmology,’ recorded by J. N. B. Hewitt, 21 RBEW [1899-1900]). Legends of a historical character (as, e.g., the legend of Hiawatha) give place in some tribes to conscious chronicles, or year-counts (see esp. G. Mallery, 19 RBEW [1888-90], ch. x.; J. Mooney, 17 RBEW [1895-96]. ‘Calendar History of the Kiowa Tribe of Indians’). The ‘Mound of the Cherokee’ classifies Cherokee myths as sacred myths, animal stories, local legends, and historical traditions. He traces many animal stories that have passed as of Negro origin to American Indian sources (notably the ‘Ehre Rabbit’ stories of Joel Chandler Harris), and it is certain that the American Indians possessed tales designed for entertainment, often of a humorous character, as well as others intended for edification.

The artistic quality of which American Indian expression in capable may be suggested by a few examples. A. C. Fletcher (27 RBEW [1866-68], p. 453) records an Omaha song of four verses (or, with repetitions, seven), which she translates:

“No one has found a way to avoid death, to pass around it; those old men who have not it, who have reached the place where death stands waiting, have not pointed out a way to circumvent it. Death is difficult to face!”

This song is set to a moving native melody, which has been harmonized by Harvey Worthington Loomis (‘Lyrics of the Omaha and Haudenosaunee,’ 19 RBEW [1901]).

An impressive example of Indian eloquence is the speech of Smohalla recorded by Mooney (17 RBEW [1895-96], p. 729 f.), which is a reply to the white commissioner’s request that the Wanapan shall settle down to agriculture. The following is a fragment of Smohalla’s peroration:

“You ask me to plough the ground! Shall I take a knife and cut my mother’s bosom? Then when I die she will not take me to help her to rest.

You ask me to dig for stone! Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die she cannot enter her body to be born again.

You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it, and he rich like white men! But how dear I cut off my mother’s hair!”

In the Iroquois creation myth, there is a somewhat subtle humor in the account of the fall of Attaleeke, the demiurgic Titanus, from the sky-world to the earthworld, in a manner very much seeming, 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 else any water, the many ducks on the lake, whereon they, being waterfowl of all their kinds, floated severally about. Without interruption the body of the womanne-being fell in.

Now, at this time the waterfowl called the Loon shouted, saying: “Do ye look, a woman-beeing is coming down from the water, her body is floating up hither.” They said: “Verily, it is even so.” Now, verily, in a short time the waterfowl called Blitter 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 forward, moreover, said: “Verily, it is true” (21 RBEW, p. 379).

With this may be contrasted a fragment of the Navaho myth of the creation of the sun (27 RBEW [1866-68], pp. 252-57), which is not without a touch of grandeur:

‘The people then said, “Let us stretch the world”; so the twelve men at each end expanded the world. The sun continued to rise as the world expanded, and began to shine with heat, but when she reached the great and the people suffered much. They crawled everywhere to find shade. Then the voice of Darkness went four times around the world crying: the men at the cardinal points to go—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 the Spanish friars, as in the written record, or as written, were recorded by the friars. They were recorded by the friars and consisted of dramas, odes, histories, chronicles, oracles, spells, calendric computations, laws, etc., judging from the fragments which are preserved, while the existence of a secular artistic literature is probable. Brinton is of the opinion that the Central Aztec peoples possessed an autocratic dramatic art (see Library of Aboriginal American Literature, no. iii., ‘The Guageonte, a Comedy Ballad in the Nahua-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua,’ Philadelphia, 1883); and Clements Markham regards the ‘Ollantay’ as an example of a pre-Spanish dramatic literature (see Markham, The Indians of Peru, London, 1910, which contains a translation of this drama). For this literature of the semi-civilized nations see the art. ANDRENS, Chilian Ballad, etc.
Mexico respectively. To these might be added the names of Tezozómoc, Chimalpahin Quauhtiuhuanitzin, Nakak Pech, and Fernando Hernandez Arana Xabila, Mexican and Central American post-conquest chroniclers of native history (see respectively E. K. Kingsborough, Antiquities of Mexico; Cronquist, Mémoires de l'École des Années de San Antonio Chimalpahin Quauhtiuhuanitzin, Paris, 1880; D. G. Brinton, Library of Aboriginal American Literature, vols. 1-8). In N. America, George Cupway (Kagigegado, 1815-63) was the author of several books, dealing chiefly with his own people, the Ojibwa, while Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa, 1858-1932) is an author of essays and stories, striving to preserve the native life and ideals of his Sioux kinsfolk.


H. B. ALEXANDER.

LITERATURE (Babylonian).—Our knowledge of Babylonian-Assyrian literature has been gained chiefly by excavations. Only a few monuments and tablets, among the thousands of clay tablets which served the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian priests to record the deeds of the rulers of those Empires, to chronicle their historical events, to fix the common prayers, incantations, and religious rites, to place the outcome of their superstitious belief in certain systems, and to transmit the ancient myths and legends into posterity. As a matter of fact, these documents are not throughout conceived in the Semitic tongue of Babylonia. It is now well known that in the third millennium before our era the fertile alluvial plain of the Euphrates and Tigris, which were the chief rivers of Babylonia, was inhabited by a non-Semitic race called the Sumerians, and to them must be attributed the primitive culture of that country, the building of its earliest cities, the first written records on clay tablets, the invention of the cuneiform script, the development of which out of a picture writing can still be traced. At what time Sumeri, i.e., Babylonian, tribes invaded Sumerian territory, and how the process of amalgamation between the two races developed, cannot as yet be ascertained. It may be fairly assumed, however, that at the time of the Babylonian king Hammurabi, who replaced the various feudal governments of his predecessors by a vast Babylonian Empire under one absolute sovereignty, the process had come to a standstill, and subsequently the Sumerian literature was gradually superseded by that of the Babylonian-Assyrians.

Babylonian-Assyrian literature actually begins in the time of Hammurabi, whose inscriptions (with one exception) and whose famous collection of laws (see Laws of Hammurabi and Assyrian) are conceived in pure Semitic Babylonian. Before entering into a detailed enumeration of the various branches of that literature, attention must be called to the fact that the difference between the two branches of the Semitic 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 original dawning. The so-called Semitic tongues of Western Asia—Old Babylonian Empire, the Assyrian Empire, and the Neo-Babylonian Empire—were the history of the ancient East can now be authentically reconstructed from the historical inscriptions of the Babylonian-Assyrian literature. The great kings of those monarchies the gaining of immortality by means of a careful tradition of their exploits, their successful campaigns, and building operations appeared most desirable, and so they caused the records of those deeds to be inscribed on a number of clay prisms, on cylinders and tablets, and on the animal colloids 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, 714 B.C., are recorded so minutely that an English translation of the text would fill five columns of the London Times. Long prayers supplement the historical contents of these inscriptions, interspersed with the enumeration of the titles and abilities, virtues and religiousness, of the royal personages therein glorified. As a rule, the contents are arranged according to the years of reign or the campaigns, in chronological order, followed by an account of the building operations and, in some cases, of the hunting matches of the respective kings, while, at the end of the inscriptions, the blessing of the great gods is invoked upon a successor preserving faithfully the work, and their wrath against his desolate land. To the historical documents must also be assigned the branch of the epistolary literature dealing with public affairs. It is from an extended correspondence between Hammurabi and one of his highest officials that we learn the most valuable information concerning the life and times of that first Semitic ruler in the united Babylonian kingdom; the personal care for the welfare of his vast dominion, the building of temples and palaces, the regulation of the temple-taxes, and the use of intercalary months by order of the crown. Of less importance 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 civilized world, and the kings of Western Asia, including Palestine, the Phoenician ports, and the island of Cyprus, which have become generally known as the Tell el-Amarna find. Letters, proclamations, petitions to, and decisions by, various kings, and short notes accompanying requisites for war were in constant use down to the end of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, and are of a historical value similar to that of the royal inscriptions—narratives above, and various so-called "epigraphs" which were added to the numerous bas-reliefs on the walls of the palaces, illustrating the kings' campaigns and other achievements.

Babylonian-Assyrian literature in the narrower sense of the word has become known chiefly from the documents preserved in a great Royal Library founded at Nineveh by Ashurbanipal, the last great king of the Assyrian Empire, who reigned from 668 to 626 B.C. and was called Sardanapalos by the Greek writers. This Library, generally known as the Koyunjik 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 others, consists of tablets containing inscriptions of ancient Babylonian and Sumerian works, and deals with every branch of wisdom and learning then appreciated by the Assyrian priests, who, by command of their royal patron, collected and catalogued, recorded, and preserved in the Library of their day, manuscripts which had been gathered from the oldest cities and temple archives of the whole land. Recent excavations have in some instances also brought to light a number of hymns and prayers, certain omen-texts, and as few control tablets which must be attributed to an earlier period than that of Ashurbanipal, and apparently belonged to the mass of original documents from which the copies in the Library were made; and the same may be said of certain collections of the Neo-Babylonian time, in which, again, copies from the Koyunjik Collection have been found. An exact idea of the literary achievements of the Babylonian-Assyrians, however, can be formed only upon a parallelism of the Library itself. Such a parallelism yields the following results.

Apart from the epistolary literature, a few drafts for royal inscriptions, and numerous commercial texts—the last extending from early Babylonian times to a later period—Assyrian literature was devoted chiefly to superstitions, religious rites and ceremonies, incantations and prayers, and, in close connexion with both branches, to medicine, astrology, and philology.

A large proportion of the documents here concerned deal with the appearance and actions of various animals, and it has been justly remarked that in these inscriptions survivals may be seen of a very ancient animal-cult. Being one of the certain parallels in Egypt—which in later times seems to have been superseded by an exquisitely astral religion. Closely connected with these animal omens are the numerous and systematically arranged texts bearing on monstrosities and other unusual features of births, as well as the large collections of documents dealing with the inspection of the liver of an immodate wether. The movements of various birds, the actions of dogs and horses, the behaviour of a thing of a kind, and the invasion of locusts were especially observed for the compilation of such omen-texts. Another means of divination used by the Babylonians was pure water, into which a small quantity of sesame-oil was thrown, and the visual appearance of the interference-colours, re-discovered by Newton, and certain structures of rings and bubbles, from which the events of the future were predicted. The link between these forecasts and the religious texts must be sought in the medical prescriptions, which were laid down and redacted into a kind of pharmacopoeia. Various diseases, arranged according to the limbs they mainly affected, were enumerated in these collections, and the draughts, decoctions, and other therapeutics are described in detail. Mental disorder was attributed to the influence of evil spirits, and on this account the medical texts are frequently interspersed with incantation 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 proven that the Sumerian original has been taken over from ancient sources, portions of which still exist. On the other hand, it can also be deduced that Semitic Assyrian priests themselves also composed such interlinear texts, using the Sumerian language, then long extinct, in much the same way as medieval monks used Latin. Moreover, even pure Semitic incantation-texts, whose interspersing is preserved in Ashurbanipal's Library—a fact from which it may be concluded that such incantation-texts even at his time were recited in the old sacred language. And the same holds good for the psalms, liturgical prayers, and other types of prayers which are written either in Sumerian only or accompanied, in Assyrian times, by a Semitic version. Whilst the incantation-texts, however, are mostly preserved as parts of certain literary compositions or "series," the prayers and similar religious documents stand for the most part isolated, and only by their style can they be recognized as belonging to various classes. Of such, the prayers called after "the lifting of the hand," the hymns exhibiting a parallelism in a number of cases, and 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 preserved. A few, e.g., the Babylonian Creation Legend and the Deluge Story, both of which have parallels in the 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 preserved in Ashurbanipal's Library only, appears to depict nature's death in the autumn and its resurrection in the spring, and the story of Nergal, the lord of tombs, and his consort, the goddess Erishkigal, likewise contains a description of the abode of the dead. Immortality was not granted to mankind, as we learn from another myth, the story of a pious man called Adapa, who, being misled by chance, 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 the Assyrian time at least an astral religion was being practised by the inhabitants of the Euphrates and Tigris. This appears to be borne out by another branch of Babylonian-Assyrian
literature, viz. the astronomical texts. A large composition, comprising at least 70 tablets, is devoted to observations of the movements of the celestial bodies, including atmospheric phenomena, such as thunder-storms, hurricanes, and earthquakes, and to the forecasts taken from such observations and referring to the welfare of the king, the growth of vegetation, and the increase of cattle and other animals. As early as in the 7th century B.C. these astronomical documents were paralleled by those in the astronomical texts dealing with the diurnal risings and the culmination of luminous fixed stars and constellations, while the Neo-Babylonian time documents with astronomical observations and calculations have been found which bear witness to the highly developed various facets 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 incantation-texts, hymns, and prayers must have early prompted the protectors of religious traditions to collect helps for studying the extinct tongue, and the first of times and events involved a study 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 earliest 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 role similar to that played in later centuries by the Syrians who conveyed Greek learning to the near East. On the other hand, the cuneiform Babylonian script spread all over Western Asia, and the Hititite and Mittanian nations, the Chaldeans, and the Cananites appear to have adopted it in one or other form, and certainly become familiar to some extent with the literary documents of the Babylonian people. Babylonian legends found their way to the ancestors of the Issae, and the early Babylonian documents were studied in the middle of the second millennium by the learned priests of the Egyptian Pharaohs. Finally, the late Assyrian omen and astrological texts wandered to the East as far as China, left remarkable traces in the Indian literature, and were transmitted to Greece, where actual 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.


LITERATURE (Buddhist).—The sacred canon of Buddhism has been handed down in two forms. One, written in Pali and preserved in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, contains the doctrine of the older school, the Hinayana ('Little Vehicle'); see ART. HINAYANA. The second, known as Mahayana or 'Great Vehicle' (see art. MAHAYANA), was하세요. 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, each regarded as specially sacred one or more texts, which either incorporated parts of or replaced a theoretically acknowledged canon. The great bulk of these Sanskrit Buddhists belonged to the Mahayana, or 'Great Vehicle'; see ART. MAHAYANA), a canon, which was the attainment of the condition of a Bodhisattva, or future Buddha, who brings nirvana within the reach of the entire human race.

The forms of Buddhism preserved in Pali and in Sanskrit have commonly been called 'Southern' and 'Northern', respectively, because the former prevails in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, and the latter in Nepal, Tibet, China, and Japan. The distinction is thus made misleading, since all Buddhist canonical literature has been written in the North of India. The Pali canon contains a reference to the Sappasutta, or 'Long Sermon', confuses several persons by the erroneous implication that it excludes the older school of the Hinayana. It is, therefore, more appropriate to speak of 'Pali Buddhism' and 'Sanskrit Buddhism.'

The languages in which the two canons were composed require to be more precisely defined. Pali is the sacred language common to the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia, but Pali Sutta are written in the 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 century B.C. was composed; the latter could only have been the language of Magadha (Bihar), in which Buddha first preached, and which must have been used by the monks of Pataliputra who put together the canonical forms of such a Magadhi canon may be found in the Pali texts. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the titles of the canonical texts enumerated in Asoka's edicts inscribed in Brahmi script on rock edifices differ from those in the Pali text.

Another canon is that of the Magadhi language, which, like other literary languages, is the result of a mixture of dialects. It is indeed in all likelihood Magadhi — a conclusion supported by the tradition that each of the seven dialects of Magadha is represented in the canon. The language of the other canon is either correct Sanskrit or a Middle Indic dialect which, approximating to Sanskrit, is best termed 'mixed Sanskrit' (originally as a rule called the 'Gandhāra dialect').

No work of Buddhist literature goes back to Buddha's time. But much contained in the canon may very well have been handed 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 the whole of the oldest Buddhist literature consists of short collections containing speeches, sayings, poems, tales, or rules of conduct, which are combined into larger collections, called sūtras, or, in modern transcriptions, 'buddhasutra', in order of 'back', in order of 'back'. The formation of the sūtras of the Vedas (cf. HYMNS [Vedic]). These three aggregate collections, called the Tripitaka, form the Pali canon.

The canon as constituted in Asoka's reign must have undergone a heavy change and the time when it was fixed in the 1st B.C. in Ceylon. But thenceforward it has been handed down with great care. Some modifications, indeed,
must have taken place even after the 1st cent., because it is otherwise difficult to account for the numerous contradictions appealing in the canon. The lectures on the short subjects should be regarded as not very different from the Magadha canon of the 3rd cent. B.C. For the quotations occurring in the Asokan 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-pitaka. Moreover, the sculptures and inscriptions of the monuments at Sânchî and Bhûrîhut (c. 200 B.C.) afford further evidence, in the existence of a collection not unlike the extant Sutta-pitaka. But the earliest direct evidence that the Tipitaka as a whole had already assumed its present form is furnished by the Mahâvihâra-pitaka, which dates from the 1st cent. A.D. The age and authenticity of the Pali tradition are confirmed by the Sanskrit canon, which, as already stated, is so closely allied to it as necessarily to be derived from the same original. The texts which the sacred literature comprises will now be summarily described in regard to their chief contents.

1. THE PALI CANON.—1. Vinaya-pitaka.—The first of the three main divisions is the Vinaya-pitaka, the 'Basket of Discipline,' which supplies the regulations 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 life during the rainy season, for housing, clothing, and other matters of daily necessities. Here and there are also to be found stories, some of which contain the oldest fragments of the Buddha legend, while others are valuable for the light that they throw on the daily life of ancient India.

2. Sutta-pitaka.—The second 'basket' is the Sutta-pitaka, 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 Buddhist literature grouped in five minor collections named nikāyas. The first four of these consist of suttas, or ‘lectures,’ being either speeches of Buddha or dialogues in prose occasionally interspersed with verses. These four are regarded as the earliest compositions, and legal procedure in cases of schism. Here and there are also to be found stories, some of which contain the oldest fragments of the Buddha legend, while others are valuable for the light that they throw on the daily life of ancient India.

3. Abhidhamma-pitaka.—The third is the Abhidhamma-pitaka, or 'Collection of Grounds of Knowledge,' which consists of 66 books, divided into two major collections of Abhidhamma, a cosmological treatment of the working of the universe, and a psychological treatment of human faculties. Each of these books is further divided into series of chapters, each of which has a special subject. The Abhidhamma-pitaka is the most systematic and philosophically profound part of the Tipitaka.
canon, some go back to the earliest period. It is composed for the most part in verse, and, in fact, contains all the most important works of Buddhist Indian poetry. Of the works which it embraces the following may be mentioned. The Khuddo-
pitaka, or 'Short reader,' comprises nine brief texts to the mystic 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 fine Metta-sutta, in which kindness towards all creatures is praised as the true Buddhist cult. The Dhamma-pavada, 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 425 stanzas are by some of the earliest disciples of the Buddha. 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 nirvana. The Vinaya-pakṣa, or 'Rules 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 of the verses gives the date from the time of Buddha himself. The Sutta-nipāta is a collection of poetical suttas, many of which, as shown by internal evidence, must go back to the beginnings of Buddhism, and have arise at least among the first disciles in India. 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-gāthā and Therī-gāthā, or 'Songs of nuns and monks' and 'the poems of great spiritual merit exalting mental 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 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 350 stories of former 'births' of Buddha in the character of a Bodhisattva, or future Buddha. It consists partly of poetry and partly of prose, but only the verse portions have canonical value. For a discussion of the work see art. JĀTAKA.

3. Abhidhamma-pitaka. — The Abhidhamma-pitaka, or 'Book of higher religion,' treats of the same subject as the Sutta-pitaka, differing from that collection only in being more scholastic. It is composed chiefly in the form of question and answer, like a catechism. The starting point of this collection appears to have been the Sutta-
pitaka, one of the texts of which, the Anguttara-
nikīyā, may be regarded as its precursor. Its first beginnings seem to have been certain lists called māttās, which are already mentioned in the Vinaya-pitaka.

While the Pāli canon (apart from additions) was entirely composed in India, the non-canonical literature was the work of monks in Ceylon. There is only one important exception, the Mānasika-
pitaka, which must have been written in the north-west of India. It represents a dialogue supposed to have taken place between a Buddhist teacher and Menander (Mīlinda), the Greek king who was living about the time of Buddha, under the Indo-Greek dynasty. The author, whose name is unknown, must have lived at a time when the memory of this king was still fresh. As the Greek domination came to an end soon after Menander, his works hardly have been remembered for more than a century. That the original portion of the work, books ii. and iii. with parts of i., is thus 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-nipāta. Books iv.-vii., besides differing in character from the rest, are wanting in the Chinese translation made between A.D. 37 and 429. The second half contains various poems and is the work of learned monks in Ceylon.

II. SANSKRIT BUDHIST LITERATURE. — While one ancient sect created the Pāli canon, various later sects produced a Buddhist literature in pure or mixed Sanskrit, of which many extensive literary 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 later Mahāyāna school. That school, though acknowledging that the Theravāda, or 'Doctrine of the Elders,' went back to Buddha, regarded it as inadequate, because it made nirvana attainable to the few only through the life of a monk. In order to bring salvation to all humanity, the Mahāyāna taught that every man could aim at being born as a Bodhisattva (q.v.); and any ordinary man, even a Paradhā, could attain salvation by the practice of virtue and devotion to Buddha. The Buddhists are divided as to when and during the beginning, their earthly life and their nirvana being nothing but an illusion. The Buddhists preceding Gantama, instead of being six, are now believed to be thousands or even tens of thousands, and this enormous increase in the number of Bodhisattvas is revered as having for the salvation of mankind refrained from entering nirvana. Under the influence of Hinduism a new mythology grew up in which a number of Hindu deities were thus associated with the Pali suttas, and the practice of worship and devotion to Buddha, and a much stronger devotion to Buddha, analogous to that of the Brāhmaṇa Bhagavad--gitā (q.v.), was made. Brahma doctrine influenced the development of Mahāyānam in the philosophical side also. For, while the old Buddhism denied the existence of the ego only, the Mahāyāna doctrine also denied the existence of everything (expressed by the formula 'netre śāntaḥ, 'everything is void,' either as complete nihilism or as ideal nihilism (ujjñāna-nirviśeṣa, or 'doctrine' that nothing exists except in consciousness').

1. Hinayāna. — The large realist sect of the Sarvastivādin ("followers of the doctrine that everything is"), besides having an extensive literature, possessed a Sanskrit canon which, however, only fragmentary parts of the Udāna, Dhammapada, and Ekottarāgama (corresponding to the Pāli Udāna, Dhammapada, and Anguttara-
pitaka) have as yet been discovered. The Mahāyāna, or 'Book of great events,' is a text of the Lokottaravādin ("followers of the doctrine" that the Buddhavas are supernatural beings), a subdivision of the old schismatic sect, the Mahāsāṃghikas, 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 Pāli canon, such as the Brāhmaṇa's ascetic, the Mehaśānta-pitaka, which must have been written in the north-west of India. It represents a dialogue supposed to have taken place between a Buddhist teacher and Menander (Mīlinda), the Greek king who was living about the time of Buddha, under the Indo-Greek dynasty. The author, whose name is unknown, must have lived at a time when the memory of this king was still fresh. As the Greek domination came to an end soon after Menander, his works hardly have been remembered for more than a century. That the original portion of the work, books ii. and iii. with parts of i., is thus 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-nipāta. Books iv.-vii., besides differing in character from the rest, are wanting in the Chinese translation made between A.D. 37 and 429. The second half contains various poems and is the work of learned monks in Ceylon.

The Lalita-vistara, or 'Detailed account of the play of Buddha,' though it seems to have origin-
LITERATURE (Buddhist)

ally been a Buddha biography of the Sarvastivādins, has been extended in the sense of the Mahāyāna, of which it bears all the characteristics. It is a still unpublished prose, with occasional 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 to the deification 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 Asvaghosa (q.v.), a genuine poet, who, as one of the pioneers of the Mahāyāna and a contemporary of Buddha, must have composed it in the 1st or 2nd A.D. Originally a Brāhmaṇ, he joined the Sarvastivādin sect, but laid great stress on devotion to Buddha. His epic, however, contains no pronounced Mahāyāna doctrine.

Another work of the same school, dating probably from the 4th A.D., is the Jataka-nāta, 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 29 jātakas, illustrating the perfections, or ‘perfections,’ of a Bodhisattva, and nearly all occurring in the Pāli Jātaka Book.

Cogitate with the preceding works are a number of collections of avadānas, or ‘stories of great deeds,’ some of them, probably from the 2nd cent. A.D., contains pieces from the Sanskrit canon of the Sarvastivādins, and nothing connected with the cult of Bodhisattvas or with Mahāyāna mythology. Dating from about a century later, but inelegant and improbable from the 2nd cent. A.D., contains pieces from the Sanskrit canon and quotes individual canonical texts, besides having several legends common with the Pāli canon. Most of the stories are written in good simple Sanskrit with occasional gāthās, but others show the elaborate metres and long compounds of the artificial classical style.

2. Mahāyāna.—The Mahāyāna, not representing a homogeneous sect, possesses no canon. But there are two main schools or traditions of texts, which, composed at different times and belonging to different sects, are also called Jātaka-sūtras. The most important and most characteristic work of the Mahāyāna school is the Sūtra-dharma-pud-derika, or ‘Lotus of good religion.’ It contains a matter of different date represented by Sanskrit prose and by gāthās in ‘mixed Sanskrit.’ Its original form dates perhaps from about A.D. 200. Saivyamuni is here no longer a man, the mendicant of the Pali suttas, but a god above all gods, who has lived for countless ages and will live for ever. His doctrine is that every one can become a Buddha who has heard the preaching of Buddha, performed meritorious works, and led a moral life. Even those who adore relics, erect vihāras, or make Buddha images obtain the highest enlightenment (see LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW).

A whole sūtra, the Kāraṇīya-sūtra, akin in language and style to the later Hindu purāṇas, is devoted to the exaltation of Avalokiteśvara, the ‘Lord who looks down’ with compassion on all beings, here the typical Bodhisattva who, in the exercise of infinite pity, refuses Buddhahood till all beings are saved. The yearning for salvation (mokṣa), which is moral and religiously expressed than in the figure of Avalokiteśvara (q.v.). The cult of this Bodhisattva is known to have been in existence before A.D. 400. More mythological is the Śākhyatā-devyā (c. A.D. 100), or ‘Detailed account of the Land of Bliss,’ which is devoted to the praise of the Buddha Amitābha (‘of unmeasured splendour’). The Gaṇḍā-vyāha (q.v.) contains the life of the Bodhisattva Mājusri (q.v.), who occupies a prominent position in Mahāyāna cult and art.

Other Mahāyāna sūtras are of a philosophic and dogmatic character. The Lankāvatāra-sūtra (a Dharmasūtra) describes a visit paid to the demon king Rāvana in Ceylon by Buddha, who answers a number of questions about religion according to the doctrines of the Yogācāra school (founded by Asanga). The tenets of a number of philosophical schools are also discussed here. The Dādhanāmāvatāra (a Dharmasūtra) represents a lecture by Buddha in India’s heaven, about the ten stages by which Buddhahood is to be reached. It dates from before A.D. 400, when it was translated in Chinese. The Samaññaphala (a Dharmasūtra), 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 Saṃvatsara-prabhuma (a Dharmasūtra), dating from before the 6th cent. A.D., is a philosophically, partly legendary, and partly ritualistic in its contents. The Hindu goddesses Sarasvati and Mahādevi are introduced, and magical formulae and Tantric practices are dealt with. The Rājasthāna-sūtra (before 400 A.D.), besides containing Buddha’s description of the qualities of a Bodhisattva, introduces a number of jātakas. Its main interest lies in its prophecy of the future decay of religion; for its realistic descriptions must largely reflect the lax morals of the time of the Bodhisattva. The Saṃvatsara-prabhuma, 6th cent., and the Rājasthāna-sūtra, 4th cent., deal with the six perfections of a Bodhisattva, but especially with the last, prajñā, ‘wisdom,’ the knowledge of the doctrine of nothingness, which denies not only being, but also not-being. The doctrine of the Mahāyāna sūtras was systematized by Nāgārjuna, originally a Brāhmaṇ who flourished about A.D. 200 and founded the Mahāyāna school, one of the main branches of the Mahāyāna. In order to remove the otherwise insoluble contradictions of complete nihilism, he lays down in his Mahāyānāsūtra the doctrine that Buddha’s words depend on two kinds of truth, the conventional and the ultimate, which are the highest truth in the highest sense. It is only through the lower that the higher truth can be taught, and it is only through the latter that nirvāṇa can be attained. This distinction resembles that between the higher and the lower knowledge in the Vedānta system of the Brāhmaṇs (see MAHĀYĀNAKA, MAHĀYĀNIKAS).

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

Asanga (q.v.), the eldest of the three sons of a Brāhmaṇ from Peshāvar, probably flourished in the first half of the 4th cent. Originally an adherent of the Sarvastivāda school, he became the main exponent of the Mahāyānāst Yogācāra school, which recognizes existence in consciousness (vijñāna) only, denying the reality of the phenomenal world. The only absolute entity is truth (evaluate), which is not available outside the mind of the bodhisattva, in the sense of which is attainable solely by those who practise yoga in ten stages. Yoga (q.v.) was thus brought into systematic connexion with the Mahāyāna doctrine. Asanga expounds the tenets of this
school in his Mahâyâna-Sãtrâlaksâra, a work containing of memorial verses (tâkrita) in various metres and a commentary written by himself. Asanga's brother, Vasubandhu, one of the most important figures in Buddhist literature, distinguished for profound learning and great powers of metaphor, and a prodigious scholar of logic, having written authoritative works representing both the great divisions of Buddhism. His most important work, belonging to his earlier and Hinayâna period, was his Abhidharmakośa, which deals with ethics, psychology, and metaphysics, but is known only through a Sanskrit commentary and Chinese and Tibetan translations. In later life he was converted by his brother Asanga to the Mahayâna doctrine, when he composed a number of commentaries. The other is the Bodhicaryâvatâra, or 'Entry into the practice of enlightenment,' a religious and moral treatise, inculcating the pursuit of the highest moral perfection. The aim in both works is the attainment of enlightenment as a Bodhisattva by means of infinite compassion and the generation of Bodhims, that is, wisdom being the belief in nothingness (ânityâtâ).

An indication of the decay of Buddhism in India is the approximation of its latter literature to that of Hinduism. Thus the Mahâyâna sūtras show strong resemblances to the Brâhmanic purânas, containing, like these, mahâtmyas, or glorifications of particular localities, and stotras, or hymns addressed to various deities. There are also separate stotras in the Mahâyâna, dedicated to Vaishnavas and Siva; many of them glorify the goddess Tara, the female counterpart of the Bodhisattva Avalokitéśvara.

A further sign of degeneracy is the increasingly important position which the dhâranis, or 'spells', began to assume in Mahâyâna 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 predominate. In many cases the influence of the Saivite tantra they became pure gibberish and entered as essential elements into the Buddhist tantras.

The Tantras (q.v.), which probably date from the 9th to the 11th cent., and are composed in barbarous Sanskrit, represent the final stage in the degradation of Indian Buddhism. They are treated partly concerned with ritual (kriyâ-tantra) or rules of conduct (charita-tantra), partly with the esoteric doctrine of the Mahâyâna (yogâ-tantra). The former class is a revival of the old Brâhman ritual of the Gâyâyâs, and the mystical syllables contained in them are addressed not only to Buddhás and Bodhisattvas, but also to Saivite deities. Most of the tantras, however, are concerned with yoga, starting from the mysticism of the Mâdhavânumpyika and the Yogachâra schools. The yoga here aims at the highest knowledge of nothingness (ânityâtâ), not only by asceticism and meditation, but by magical rites, hypnotism, and other expedients. The teaching and practice of this yoga are a mixture of mysticism, sorcery, and eroticism, accompanied by disgusting orgies. Nothing of Buddhist remains in them, for they differ, no respect, except in being described as 'propagated by Buddha,' from the Saivite tantras, inculcating as they do the worship of the Śiva and Śaivite gods, and introducing numerous esoteric deities into their cult.


A. A. MACDONELL.

LITERATURE (Chinese).—The vast mass of Chinese literature is divided into four classes—classics, histories, philologies, and belles lettres. The term king, translated 'classic,' means originally the warp of a web, and by metaphorical extension comes to mean what is invaluable, rare. 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 which have been preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations only. If we speak of them as 'sacred,' we expose ourselves to mis-leading associations. We do, indeed, meet with the phrase Sheng king as designating the Confucian canon, where Sheng is the word which indicates the warp of a web. But this term is only an indication of holiness. Originally, however, it refers to perfection of wisdom ('sage,' 'sagely'), and does not of itself suggest any relation to the divine. Of the perfect Sage it is said:

He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him (Docet, of the Mem, xxxi. 3).

The authority of the classics is due not to any special inspiration, but to their connexion with sages or sagely men who possessed this ideal development of human nature. Degrees of authority are recognized; Mencius, c.g., in some of his pronouncements is held to have fallen short of the perfect balance of the sage. The study of the classics was founded on and almost confined to the sages, their influence has been enormous. Less legitimately their connexion with the sages has given them a pre-eminent share in that reverence, passing into superstitious awe, which is felt for the great men of the past.

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 Chou Iâ, or Chou Iâ classics, on the Imperial edition of the T'ang dynasty included thirteen books. The present canon, taken in the strictest sense, includes the Five Classics and the Four Books.

1. The 'Five Classics.'—(1) K'ing, The Book of Changes.—The germ of this is the Eight Trigraphs, 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 classic was complete. As being the joint work of these four sages, it enjoys a great reputation. It is a compound of oblong lines and taoistic 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 Babylonia or elsewhere, various opinions have been held by scholars.

(2) Shu K'ing, 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 Confucianist's authorization of which is even more doubtful. What now exists is this preface and fifty-eight books of documents, the tradition of which is traced back to two early collections, Fu Sheng and Fu Tse. The twenty-five books which rest on the sole authority of the latter are gravely suspect. The whole collection of documents, by no means forms a continuous history, falls into five divisions—the books of "Five Classics," the book of "I Ching," the Shang records, and the chronicles. 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 benevolent autocracy, and sovereignty is conferred or withdrawn according to the righteous judgment of God, who raises up the instruments of his providence.

(3) *Shi King, The Book of Odes.*—This comprises three hundred and five odes, with the titles only of six more, traditionally said to have been selected by Confucius from the numerous pieces extant in his time. This account greatly exaggerates the size of the collection. Confucius 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 indecencies, a number of them spring from irregular passion. 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; the griefs of neglected officers and forsaken wives; complaints of injustice and wrongs; and the praise of 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,' 3 books. The earliest odes date from the Shang dynasty (1705-1122 B.C.), and the latest from the time of the Chou dynasty. Much can be gathered from the odes illustrating early Chinese civilization.

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

(5) *Ch'ün Ch'ün, 'Annuals.'—Ch'ün Ch'ün, Hl, 'Spring and Autumn,' a common name for annuals, is the only one of the Five Classics ascribed to Confucius himself; but it falls so far short of Mencius's *economy* of the *Ch'ün Ch'ün* which he knew that doubt—not supported by other evidence—has been expressed as to whether our *Ch'ün Ch'ün* is in reality his work. This work is indeed the product of later time, and may be merely transcribed from the annals of 1 nu, Confucius's native State. It is an absolutely told record of such things as the beginnings of the seasons, State-covenants, wars, deaths of persons in charge of the government, and especially notices of eclipses are important as affording chronological data. The record runs from 721 B.C. to the 14th year of Duke Ai, when Confucius's work ends, and is supplemented by his disciples up to the time of his death, 16th year of Duke Ai (478 B.C.). Even Chinese scholars admit that the record is not impartial, and is guilty of concealing the truth. An attempt has been made to show that the most characteristic of the work is the *Analects.* These were probably compiled by Confucian scholars of the second generation. Conversations with Confucius and disconnected sayings of his, mostly quite brief, form the staple of the work; but bk. 19 contains sayings of disciples only, and these occur also in other books. The main themes are ethics and government. In spite of the general failure even to seek after righteousness, it is maintained that human nature is made for virtue, which is a life-long task. For the attainment of virtue there is sufficient strength, if only it is exercised. 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 love are treated. 'Reciprocity'—not to do to others what one would not have done to oneself—is the highest moral rule. There is intentional reticence on extra-human matters. In politics the moral ends of government are emphasized, and the influence of a virtuous ruler over his subjects. Bk. 10 contains many particulars as to Confucius's deportment and habits. More important are the scattered estimates of Confucius by himself.

(2) *Ts'ao Hsieh, 'The Yesing.'—The Yesing,' is so called with reference either to the importance of its matter or to the mature age of its students. The text appears to be fragmentary. In one recension it forms a section of the *Li Ki;* but as usually printed, it is arranged by Chu Hsi, though without authority, into text by Confucius and comment by Ts'ao Tzu. The book professes to trace the development of morality from investigation of things, through extension of knowledge, and the cultivation of the mind, to the heart, up to cultivation of the person (which is the central idea); and then on to regulation of the family and tranquilizing of the empire. The work, though not without some excellent moral ideas, is small and insignificant.

(3) *Chung Yang, 'The Doctrine of the Mean' (probably rather 'Equilibrium and Harmony'), is ascribed to Kung Chi, grandson of Confucius, commonly known as Tzu Shih. This treatise, like the *Ts'ao Hsieh,* forms a section of the *Li Ki.* Human nature, as given by heaven, is the source of morality. In its original state it is 'equilibrium'; as developed into right action it is 'harmony.' The beginnings of this development lie at hand in ordinary duties and virtues, particularly in 'reciprocity,' which is here developed positively (= the Golden Rule; cf. *E.E.* vi. 316). 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 attained to it by moral instruction. It is the *summon summon,* and has a transforming influence on things and men. Confucius is eulogized extravagantly, though not without eulogy, with the ideal man who is the equal of heaven.

(4) *Mencius* (371-288 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. 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 Kunārīla Bhatta, in the 7th cent. of our era, as Andhā Drāvida. The four principal literary Dravidian languages are now Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, and Malayalam. According to the Census of 1901, the Dravidian population of India is spoken by 231 millions of people, Tamil by a little over 150 millions, Kanarese by 105 millions, and Malayalam by 67 millions. That the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans were acquainted with S. India at an early period is shown by the Telugu, the oldest Dravidian language, by the grammatical Pāṇini (probably c. 350 B.C.), and the Indian invasion into the South came at a later period that the southern Dravidian languages retained, with but few exceptions, their own characteristic grammatical structure. Their vocabulary was, however, enlarged by the inclusion of Sanskrit technical terms and words in their corruption. So widely did this Aryan influence on the literature of the South spread in course of time that J. Viswanath (Ibid., p. 36) 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 century. It was the Aryan Brahmins or Jainas or Buddhists who first having learned the common Sanskrit language, but its development by the nāysisc authors, and composed works. The preliminary of the Jain period must have lasted two or three centuries' (Siddhānta Sāras, August 1905).

The southern inscriptions of Aśoka show that writing must have been familiar to the people by the 3rd cent. B.C. The present southern scripts are derived from the oldest, the northern; Sanskritized Tamil script is of about the 4th cent. of our era. Telugu and Kanarese alphabets date from the 5th cent. Previous to any writing or written records the folk-songs of the people, their moral aphorisms as well as their literary outbursts of love and war, set as they were to music, were handed down by memory from generation to generation. V. Sundaram Pillai states that more than 19,000 lines of the hymns of the early poet Sambandhur, 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 set to music. The original tunes are now mostly forgotten. They were lost in the later airs introduced by Aryan music in the north' (Some Mideitating in the History of Tamil Literature, p. 5).

The intrusive Aryan influence so blended with the indigenous Dravidian element that the Aryan het (stāty) completely ousted the primitive domestic musical instrument (yīd), no reliable description of which remains on record. Similarly, the old grammars and the grammars of the Pāṇini and Andhā school of grammarians have been superseded by the North Dravidian, the Nānd, composed by a southern Jain grammarian, Pavanandi, about the beginning of the 13th century. The Nāndkī lays down the rule that has to reject the old and obsolete usage and to adopt new and the heretofore views of his time. It is in the 11th and 20th centuries, the Nāndkī lays down the rule that has to reject the old and obsolete usage and to adopt new and the heretofore views of his time. In the 11th and 20th centuries, it has gradually become the accepted rule of the day, and poetry and prose are constructed by the learned only when they are as different as the spoken vernaculars of Aṅglo-Saxon is from modern English. The more they hold themselves aloof from the colloquial language of the time and the more they are swathed in archaisms, the more they merit the praise of poeta. The earliest, and therefore the purest, Dravidian literature, as freest from Aryan influences, lies enshrined in works dating from 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, included in the moral aphorisms of the Kural or Tirumular, followed, and the four hundred quatrains of the Nāladiyār, said to have been composed by a Jain poet of about the 8th century. The latter quatrains show strong Aryan influences, denoting that they do with pure and unbroken Dravidian metaphysics— the pain of existence, transmigration of the soul, and release therefrom. Some of the quatrains are mere translations from such Sanskrit epics as the Mahabharata. Pope, who translated and annotated the Indian epics in his 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 Nāladiyar, in couplets and quatrains, have been acclaimed as the highest achievements of Dravidian literature. Pope (Kural, p. xiv) truly says of the Kural (and the same applies to the Nāladiyar) 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 for literary purposes and then taxed the natives to write and compose works. The preliminary of the Jain period must have lasted two or three centuries' (Siddhānta Sāras, August 1905).
LITERATURE (Egyptian)

Jiivakachintamani. 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 faiths. They still awaited translation into English to make them available for historical purposes. Later scholars have contended the peculiar charm of the stately and leisurely style of the original, its melodious and harmonic sequences of sound, and the subdety of its quaint and involved conceits of metaphor. J. Vinson (Journals of the Bombay Arch. Soc., p. 79, 1873) has given a valuable and balanced judgment respecting the comparative value of the best of Dravidian literature.

A part perhaps are the recitals of sentiments moral, it is not a poem of any importance until that tradition complete as a law unfatigued by the Europeans. Its description are styled, monotonous, poems of mausoleum cost of expression, quotations, indeed, to be otherwise entertained, considerable is asserted by the poets in their own work to resemble them; the so proverbial are the great spirits, to which expressions, to the extent, is the form known in a modern.

This Aruan influence so permeated the whole spirit and communiqué of the Dravidian period that Appakani, a grammarian of the 17th cent. contemnously declared that Telugu adaptations from the Sanskrit were merely for the use of women and Sudras. The Dravidian scholar, G. V. Ramamurti, who quotes the above in his Monumenta on Modern Telugu (Madras, 1913, p. 3), further states that, should a Brahman read the Ramayana for religious merit, he reads the Sanskrit original and not a Telugu adaptation. The same writer, who is also a advocate for a reformed pure Dravidian literature freed from Sanskrit corruptions, states only the truth when he says:

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

Nevertheless, the simple peasant values these Telugu, Tamil, Kamarase, or Malayalam imitations of, or adaptations from, the Sanskrit poems, epics, and prabandhas. Read as they are by professional reciters under the village tree during the long starlit evenings, they hold the simple folk in spellbound wonder and awe as they listen to a running transcription 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, of all the loved stories of wise 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 Anu Uard (or of knowing that which is in the under world), the Book of Breathings, the Book of Gates, etc.; and (3) miscellaneous writings, such as the hymns to Osiris, Amun, Isis, Ra, Osiris, Hapy, Amen, etc., such writings as the Lamentations, and the Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys 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 body of Egyptian sacred writings known to us, not only because they exhibit the religious beliefs of the nation at a very early period in its history, but also because they are the remains of primitive traditions embedded in them enable some of the Egyptian beliefs to be traced back even to pre-historic times, and because the development manifest results 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 11th dyn. kings have no interior inscriptions, and it was supposed that this was true of all other pyramids until the discovery, in 1850, of the 1880 Mariette's workmen at Saqqarah managed to effect an entrance to the pyramid of Pepy I. of the 5th dyn., and later on that of Merenre of the same line, and found that both contained lengthy hagiographic inscriptions, he wrote an account of them. Eventually inscriptions were found in five pyramids, of which the oldest is that of Unas of the 11th dyn., and the others are those of Teti, Pepy I., Merenre, and Pepy II., all of the 5th dyn. The inscriptions thus discovered a period of about 150 years, from 2395 to 2175 b.c. or, on the opposite side, dating, from about 4210 b.c. onwards. Immediately after their discovery the texts were edited by Maspero, and the attention devoted to them has been steadily increasing.

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 5th and 11th dyn. The later versions show traces of editing, which has been undertaken in order to meet the new developments of religious thought arising in a period of 90 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 divisions: (1) funerary ritual and eternal 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 word, 'Utter (or recite) the words.' Of these sections the pyramid of Unas contains 225, and the other pyramids make up the number to 714. The amount of material is thus considerable, as may be judged from the fact that in Sethe's edition it fills two quarto volumes, and contains over 1000 pages of text. It is arranged in the most haphazard manner possible, the scribes re-
such as those which describe how the dead king in the other world praises and disembowels the gods, cooking them in his kettle, and eating them,

‘The great ones for his morning meal,
Their middle-sized ones for his evening meal,
Their little ones for his night meal’,

so that ‘their magic is in his belly,’ have their own value as literature for the wild power and vigour of imagination which they reveal, but they are still more valuable as survivals of a period when the Egyptian, whom we have never seen save in the decent, ordered civilization of the dynastic period, was actually an unregenerate savage, with beliefs on the same intellectual level as those of other uncivilized races.

2. The Book of the Dead.—Next in importance to the Pyramid Texts comes the collection of sacred writings which has for long been regarded as representative of Egyptian religious literature, and is most widely known by the totally misleading title of The Book of the Dead. The only justification for the use of this title is that the texts are more or less regularly used in the collection were, like the Pyramid Texts, entirely designed for the advantage of deceased persons in the other world. The Egyptians themselves called the collection ‘The Chapters of Port em Hru,’ or ‘The Coming Forth by Day’ (or ‘Ascending by Day’), a title which is misleading in every way. Among the contents of the chapters suggest that it may have something to do with the powers which the knowledge of them conferred upon the deceased to go in and out from his tomb, and to live an unlettered life in the other world. Concerning the early history of the Book of the Dead we have no certain information. In fact, there is practically no literature extant from the period between the VIth and the Xth dyn. to show the development of religious thought in the middle kingdom. However, under the Xth and XIth dynasties, there begins to appear a series of texts which are regarded by some as an early recension of the Book of the Dead. These texts are written no longer on the walls of tombs, but on the inner surface of the wooden coffins in which the well-to-do people of the period are buried. They are generally written in black ink, and are ornamented with coloured borders representing the usual funerary offerings and the symbols of the various deities. The text thus preserved is taken from the Pyramid Texts, the other half consisting of material which is met with later in the genuine Book of the Dead; so that, really, the inscriptions of this period occupy a middle position between the old texts, whose object was the service of the king alone, and the later book, which was a popular compilation intended for the use of all and sundry. It might be useful, therefore, to distinguish these Middle Kingdom texts by some such title as that of ‘Collin Texts,’ which Breasted employs to denote them.

The writing of these texts is marked by the same carelessness and inaccuracy which characterize 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 expected that his work would be seen again, and consequently he took the least possible trouble with it. In one instance the same scribe 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 Collin Texts are intermediate in character, as in time, between the Pyramid Texts and the Book of the Dead. The old solar ideas of the Pyramid Texts are still present; but the Osirizing process, already begun, has been carried a stage further, and now we have indications of the
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intrusion of the essentially Osirian idea of an under-world in the old solar idea of a celestial heaven. Bronze-epitaphiographically sums up the dip of the balance in the Coffin Texts towards the Osirian side by the remark that in the Pyramid Texts Osiris is lifted skyward, while in the Coffin Texts Ra is dragged downwards (p. 237). The idea of a Western Elysium, in contradistinction to the solar idea of an Eastern one, begins to appear, and the character of the Elysium begins to approximate to that of the Sekhet Aarn, 'Field of Balances', as found in the Book of the Dead. Thus one of the chapters of the Coffin Texts is concerned with 'Building a House for a Man in the Nether World, digging a Pool, and planting Fruit trees. Already the Coffin Texts exhibit instances of the desire, which reaches full development later, of furnishing the deceased with words of power to enable him to assume various transformations. Various texts enable him to transform himself into 'the blazing eye of Horus', into an 'etern-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. There are charms to prevent the head of a man from being taken from him, for repulsing serpents and crocodiles, for preventing a man from being obliged to walk head downwards, and so forth. This kind of rubbish, towards which the Egyptian mind is naturally inclined, 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, properly so called, makes its appearance with the New Empire, and following centuries e.g., under the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. The change from inscriptions on tomb-walls to inscriptions on the inner surfaces of coffins is now followed by a further change; the texts which form the new compilation for the use of the dead are now written on rolls of papyrus, and placed in the coffin. The various versions extant from the XVIIIth to the XXIInd dyn. have mainly been derived from tombs near Thebes before the end of the new kingdom is period is known as the Theban Recension. It cannot be too clearly understood that there never was a standard text, or anything even remotely approaching to such a thing. Probably no two papyri or two pages of them, or two sections of them, and the divergencies are extraordinarily great. The size and content of the so-called Book of the Dead which was buried with any particular man depended entirely upon the power or the will of his friends to purchase a satisfactory copy for him or the reverse. The poor man has a meagre roll a few feet in length, containing a pitiful selection of a few of the more important chapters; the rich man may have a supplement which run from a few feet in length and containing anything up to 120 or 130 chapters. In the XVIIIth dyn. the scribes began to ornament the text with designs in black outline, known as vignettes. Little by little the practice developed, and in the XXIInd dyn. the illustrated papyri had become 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 XXIInd dyn. the copying of the text has been so laborious, with the expense of the text, which has become very corrupt, and also begins to contain passages which are not found in the older versions. This tendency is accentuated in the XXIInd 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 comes when the book seems to have been written. This period coincides with the decline of the power of the priests of Amen-Ra.

In the XXVth 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 systematized. The result of this editing is the Saite Recension. It contains four chapters which have no counterparts in the earlier versions of the Book of the Dead.

In the Ptolemaic period we have a version which is best represented by the Turin 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 153.

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 Shau-en-Saaten ('Book of Breathings'); they contain no hymns, but only things up in the world, 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 papyri 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 several of 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 5000 years on the most limited system of dating; and, allowing for the fact that even in the earliest texts theological ideas are to a great extent developed in a stereotyped manner, we are perfectly within reasonable limits in saying that these documents represent the theological development of at least 5000 years. Petrie's system of dating would, of course, considerably extend this period.

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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, indeed, al- lowed from the Pyramids of Pharaohs, of One and of Two. Gemnikoi, of Abydos, and of Khmun-khet, writings essentially as the same character as the book of Proverbs, while the Lay of the Harper (or Lament of King Antef) may have been composed with the Egyptians, and a remarkable comment on the social and moral condition of the land in the Middle Kingdom is found in the Adumptions of Ipuwer.


C. MISCULARINE WRITINGS.—For hymns, etc., see Literature in art, Hymns (Egyptian). A good popular rendering of the Legends of the Gods is found in M. A. Murray, Ancient Egyptian Legends, London, 1913. The Adumptions of Amon have been rendered by A. H. Gardiner, The Adumptions of an Egyptian Sage, Leipzig, 1908.


LITERATURE (Indian Vernacular).—The literature of the modern vernaculars of India may be divided into two main classes—that written under Muslim influence, and that written under Hindu influence. The former dates from the Mogul conquest, and was composed mainly in the Urdu form of Hindustani. Up to the introduction of printing at the beginning of the 16th cent., it was written almost all in verse. The earliest works date from the 16th cent., and the standard of composition was set by Walli, Aurangabad in the Deccan, who flourished at the end of the 13th cent., and who is known as 'the Father of Urdu.' Urdu being the technical name for the form of Hindustani used by these poets. From the Deccan the taste for this literature spread to Delhi, where Walli found numerous successors, and thence to Lucknow. The most celebrated of the Delhi poets were Raifi's Sanda, best known for his satires, and Mir Taqi, famed for the purity of the language in which his Ghalzai and Mathakai were written. These flourished in the 18th cent. Among the Lucknow poets the most celebrated was Mir Ijazan (18th cent.). Hindustani prose hardly existed as literature till the foundation of the College of Fort William in Calcutta at the close of the 17th cent. It began with the preparation of text-books for students at the College, and since then has had a prosperous existence. It has been specially successful in the department of fiction. The novels of such authors as Katun Nath Sarwar and Abdul Halim Sharrar are worthy of a wider circle of readers than that to which they are
condemned by the language in which they are written.

Although the above literature grew up under Muslim influence, its language has been successfully adopted by many educated Hindus, some of whom still use it today, and it is now recognized as a master of an exceptionally pure style.

The beginnings of Hindi literature in the modern vernaculars were religious. In the North, up to about the 18th century, the language of religion was Sanskrit, but in the South, Tamil, was employed at a much earlier period. There is a great collection of Saivite texts in Tamil, said to go back to the 2nd or 3rd century. The more important of them are described in the art. DRAVIDIANS (South India). To these can be added a long list of Vaisnavite works in the same language dating from before the time of Rāmānuja (12th cent.). The most noteworthy of these are referred to by A. Govindacharya in two papers in the JRAS (1911, p. 955 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 Vaidyagala, or Northern Tamils, wrote in Sanskrit, while the Tamilalais, or Southerners, wrote in Tamil.

In Northern India vernacular religious literature is of enormous extent and, considered merely as literature, of great merit. It owes its origin to the spread of the Vaisnavite Bhaktivāmarga under Bhāratīya, and to his followers. Tuitardāri, vol. ii, p. 539 ff., esp. 540. All the great writers of this early period belonged to humble ranks of life, and were not Sanskrit scholars. Each therefore wrote in his own vernacular.

In the art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA (vol. ii, p. 543) it has been pointed out that the foundation of the religion is the belief in the fatherhood of God. This is not the only true scope of the belief, in which Rāmānuja is regarded as the most perfect presentation of the Deity, and on this idea is based most of the lofty poetry that India, ancient or modern, has produced. In the Ganges valley, Kālār (15th cent.) preached the doctrine in wise and pithy sayings that are still household words in Hindoostān. 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 15th century (see the ADI GRANTH, SIKHS). Both Kabir and Nānak (the founder of Sikhs) were more or less sectarian in their teaching. A greater man than either, but the founder of no sect, was the famous poet Tulsī Dās (15th cent.; there is also a religious epic entitled the Rāma-charita-māna, or ‘Lake of the Geetes of Rāma,’ and of at least eleven other epics. His influence down to the present day over the people of Hindoostān cannot be doubted. It is the life of Tulsī Dās (15th cent.), that the religious epic devoted to the life and exploits of Lord Rāma, which is written in the language of the people. The epic, therefore, wrote in the Awadh dialect of Eastern Hindi, and this form of speech has ever since, in the languages only one employed for celebrating the deeds of Rāma-chandra, and, indeed, for epic poetry of every description.

In Hindoostān proper, numerous followers and imitators of Tulsī Dās have narrated the story of Rāmāchandra, and the same subject has also, though to a less extent, attracted the attention of the great writers of the last two centuries. In Bengal there is the 16th cent. Rāmāyaṇa of Kirtībābha Ojha, which is still recited at village festivals. In Marāṭhī, the learned Mōrjāṇṇ wrote several poems dealing with Rāma, but the favourite devotion of the Marāṭhī language is Kṛṣṇa. In the south of India we have a Tamil Rāmāyaṇa written by Kamban in the 11th cent., a Malayālām Rāma-charita of the 15th or 14th cent., and a Kanarese Rāmāyaṇa by Kummār Vālmikī, said to be one of the oldest works in that language.

The literature based on the presentation of Kṛṣṇa as the Deity differs from the Rāma-literature in one important particular. The love of God is represented, not as that of a father to his child, but as that of a man for a maid. The soul’s devotion to the Deity is pictured by the self-abandonment to Kṛṣṇa of his queen Rādhā, and all the hot blood of Oriental passion is encouraged to pour forth one mighty torrent of prayer and praise of the divine Lover. This tendency is based on sexual relations; and, though the mystics who first wrote of it did so in all purity of conscience, in later years it developed into erotic poetry of a character too gross for description.

It is natural that several of the best works of the literature of this school should take a lyric form. According to tradition, Kṛṣṇa’s earlier exploits centred round the town of Mathurā, and it was from this locality that his worship in the Ganges valley spread to other parts of North India. Hence, as the Rāma-literature is couched in Awadhī, so the Kṛṣṇa-literature of Hindoostān is mainly recorded in the Braj Bhaktivādī dialect spoken round Mathurā. Its most famous writer was Śārīrā (16th cent.), the blind bard of Agrā. His Śārīrā-vārca, or The Ocean (of songs) of Śārīrā, and the epic of Tulsī Dās are considered to have exhausted between them all the possibilities of Indian poetry—no later poet could write anything original. In spite of this dictum, there are two important writings in the 17th cent. Bhārī Lāl of Jaipur (17th cent.), composed the Set Sań, or ‘Seven Centuries’ of verses, a collection of a hundred masterpieces in dainty miniature painting of scenes or incidents in the life of Kṛṣṇa. Numerous other works in this literature of religion followed Śārīrā in the Ganges valley. In Bhārī, to the east, he was preceded by Vidyāpātī Thākur (15th cent.), who, however, wrote in his own language, an old form of Bhārī. He was the first of the old master-singers of Eastern India, and was followed and imitated by Chattānyā and other religious lyric poets in Bengali, Assam, further east, and, in the west, Rājputānā, Kashmīr, Gujarāt, and the Marāṭhā country have all been prolific in this style of composition, the most famous writers being Mārā Bāj, the poetess of Māwar (15th cent.), and Tukārām (17th cent.) the Marāṭhā. In the south of India we have the great Tamilhymnology, the Nālīyāṭṟṟōrambūram, of the 16th cent. The most outstanding works of the devotional literature devoted to Siva in the north. The best known is that of Bengal, where the worship of Durgā, the ḍālōṭi, or energetic power of Śiva, is very popular. There were numerous writers who dealt with the worship of Śiva, but that of the god most admired is probably Mulakāndārāma Chakravarti (17th cent.), author of the Śrimānta Sandhyāgar, of the Sāiśītīyamāra.
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 and non-Jewish origin which were written in Hebrew and meant for Jewish readers, deal with matters of general learning or literature.

1. THE TRANSITION FROM ORAL TRADITION TO WRITTEN RECORDS.—Between the completion of the Hebrew canon and the rise of Jewish literature there is an interval of several hundred years, and the reason why the literary activity of the Jews was so long in abeyance is that they regarded it as unlawful to commit their teachings to writing. The Talmud relates that the rabbis of Babylonia at this time suffered no other book to approach it; all subsequent documents must be regarded orally (בש לוהי תורת קדשים); 'to set down the oral teaching in writing is forbidden.' Thus even the Biblical Apocrypha were "regarded as הפסוקים, 'ex-traneous books.' That the production of new works was unlawful must have been prevalent by the time of the elder Sirach, and hence his collection of proverbs could not be received into the canon; an author who wished to reach the public by a book had to publish it under some ancient and venerable name, such as Daniel. That the Alexandrian Jews were at that time displaying a remarkable literary fertility does not affect the Jewish authorities in Palestine at all, for the works of the former were written in Greek, and could, therefore, make no claim to canonicity. Thus all the crown of the Jews vanished in its epoch remained unwritten translations of the Bible, prayers, academic and popular instruction, the development of law and custom, of ethics and religion—all these were carried on by oral instruction only. Apart from letters and fugitive notes relating chiefly to ancient pedigrees, there is only a single document that has come down from ancient times in a written form, viz. the roll of festivals (קדים ותקועים), a list of joyous memorial days of the Jewish nation (4th St.; יפתעהנופ לאוגר). For the first complete literary production we are referred to the Mishnah, which was redacted c. A.D. 200 by R. Judah Nath. Whether the Mishnah was at once committed to writing is a question which is still—as it has been for a thousand years—a subject of controversy among scholars; and, while there are no incontestable indications of its having been in written form from the first, yet our reliable sources rather support the hypothesis that at the time of its reduction and even for centuries afterwards it was still transmitted in a purely oral form (JE viii. 614). By the time we reach the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud, however (c. A.D. 500), the ancient prohibition must at length have been set aside, the change being necessitated, indeed, by the exigencies of the day in the desire of the State in forbidding the continuance of the seminaries in their traditional ways—and also by the enormous growth of the material, which had now become too great a load for the human memory. In view of the fact that the Amora'im and the Saboraim found it necessary to break with the past by committing the Talmud to writing, and they thereby cleared the ground for the growth of a Jewish literature. Once the ban against writing had thus been lifted from the Halakha—that important domain where the interdiction had been observed most rigorously—Jewish scholars formed the resolution, hesitatingly at first, but with time ever the more confidently, to write down and make known or generally known the facts of their people's life and doctrine.

2. LITERARY PERIODS.—Jewish literature, in the fifteen centuries of its development, has passed through a variety of phases. To the period from c. A.D. 550 to 1065 we must assign its initial stages, in which the various branches of literature had to be evolved and wrought into form. While formerly knowledge of every kind was contained and indiscriminately massed together in the Talmud, special departures were made now and then, and the various departments of the mass, and were dealt with in monographs and more or less systematically. To the Gaonic Sa'adya b. Joseph (A.D. 892-942; see art. Sa'adya) belongs...
the distinction of having been the first to treat of the Jewish literature in special works, and thus to have laboured as a pioneer, so that he has been rightly named "the chief of the speakers in every place." From A.D. 1000 to 1200 Jewish literature passed through its most marked period of development, viz., a Hispano-Arabic, which displays a powerful tendency to scientific thoroughness and systematization, and a Franco-German, which in more characteristic fashion further elaborated the traditional materials of knowledge. The period from 1200 to 1500 was one of decline, and from 1500 to 1750 one of profound decay, during which the literary activity of the Jews was mainly confined to Poland and the East; but, from the advent of Moses Mendelssohn (p. r. 1729-86), Jewish literature, now in contact with the spirit of European culture, experienced a fresh revival which, mainly under the influence of Leopold Zunz (1794-1866), developed into a scientific treatment of Judaism, i.e., a metaphysical 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 in all its phases; it 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 the success of this or that particular work.

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 collective product of the spirit of entire epochs. In many cases, too, it is ill preserved--there is a result of the history of the Talmud, and, further, that it did not merely serve an intellectual interest, but also provided for a religious need, and was in consequence often disseminated and transmitted by untrained hands, in a form very different from what was originally intended.

11. The several departments of Jewish literature. Jewish literature in its entire range may be conveniently brought under the following heads, in the following order: (1) Scripture study and investigation of the Hebrew language; (2) works relating to the Talmud; (3) historical literature; (4) systematic theology; and (5) liturgical and devotional poetry.

Scripture study and the Hebrew language. Jewish literature is first of all, as it was originally, exegesis of Scripture—biblical study in the broadest sense of the term. 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-literal rendering of the Scriptures are found in the so-called Palestinian Targums—the Targum of Jonathan, and the Targum of the Pentateuch, however, the rendering to which Aquila first gave the name of the Targum of Onqelos, and which assumed its definite form in the Babylonian schools of the 3rd cent. A.D., became the standard of authority; it was recited in the synagogue, 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 the Targum Onqelos; here, too, the other Palestinian Targums fell into the background. For the Haggadah there was in the period of the Talmud no recognized Targum at all, and the renderings which we now possess were separately executed in the course of centuries, some of them, indeed, not having been completed till after A.D. 1800 (cf. J.E xi. 1574)....
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did a large amount of highly meritorious and exemplary work for the discovery of the verbal sense. If it failed to gain recognition in its ripest results—what is called the "Biblical literature"—by Samuel b. Menahem (c. 1085-c. 1174)—have, in fact, been re-discovered by modern scholarship; but the favourite and most widely circulated commentary of the Middle Ages was the work of Solomon b. Isaac of Troyes, called Rashī (1010-1105), who combined the old method of the Midrash with the effort to ascertain the plain meaning; and consequently, though he certainly gives the dry details of exegesis, we also find in his work passages of an attractive and edifying character. His commentary eclipsed all others in general esteem; from the outset to the present day it has been widely read, and has formed a subject of study by itself; while in the course of centuries it has drawn to itself over a hundred special commentaries, and ranks in the popular mind as the "commentary" ֶابة וַתִּשְׁכַּה (cf. JE xt. 324 ff.). A blending of the characteristic tendencies of the Spanish and Northern French schools appears among the scholars of Provence, from the 13th century, onwards; cf. JE vii. 494 ff.), whose exegetical works on the Prophets and the Hagiothapha were specially prized. The re-discovery of the predecessors and successors of the exeges, named as also the historical and textual development of the period, has been the work of modern scholarship. In Kimḥi's commentaries we find a new type of exegesis—the philosophical, which soon passed into the mystical. Of the works that favour this type, there are many exeges. A major work of the type which is most stubbornly materials into a popular and generally accessible form attained a great vogue. These include the long-popular commentaries of Don Isaac Abarbanel (1437-1508; cf. JE i. 236), and also those of the so-called Kabbalists (JE iii. 292), dating from the 12th century and the end of the 12th century. The larger field of exegetical literature is well represented. 

Closely associated with the exegesis of Scripture were the works dealing with Hebraic 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 mainly a matter of ritual investigation. The literary treatment of Hebrew grammar and lexicography was systematically prosecuted by the Hispano-Arabic school, the many works on which, however, were composed in Arabic, and the majority of them have been neglected by little note; the philological writings of Juda b. David Haiyuj (b. c. 930; JE vi. 271 ff.) and Abū al-Walīd Marwān ibn Jānāh (early 11th cent.; ib. vi. 594 ff.), important as they are, were re-discovered only recently. The works of Abraham ibn Ezra enjoyed an enormous vogue, as did also, and even in a still greater degree, the grammar and dictionary of David Kimḥi, which have in many quarters retained their pre-eminence until recent times. The translations of the Talmud into Hebrew seem to have been more regarded than the Talmud itself, and the scholarly organs of the Hebrew Press, as well as the Biblical and Talmudic literature, as its germ are found in the Midrash, 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 commentator, while the greater part of its development, for, although there is but one Mishna, there are two commentaries upon it—one of Palestinian, the other of Babylonian, origin. In the process of historical development, however, the commentaries of Palestine were at first the more important, and it is their success that the Talmud underwent a great change, and its place as an authoritative guide to the 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 four Orders; in the Babylonian Talmud we have thirty-six only, principally from the second, third, fourth, and fifth Orders, while of the first and sixth Orders only one tractate in each is dealt with.

As the Talmud, until the dawn of the modern epoch, occupied the central place in Jewish learning, and formed the supreme standard of religious thought and practice among the Jews, it became the nucleus of an enormous literature, which, in connection with its more outstanding representatives, may be summarized in the following divisions. 

(a) Explanatory works. For so intricate a work as the Talmud, explanation was indispensable; its own expositions were frequently very brief, and the links of connection could be supplied only by those who had been initiated into the peculiar mode of its dialectic; moreover, the language of the Jews, like their general conditions of life, underwent a process of time
radical changes, and was no longer the same as was presupposed in the Talmud. The need of explanation was felt at an early date, and every effort was made to attach the text and transmitted with it; thus we find writers reproducing the works of those who preceded, and adding value to their text by explanations drawn from commentaries dating from the 6th. On the other hand, what we may call an editorial and expository literature was not felt to be necessary until much later, for it may be said that the Talmud had been completed by this time. The task of the 12th-century editors was, then, not to reproduce them with verbal accuracy, but to make the works more comprehensible, to give them a general interpretation, and to supply written commentaries—first of all in the form of explanation of the Talmud itself in the compendious classical commentaries, and then in the form of a new and more comprehensive dictionary, of which the most celebrated was the Ḥabbah of Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome (1146; cf. J.E. ix. 185 ff.). The codification of the Talmud was also produced in N. Africa (c. 1000; cf. J.E. ix. 574). In Spain little progress was made; the commentaries are said to have been produced about the year 1040. In France, on the other hand, we have short explanations giving the context. The most important of these is the Tarbiz of Joseph b. Hai (c. 1400) and the Shishah of Rabbi Shemuel ben Kalonymus (1650), both of which were produced in the same century. The most important of the later Talmudic works was the Machzor of Nathan b. Jehiel (1357), a native of Germany, who took Talmudic text as his groundwork, and added to it numerous notes from the authorities, which was generally given in the printed editions of the Talmud.

A new mode of expository literature was the Talmudic printed books, which were printed in Yiddish, and which was generally given in the printed editions of the Talmud.

The Talmud of the Middle Ages was, therefore, a very important work in the history of Jewish literature.

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Maimonides in the Middle Ages. The most notable contributions to the literature of the Middle Ages was the work of the Palestinian seclued Maimonides, who was born in Jerusalem in the year 1135. He was the son of a Jewish merchant, and was educated in the Talmudic schools of his day.

His most important work was his Guide to the Perplexed, which was written in Arabic, and was translated into Hebrew, and became a standard work in the study of Jewish law.

Maimonides, in his Guide to the Perplexed, was the first to give a systematic exposition of Jewish law and philosophy, and he was the first to give a systematic exposition of Jewish law and philosophy, and he was the first to give a systematic exposition of Jewish law and philosophy.
and an active correspondence by letter had been carried on between the heads of the schools in the Talmud in Palestine and those in Babylonia. In proportion as the Jews became more and more dispersed, correspondence became more and more necessary; and, in addition to the well-known increase in the number of responses; from that period itself, indeed, no fewer than fifteen more or less voluminous collections of replies have been 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. Thousands of opinions and legal pronouncements by eminent Rabbis of medieval times have been preserved, and were often used as an unofficious source of information. The number of works embodying such responses is so numerous that it must be content to mention only the most extensive and the most generally consulted: from the Middle Ages we have those of Meir b. Isaac of Rothenburg (1235-1309), and his "Tiferet Ha-Talmud" (1310), and that of Isaac b. Sheshet (1320-1406), all belonging to Spain; from the dawn of the modern period, those of Israel Isserles († 1469) and Joseph Kolon (c. 1600), as also that of David ibn Abi Simha († c. 1570); and from more recent times those of Ezekiel Landau (1770) and Moses Sofer († 1829). On the literature of the responses, cf. also J.E. xl. 240ff., (d) Systematic works.- Mention must be made, lastly, of that branch of the literature which deals with the problems of the Talmud in a methodical and systematic way—a mode of treatment but little practiced in the earlier period, and, indeed, never strenuously applied till modern times. The earliest work aiming at systematic treatment is the Seder Tanaim, which was composed by a member of the exilarchs, or their group, about the year 1075. This work, which aimed at systematically surveying the whole of the texts of the Talmud, has unfortunately been lost. Its chief value lay in the fact that in this afterwards the Shochet Ha-Talmud of Samuel b. Nappuli, (extant only in part, which, however, is printed in a modern edition) and the Shabbath of Nissim b. Jacob, both of the 11th century. Of great importance in a methodological sense, too, are the references by which Maimonides is believed to have contributed to the science of the Mishnah and several of its divisions. Later works worthy of mention are the "Ha-Sanhedrin" of Samuel b. Saul of Chisago (c. 1200) and the Haltathath 'Olam of Joshua b. Levi of Trieren (c. 1160); the latter has drawn around it numerous commentaries, and has often been republished. A new epoch in these respects is the systematic study of Talmudic texts which was inaugurated by S. L. Rapoport (1790-1867); cf. J.E. xxvii. 202ff. Other later works on the subject of the Talmud, as also in parallel, the Derosth Millin, dealt with the problems of the Talmud in a scientific way, at once systematic and critical. The work which has been most republished by Rapoport has been followed by Z. Frankel (1861-75); th. v. 482ff. In his Dorath ha-Mishnah (1857-74), &c., Abraham Geiger (1816-74); th. v. 581ff. Numerous treatises have been published, and S. L. Weiss (1815-1905); th. xii. 493ff. in the historical work named below.

3. Historical literature.—The post-Biblical historiography of the Jews took its rise as an element in the systematic treatment of the Talmud. The majority of the earlier works in this field were written chiefly with the object of re-constructing the chain of tradition and of determining as accurately as possible the genealogies of eminent figures. But, as the chroniclers, with the exception of Jewish historical literature are found in the Talmud itself, and those furnished the pattern for the earliest developments. The chronology of the course of history from the Creation to the destruction of the Second Temple is given in the Seder Olam Rabbah, the nucleus of which was the work of Joseh b. Hanai (c. A.D. 180). An annalistic work, though dealing only with the family of the exilarchs, is found in the Seder Olam Zuta, 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 biographical annals of scholarship, again, are represented by the Seder Tanaim u-Masoroth (c. 489), and the Seder Hanamid (c. 550), the latter is not so useful as the original principal source for the period between A.D. 500 and 1000. To the same class belongs also the Seder ha-Qabbalah, compiled in 1161 by Abraham ibn Balaam of Toledo, who is chiefly concerned to exalt the contemporary Rabbis and to preserve their names, for, 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 and recognized authority. The work of Abraham Zacuto, who was, for a time a professor of astronomy and chronology in Salamanca, but after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain settled in the East, was upon similar lines; his Sifrei Yawma (1534) 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 notes which had been written on the margins of the original shape in 1537. Jehiel Heilprin, of Minsk, wrote his Seder had-Doroth (c. 1700) solely for the purpose of supplementing the data of Zakuto and bringing the Rabbinical genealogies down to his own times.

A further incentive to the writing of history was provided by the peculiar fortunes of the Jewish people, and in particular by the sufferings and persecutions 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 over whose type still extant. A narrative of the persecutions which harassed the Jews, chiefly in the Rhine country, in connexion with the Crusades is given by A. Neumauer and M. Stern in their Hebrewische Berichte uber die Judenverfolgungen unserer nation (Hamburg, 1857), and the lastly, "the Seder ha-Tamid," which is printed in the synagogues the name of which had been misused; in those days of incessant persecution it was the practice to read (commemorate) in the synagogues the roll of those who had perished as martyrs; and memorial books were drawn up in the various communities, and were published. The most comprehensive of these books was published by S. Salfeld under the title Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches, Berlin, 1898. The earliest connected account of the persecutions was composed by Judah ibn Verga († 1455), whose Seder ha-Tamid was supplemented by a younger relative named Solomon and another writer named Joseph, and published in its enlarged form. The best-known account of the Jewish martyrs of the Middle Ages is from the hand of the physician Joseph Ibn-Kohen, who lived in the 18th cent., and resided in various Italian cities; his Eney ha-Bedekh describes with accuracy and graphic power the persecutions and banishments suffered by the Jews from the destruction of the Second Temple. A strange combination of martyrology and the history of learning is found in Gedolah ibn Yahya's Shalshelet haq Qabbalah (c. 1550), which, though much earlier than the chronology given above, is an early date to be untrue and yet incredible, and has been more recently 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 Chronicle of the Kings of France and Turkey, written in 1533, while, a few decades afterwards, David Gans († 1613, in Prague) published, in his Sdhut Dibrah (Prague, 1594) an account of Jewish history, from their respective beginnings to his own time; this work appeared also in a Latin translation. In general, however, Jewish writers restricted themselves to the composition of popular narratives of particular episodes.

It was not until comparatively recent times, indeed, that Jewish history was treated in a coherent and orderly manner. In 1829 I. M. Jost began the publication of a history of the Jews in
many volumes and in various forms, in which he was primarily concerned to recite the political foundations of Jewish thought and the most outstanding Jewish theodoligical development in an appendix. Leopold Zunz, while he wrote nothing of the nature of a systematic work on Jewish history, furnished in his Zur Geschichte und Literatur (Berlin, 1845) copious material for all such by way of 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, 1833-79), aims chiefly at exhibiting the development of the Dogma of the Jews in relation to their political position and the martyrology suffered by them, while A. Geiger's Des Judentum und seine Geschichte (Brechen, 1871) deals solely with their religions development. J. H. Weiss, in his Heb. Der Der w' Dichter (Vienna, 1871-91), is likewise concerned only with the development of Judaism on its spiritual side. On the historical literature cf. also M. SteinSchneider, Die Gesch.-Literatur der Juden, i. (Frankfort, 1905), and art. 'Historiography' in JE vi. 125 ff.

An important source of information regarding the history of the Jews in the Middle Ages is found in the copious narratives of the numerous Jewish travelers. The most important of such books of travel is the Ma'drakah of Benjamin of Tudela, who (c. 1165) made a journey from Spain to the East and back, and noted down in a ready style 'all that he had seen or heard.' In the edition of the Ma'drakah prepared by A. Asher (London, 1840), Zunz has given a detailed account of the geographical literature of the Jews ii. 230 ff.

4. Systematic theology.—A great part of the Talmud and the Midrashim is devoted to the religious and moral teachings of Judaism; Haggadah in particular is concerned mainly with the problems of theology—with dogmatic and ethical ideas. No 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 Jewish writers first essayed to deal systematically with the doctrinal fabric of their religion, and to support it by arguments. Their works, written with a view to be translated into Hebrew—largely through the efforts of the family of Ibn Tibbot, in Lame—and in this form given to the Jewish world. The earliest speculative theology among the Jews was Sa'diya Gaon, who, in his Emunoth ve'Doth, written in 933, sought to bring the doctrinal teachings of Judaism into relation with contemporary philosophy. Bahya b. Joseph (first half of 11th cent.; JE ii. 446 ff.) was an extraordinary success with his Hilkoth beit-Lebaboth, which treats chiefly of the moral teachings of Judaism; the book was read far and wide, and was in its day perhaps the most popular work of general philosophical literature among the Jews. Judah Halevi (JE vii. 346; see also art. HALEVI), in his Kuzari, renounced philosophy altogether, and based theology exclusively upon the revealed faith and the experience of the Jewish people; the work, by reason of its poetic 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 Moseh Nihbhikhim of Moses Maimonides, which, like his Midrath Tovim mentioned above, is distinguished at once for its richly systematic narrative and for the keenness and independence of its thought. Although the book, with its free handling of Jewish doctrine, aroused hostility on many sides, and was even publicly burned at the instance of Jewish accusers, yet in influence it stands supreme; all later study of Jewish philosophy revolves around the Moseh, and the most outstanding Jewish theodoligical writers, Spinoza, Moses Mendelsohn (qq.v.), and Solomon Maimon, found in it the incentive to the construction of their own systems. The Moseh marks the culminating point of Jewish philosophical literature in the Middle Ages. Of writers belonging to the time after Maimonides we mention only Levi ben Gershom (qq.v.) c. 1350; JE viii. 26 ff., who, with his Milhamoth Adonai, was the first to make a stand against the authority of Aristotle; and Hasdai Crescas (c. 1350-IV. 339 ff.), whose Or Adonai was drawn upon by Spinoza as an important source; and Joseph Albo (c. 1415; ib. i. 924 ff.), whose Ilkhirim was an enormously popular book.

The period after Maimonides was, however, on the whole one of prolonged decadence in philosophical studies, which were, in fact, regarded as positively unlawful. The enlightened philosophy of Maimonides brought forth a counterpoise in the composition of the Qabbalah (see KABBALA), a peculiar medley of speculative ideas and curiosities which was put forward as an esoteric doctrine of ancient origin, and sought to attach itself to the earliest authorities; its representatives, indeed, did not scruple even to disseminate writings purporting to be the thoughts of the great personages, including Moses and the Patriarchs. The most notable book of such speculative secret doctrine was the Zohar, which was put into circulation c. 1300 by Moses de Leon, and passed off as the work of Simon b. Yohai, a writer of the 2nd cent. A.D. It takes the form of a commentary on the Pentateuch, but is interspersed with many systematic treatises, which bear special names, and are perhaps later insertions. The Zohar was regarded with the utmost reverence; it recognized a divine word that was ranked higher than the Talmud or the Bible itself; its real origin was brought to light only in recent times. The name of Isaac Luria (1572) marks a further stage in the development of the mystical literature. Luria himself wrote nothing, his pupils promulgated his teachings in a vast number of biographies of their master, of commentaries to the Bible and the book of prayer, and of legal and ethical works. Likewise Hasidism (cf. JE vii. 212 ff.; see also art. HASED), the last phase of Jewish thought, was ranked higher than the Talmud or even the Bible itself; its real origin was brought to light only in recent times. The name of Isaac Luria (1572) marks a further stage in the development of the mystical literature. Luria himself wrote nothing, his pupils promulgated his teachings in a vast number of biographies of their master, of commentaries to the Bible and the book of prayer, and of legal and ethical works. Likewise Hasidism (cf. JE vii. 212 ff.; see also art. HASED), the last phase of Jewish thought, was ranked higher than the Talmud or even the Bible itself; its real origin was brought to light only in recent times.
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Regensburg (†1217; JE vii. 356 ff.), 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 moral and religious sense. The books and morals were in many cases translated into the language of the country in which they arose, and they form a large part of the Judeo-German, Judaeo-Spanish, and Judaeo-Arabic literatures. From the time of their composition onward 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 Judentums of M. Lazarus (Frankfort, 1888, 101). The theologies 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 the formation of a number 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 Tullath Yohai (on which see ERE vii. 552) was not used so much by Jews themselves as by Christian controversialists. Of Jewish polemical works that created a considerable stir, mention may be made of the Yechezkel of Lipman-Mishenas, 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 Hizqiz Emunah, in which Isaac Troki, the Qarait, made a systematic attack upon Christian doctrine (c. 1580). Both of these works were translated into various languages, and many attempts were made to refute them by Christian theologians. On the polemical literature cf., further, JE x. 102 ff.

At the same time polemical activity was likewise directed against the Qaraites and other Jewish sects, but for the most part it finds expression incidentally in more general writings, and we are unable to specify any monograph of this importance.

5. Liturgical and secular poetry. — The worship of God supplied the most powerful impulse to the post-Biblical development of Hebrew poetry, which, now termed piyyut, was revived with a view to enriching the liturgy. All instruction in andhabituation 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 psalm. It was under the influence of the Arabs that Jewish religion spread widely in the East, and it was from them 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 poet of the Middle Ages was Eleazar b. Jacob ha-qoil, 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 the East. In the 10th cent. the art was carried over into Spain, and Judaism and Christianity were collected by J. B. de Rossi in his Bibliotheca Judaica Antiquissima, Parma, 1890, while Stephen Spalding in his Collections of Poetical and apologetical Literature in ancient and modern languages, Christian and Jewish, Leiden, 1857.

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 between 1040 and 1140. The most outstanding names were those of Solomon ibn Gabril, Moses and Abraham ibn Ezra, and Judah Halevi (qq. e.). Poems by these writers are found in all prayer-books, but such compositions form only a small part of their poetic work: they also wrote secular poems—"clayans," which, it is true, soon fell into oblivion, and were rediscovered only in recent times; a number of them still await publication. On the piyyut cf. JE x. 652 ff.

While liturgical poetry occupied the place of supreme regard, other branches of 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 piyyut itself sometimes assumed a didactic form, and in adaptations in verse relating to the calendar, philology, and Biblical study, the Halakha, the laws of religion, Talmudic jurisprudence, philosophy and polemics, history, medicine, astronomy, etc., and poems in all these branches of study there are in large numbers (cf. JE x. 981). Of more importance, as being more closely in touch with the poetic spirit, is Jewish lyric poetry. The religious and polemical, once so widely cultivated, are now but the earliest development of the lyric 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, where Judah Halevi won renown by his occasional poems and his poetical descriptions of nature, and where Abraham ibn Ezra and Judah al-Falari (early 13th cent.) found recognition as keen satirists. The greatest Jewish secular poet, however, was Nathan of Born, Solomon of Rome—the contemporary, perhaps a personal friend, of Dante—who combined Oriental fantasy with Italian erotics, and gave expression to them in highly polished Hebrew verse, writing, indeed, with such audacious abandon that the Shiloah Avich, forbade the reading of the poet's Malchiboth on the Sabbath, while even in our own time Graetz has accused him of having profaned the Hebrew muse. Another lyric writer worthy of mention is Isaac ibn Ezra of Nagar (c. 1570); his polemical works, and the history of Israel, works upon a basis of love-songs and their melodies, and writes with such intensity of passion and such daring anthropomorphism that he too incurred the censure of the Rabbis. Moses Haoyyin 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 (1831-92; cf. JE vii. 47 ff.), whose achievement, however, lies more in the field of satire than in that of the lyric. Of living poets, a special reference is due to H. N. Bialik, whose lyric poetry has justly met with the highest appreciation, and whose compositions have already been translated into nearly every European language. The last few decades have witnessed the rise of a 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 Manichaeism (qq.v.), since it explains and supplements the data contained in the Avesta (q.v.). At first glance, the contents 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 inducted type of the Avesta language had yielded, long before the composition of any Middle Persian of which we have any indication, to the analytic type of the Sasanian period. This facilitates certain data, and 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 a real value and must be consulted in any attempt to decipher the meaning of the Avesta original, particularly in view of the allusions, etc., preserved by Iranian tradition (see further, art. INTERPRETATION [Vedic and Avesta]). The principal Pahlavi translations are of the Pahlavi Fravashis to the Zend texts; e.g., ed. F. Spiegel, Avesta, Vienna, 1853-58; L. H. Mills, The Ancient MS of the Yazna, with its Pahlavi Tr. (A.D. 1329), generally quoted as J.S.; Oxford, 1893, and Gathas, Leipzig, 1892-1913 (also with Sanskrit and Modern Persian versions, and Eng. tr.); the Vendidad separately by D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1805, and H. Janasp and M. C. Ganderia, ibid. 1907, Nyayisukta (ed. [also with Sanskrit, Persian, and Gujarati versions, and Eng. tr.]); the Fravashi Veddik (ed. E. Weidner, 1890, and K. Salemann, in Trouwens 2e congrès des orientalistes, Petrograd, 1917, vii. 293-294), vii. vii., xi. (ed. J. Darmesteter, Études orient., Paris, 1885, ii. 298-298, 292-292, 333-339; a complete ed. is promised by Dhalia), Nirangist (ed. D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1894; tr. of Avesta portion by Darmesteter, Zend-Vedika, Paris, 1892-93, iii. 78-148, and SBE iv. 304-368), Aygumudat (ed. and tr. W. Geiger, Erlangen, 1878, and Hidifret Nekch (ed. and tr. Hoshang Jamasp A. and M. H. Lang, in their Arda Yarsh, Bombay, 1879-74, and tr. Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1892-93, iii. 78-148, and SBE iv. 304-368), Agyemudet (ed. and tr. W. Geiger, Erlangen, 1878, and Hidifret Nekch (ed. and tr. Hoshang Jamasp A. and M. H. Lang, in their Arda Yarsh, Bombay, 1879-74, and tr. Darmesteter, Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1892-93, iii. 78-148, and SBE iv. 304-368) are known to exist in MS. 2

1 Translations of the Pahlavi version of F. XXX. and iv. have been made by H. Hobeinach (Rei zoestie, Leiden, Munich, 1872, and SRA, phil.-hist. Classe, 1873, pp. 631-684), of iv. by W. Geiger (Bod. Curs. Cultur. Phil., i. 168-202), and of xxiv. xxvii. and xxviii. 1 by M. H. Harg (Essays on the Sacred Language, Writing, and Religion of the Parsis, London, 1874, pp. 36-38), and of xxix. 3 by C. R. D. Jervis (Leipzic, 1908), and of Zend, i. by W. Geiger (Erlangen, 1877), of i. viii. by H. Harg (op. cit. 522-539), and of xxvi. by R. Horne (SDGP, xvi. [1898] 23-41). 2 The authenticity of the Vihardist-Donk (ed. Pehtohan, Bombay, 1848) is too dubious to be considered here. The book, of which the copies (in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich, and in the library of A. W. V. Jackson, Columbus Indiana, U.S.A.) are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, and are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, and are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for baptism, are presented as having been translated by the Paris for
LITERATURE (Pahlavi)

...tion of Ahura Mazda (ed. and tr. E. Sachau, SWAW lixvii. [1871] 828-838; also tr. Darmesteter, Une Prière judéo-persane, Paris, 1891); and Namaštavtāsh, a translation of the name and attributes of Ahura Mazda.

Some one turned to the Dinkurt as a source for knowledge of the religious philosophy of the Sassanid Zoroastrians (and, like the larger work, doubtless embodying a large amount of older material) is what may be termed response literature. This treatises of all sorts of matters on which questions might arise. One of the most important works of this type is the Dāštīstān-i-Dīnīk, the Religious Opinions of Maneschar, high priest of Pars and Kirman, in reply to the questions raised by Abas and others (tr. West, SBE xxviii. [1882] 3-276; the first 15 questions ed. D. L. Sanjana, Bombay, 1897); with this is connected a long and important Pahlavi Rīvāyat (ed. Banamji Nasravanji Dhabhar, Bombay, 1915), while the same Mādigrān-i-guṭastak Aḥābi, recounting the disputation between the heretic Aḥābi and Atar-Farabag (who began the compilation of the Dinkurt) before the khāliṣ al-Maʿāmān about 825 (ed. and tr. Barthelheim, Paris, 1887).

Yet another important type of Pahlavi literature is that of didactic admonitions. To this class belong the Pond-arānāk-i-Zarrāštī (not the Prophet, but probably the son of Atūr-pārā Maraspandān; ed. and tr. P. B. Sanjana, in his Ġange-Shtegyngagān, Bombay, 1888); and Andar-i-Aťar-pārā Maraspandān, being the advice of Atūr-pārā to his son Zarrāštī (perhaps the person mentioned just above; ed. and tr. Sanjana, op. cit.; also tr. C. de Harlez, Mission, vi. [1887] 60-78); Pond-arānāk-i-Pardīg-Imān-i-Bīrābin (ed. and tr. Sanjana, op. cit.; Fif Dispositions for Priests and Ten Admonitions for Laymen (ed. Jamaspji, op. cit. 129-131); Characteristics of a Happy Man (ed. Jamaspji, op. cit. 162-161); Vāyav nāmend-i-Ātār-pārā Maraspandān, the dying counsel of Atūr-pārā (ed. Jamaspji, op. cit. 144-153); Andar-i-Aťar-pārā Maraspandān, Injunctions to Beh-dins, Admonitions to Mazdgārānīs, and Sayings of Atar-Farabag and Bīrābin (tr. Sanjana, op. cit.).

3. Manichaean 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, C. D. F. Griffen, and F. P. Pethe have revealed a new province of extreme interest and value. The decipherment of the MSS found by these explorers has only begun. Here it must suffice to say that we already possess Pahlavi versions of somewhat extensive portions of Manichaean 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.CriticalSection (ed. Schacht, Rasselas, I. A. R. O. [1905])


...the complete work is found in Pázand and Sanskrit versions. Many of these are given in editions of Pahlavi texts enumerated above, but we must also note the ed. of Nasringsheh, Paris, 1889; and of the latter ed. by C. de Harlez, Mission, vi. [1887] 60-78).
Sanskrit Writings of the Parsee, ed. S. D. Bharncha (Bombay, 1906) ii.

Persian literature.—Apart from Persian translations into English (West, 
and others), there is a large amount of Zoroastrian literature in Persion,  which, for the most part, still awaits study. The Zarathushtra-nama, dating from the 12th cent., which is now accessible in original and translation by F. Rosenber, (Petrograd, 1904), gives a legendary biography of Zararoster. Another work of importance is the Shud-dru ('Hundred Gates'), which discourses a number of subjects of note in Zoroastrianism. Two of its three recensions have been translated into English (West, 1896, and 1899), and a third, giving the chronological development of the second volume of which has been edited by M. N. Unvah (not yet published) and analyzed by Rosenberg (Notices of lett. persian, Petrograd, 1906).

It contains a large number of Rikyats (religious traditions) and parables, as well as cosmology and eschatology, pp. 111-139. Vagis F.Amikisirfand (attributes of the Amsheh Spentas, pp. 194-192), Aphid-

Sanskrit literature of the Parsi-Persian, and Zoroastrian, is the subject of a number of recent recensions of the Urvat-nama (pp. 72-80), the Akst-n F-Ahmad (containing the horoscopes of Zaroster, Moses, Alexander the Great, Christ, Maulana, and others), as well as cosmology and eschatology, pp. 111-139.

Another recension of the Urvat-nama (pp. 72-80), the Akst-n F-Ahmad (containing the horoscopes of Zaroster, Moses, Alexander the Great, Christ, Maulana, and others), as well as cosmology and eschatology, pp. 111-139.

The interesting secular works in Pahlavi, Fazand, and Parsi-Persian, such as geographical matter, social rules, and tales, do not come within the sphere of religion. Finally, it may be mentioned that translations of the Avesta have been made not only into Persian (for specimens see, in addition to works cited above, Darnastern, Etudes iran., ii. 262 fl.), but also, from the 15th cent., into Gujarati, the vernacular of the Indian Zoroastrians (see the Pronpologia to K. Geldner’s ed. of the Avesta, Stuttgart, 1896, pp. viii-xi: Darnastern, Zend-Avesta, i. p. xlii; and the modern religious literature of the Parsees is chiefly written either in Gujarati or in English.

LITERATURE. — F. Spiegel, Traditionelle Lit. der Parsen, Vienna, 1900; E. West, ‘Fathieh Lit.’, 1917 fl. (Stras-

burg, 1900) 7-124. E. Witley and H. Pater, Cat. of Books on Persian Lit. published in Europe and India, Bombay, 1907, contains an annual report on ‘Persian’ in Jahrbuch der Geschichtschriftschaff

LOUIS H. GRAY

LITERATURE (Vedic and Classical Sanskrit).

I. The language.—The name ‘Sanskrit’ (usni-

skrit, ‘adorned,’ ‘perfected,’ perfect passive parti-

ciple of the verb sanskrd, ‘to adorn,’ from savit, ‘together,’ and aru, ‘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 treated by the Hindu grammarians, Panini and his followers.

For more than two thousand years, until the 16th cent., Sanskrit has led a more or less artificial life. Like the Latin of the Middle Ages, it was, and is, even today, to a very marked extent, the means of communi-
cation and literary expression of the priestly, learned, and cultivated classes.

The more popular speech upon which it was based is known as bhata (‘speech,’ from bhata, ‘to speak’), of which there is no direct record. Sanskrit is distinguished more obviously from the phonetically later, decayed dialects, prakrit and Kshatriya, by the second person of the ening 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 (Skr. veda, ‘knowledge,’ from ved, ‘to know,’ connected with Gr. eido, ‘I know,’ Lat. videre, Old Bulgarian vidé, ‘I know,’ Gothic wist, ‘I know,’ Old High German wissen, Germ. wissen, Eng. wit, ‘to know’).

These forms of speech are in their turn by no means free from important dialectic, stylistic, and phonetic differences. It is difficult to say what the name Veda (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 definitively fixed than that of Sanskrit. The latter begins with 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 a dozen very interesting Vedic infinitives. Sanskrit also gave up the most important heirloom which the Hindu language has handed down from pre-historic times, namely, the Vedic system of accentuation. In the 12th cent. the recorded 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 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 which is the other side of the Himalaya mountains. The contemporary forms of Vedic (and to a less extent Sanskrit) with the oldest forms of Iranian speech, the language of the Avesta and the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenian Persian kings, yields the rather startling result that these languages are collectively mere dialects of one and the same old idiom. This is known as the Indo-Iranian or Aryan (in the narrower, and proper, sense) lan-
guage. The reconstructed Aryan language differs

less from the language of the Veda than Classical Sanskrit does from Pukrit and Prakrit. The language of the Iranian Avesta is so much like that of the Veda that entire passages of either literature may be converted into good specimens of the other by merely eliminating the special sound changes which each has evolved in the course of its separate existence. The literary style, the metres, 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 spiritual moments of the Avesta, as well as the stone monuments of the Aryan 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 as the publication of the Vedas, the Veda and the Bhagavad-Gita. The language of the Avesta is a Sanskrit dialect, 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 study were formed by the researches of scholars who endeavored to prove their very existence to the discovery of Sanskrit or were profoundly influenced by its study.

3. The Rigveda.—The Rigveda is on the whole the most important as well as the oldest of the four collections. A little over 1000 hymns, equaling in bulk the surviving poems of Homer, are arranged in ten books, called mandalas, or ‘circles.’ Six of them (i.—vi.), the so-called ‘priestly books,’ form the nucleus of the collection. Each of these is the work of a different rsi, ‘seer,’ or rather a family of poets, traditionally descended from such a rsi, as may be gathered from certain statements in the hymns themselves. The eighth book and the first fifty hymns of the first book, belonging to the family of Kusa, are often arranged strophically in groups of two or three stanzas. These form the bulk of those stanzas which are sung to melodies of the Veda (Aryan), the final verse of the ninth book are addressed directly to the deified plant soma, and the liquid pressed from it, in order that it may be sacrificed to the gods. The remainder of the first book and the entire tenth book are not ‘stanzas in character and problematic as to arrangement. On the whole they are of later origin and from a different sphere. Their themes are partly foreign to the narrower purpose of the rahas; worship hymns of a more popular character than the hymns which appear in considerable numbers. The poems of the former class reappear, usually with variants, in the Atharvaveda.

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 oblations of intoxicating soma, pressed from the ‘mountain-born’ soma-plant, which reappears in the Zoroastrian Avesta under the name of sona (q.v.), and was therefore the sacred sacrificial fluid of the Indo-Iranians, or Aryans. In addition, melted butter (ghrita, or ghita) was poured into the fire, personified as the god Agni (Lat. ignis), who performs the function of messenger of the gods (as saktis). The ritual of the Veda is to a considerable extent pre-historic, and advanced in character—by no means as simple as was once supposed. But it is much less elaborate than that of the Yajurveda and the Brahmanas (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 that is not 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 (anthropomorphism). The original nature of the Vedic gods, however, is not always clean, not as clear as was once confidently assumed to be the case. The analysis of their character is a chapter of Vedic
philology 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 of life.

4. The Yajurveda. The Yajurveda represents the exceeding growth of ritualism or sacramentalism. Its śṛngās, 'liturgical stanzas and formulae,' are in the main, thoug 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 without regard to the original purpose and order of their composition. The main object is no longer devotion to the gods but the thought later to become the centre of thought: its mystic power is conceived to be a thing per se, and its every detail has-won into all-importance. A crowd of priests (seventeen is the largest number) conduct a vast, complicated, and pain-taking ceremonial, full of symbolic meaning even in its smallest minutiae. From the moment when the priests seat themselves on the sacrificial ground, strewed with sacred grass, and proceed to mark out the alters (red) on which at length, in a rainless sky, and with every utensil blessed with its own fitting blessing, every flaw is elaborately expiated. These formule are conceived no longer as prayers that may, or may not, succeed, but as inherently connected with the proceeding. The whole system is built on 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 surely destroyed. In fact, and in brief, the Yajurveda is a code for the sacrifice, the sacrifice in its every detail of act and word.

5. The Sāmaveda. The Sāmaveda is the least clear of all the Vedas as regards its purpose and origin. Its stanzas, or rather groups of stanzas, are known as śāsanā, 'melodies.' Three are preserved in forms: (1) in the Rigveda, as ordinary poetry, accented in the same way as other Vedic poetry; (2) in the Sāmaveda itself in a form called archā, a kind of libretto composed of a special collection of stanzas, most of which, though not all, occur also in the Rigveda (see above); here also there is a system of accents, peculiar in its notation, but apparently with reference to the rāga-śāna, 'the third scale,' the most common of Indian modes, we find the real sāna here and not only the text but the musical notes are given. This is still not yet a complete śāna. In the middle of the śāna-explanatory syllables are interposed—the so-called stobhas, such as oh, ha, hi, ho, hi, and at the end of the stanzas certain concluding syllables—the so-called nidhanas, such as atha, u, iti, and sit. The Sāmaveda is devoted chiefly to the worship of Indra, who is a bīn-terting, braggadocio god and who has to be bewildered himself with some in order to slay devils. It seems likely, therefore, that the śānas 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 Brahmanas were in the habit of blending their own hereditary practices and conceptions with the practices and conceptions of the people. The śāna-melodies and the exclamationsinterspersed among the words of the text may therefore be the substitute for the self-exciting shouts of the shaman priests of an earlier time.

6. The Atharvaveda. The oldest name of the Atharvaveda is atharvangirnō, a compound formed of the names of two semi-mythic families of priests, the Atharvans and Aṅgiras. 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, the reductively restricted to the Atharvaveda: bhāgavangirnō, that is, 'Bhūgus and Aṅgiras,' in which the Bhūgus, another ancient family of fire-priests, take the place of the Atharvans; and Atharvaveda, probably Veda of the Brahman, 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 Nyaśa, as a kind of pantheistic personification and its pious utterance. The Atharvaveda is a collection of 730 hymns, containing some 6000 stanzas.

7. The Vedic schools. The reductives or collections of these four Vedas are known as Sāṃhitās, each of them is divided down in various schools, branches, or recensions, called charagya, śākha, or bheda, the term śākha, or 'branch,' being the most familiar of the three. These 'branches' represent a given text or formula, and every stanza is a little from one another. The school differences of the Rigveda are unimportant, except as they extend also to the Brāhmaṇas and Śītras of that Veda (see below). There are two Sāmaveda schools, the union of the two forming the Sāmavedan and the Rājaśyanas. A very persistent tradition ascribes nine schools to the Atharvaveda; the Sāṃhitās of two of these, the Saunakiyas and Paippaladas, are published, the latter in an interesting chromo-photographic reproduction of the unique manuscript of that text preserved in the library of the University of Tübingen. The Yajurveda, especially, is handed down in recensions that differ from one another very widely. There is in the first place the broad division into White Yajurveda and Black Yajurveda. The most important difference between these two is that the Black Yajurveda schools intermingles their stanzas and formulae with the prose exposition of the Brāhmaṇa (see below), whereas the White Yajurveda schools present the Brāhmaṇa in separate works. The White Yajurveda belongs to the school of the Vājasaneyins, and is subdivided into the Madhyāvyavahāra and the Uttarāvyavahāra. The former of the Black Yajurveda are the Taittiriyas, the Maitrāyanis, the Kañcadas, and Kapishthālas. Sometimes these schools have definite geographical locations. For example, the Kañcadas and Kapishthālas were located at the time when the Greeks became acquainted with India, in the Panjāb and in Kasmīr. The Maitrāyanis appear at one time to have occupied the region around the lower course of the river Narmada; 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 formula of the Vedas collectively go by the name of mantras, 'pious utterance,' or 'hymn.' These were followed at a later period by a different literary type, namely, the theological treatises called brāhmaṇas, the Hindu analogon to the Hebrew Talmud. The Brāhmaṇas are exegetical and commentative, bulky expositions of the sacrificial ceremonial, that is, of the ritual, discussing its value or reason, speculating upon its origin, and illustrating its potency by ancient legends. Apart from the light which these texts throw upon the sacred literature of ancient India, they are important because they are written in a connected prose—the earliest in the entire domain of Indo-European speech. They are especially important for syntax: in this respect they represent the oldest Indian stage even better than the Rigveda, owing to the restrictions imposed upon the
latter by its poetic form. The Brāhmaṇas also were composed in schools, or recensions; the various Brahmana recensions of one and the same Veda differ at times even more widely than the Saṁhitās of the mantras. Thus the Rigveda has two Brāhmaṇas, the Aitareya and the Kaṇāyikā, or Śākhāyāna. The Brāhmaṇa matter of the Black Veda is given partly in the Sarvaśastra, or collected in the mantras of that class (see above); on the other hand, the White Yajurveda treats its Brāhmaṇa matter separately, and with extraordinary fullness, in the famous Sarvaśastra Brāhmaṇa, the 'Brāhmaṇa of a Hundred Paths,' so called because of its contents of a hundred lectures. Next to the Rigveda and Atharvaveda Saṁhitās this work is the most important production in the whole range of Vedic literature. Two Brāhmaṇas belonging to the White Yajurveda have been preserved entirely, that of the Tandis, usually designated as Pañcavachikā Brāhmaṇa, and that of the Tālakāvaras or Jaininiyas. To the Atharvaveda is attached the very late and secondary Brāhmaṇa of its contents harmonize so little with the spirit of the Atharvan hymns that it seems likely to have been produced in imitation of the 'school' conditions in other Vedas.

9. The Aranyakas and Upaniṣads.—A later development of the Brāhmaṇas is the Aranyaka, or 'Forest Treatises.' Their later character is indicated both by the position which they occupy at the end of the Brāhmaṇas and by their partly theosophical 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 their contents, they were taught by teacher to pupil in the solitude of the forest rather than in the profane atmosphere of the town or village. The two important Aranyakas are the Aitareya and the Tātāṭīyīya, belonging to the second Vedic schools of that name. The chief interest of the Aranyakas is that they form in contents and tone a transition to the Upaniṣads, the older of which are either embedded in them or form their concluding portions (see above. Aranyakas, Upaniṣads).

10. The Śrānta-Sūtras, or manuals of the Vedic ritual.—Both the mantras and the mantras are regarded as revealed (śrutī, or 'revelation'); the rest of Vedic literature 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 Sutras, or maxims, so called familiarly known as Sūtra literature, or the Sūtras. 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 Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. The first class of Sūtras are the Śrānta or Kalpa Śrāntas, which may be translated 'Sūtras of the Vedic Ritual.' They are brief mnemonic rule-books compiled, with the help of oral tradition, from the mantras, clearly of the same stock as the law of expiation, are found in Vedic texts, especially the Atharvaveda and the Tātāṭīyīya Aranyaka. The Law Sūtras, in their turn, are, like the Sūtras, are either directly attached to the body of canonical writings, or to a certain Vedic sense it is familiarly known as Sūtra literature, or the Sūtras. 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 Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. The first class of Sūtras are the Śrānta or Kalpa Śrāntas, which may be translated 'Sūtras of the Vedic Ritual.' They are brief mnemonic rule-books compiled, with the help of oral tradition, from the mantras, clearly of the same stock as the law of expiation, are found in Vedic texts, especially the Atharvaveda and the Tātāṭīyīya Aranyaka. The Law Sūtras, in their turn, are, like the Sūtras, are either directly attached to the body of canonical writings, or to a certain Vedic sense it is familiarly known as Sūtra literature, or the Sūtras. 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The form and style of Sanskrit literature differ a good deal from those of the Vedas. As regards the language, it is to be noted that prose in Vedic times, was developed to a tolerably high pitch in the Yadavas, Chalukyas, and Chaulukyas; in Sanskrit, apart from the strained scientific language (sūtra) of philosophy or grammar, or the diffuse and inorganic style of the commentators, prose is rare. It presents itself in genuine literature only in the literary Gita reflections, and partly in the drama. Nor has this prose improved in literary and stylistic quality, as compared with the earlier variety. On the contrary, it has become more and more clumsy and hobbling; full of hackwork, pious sounds, gerunds, constructions in the passive voice where the active would do, and other artificialities. As regards the poetic medium of Classical Sanskrit, it also differs from the Vedic. The bulk of Sanskrit poetry, especially the Epi, the sāstra, and the drama, is the development of the Vedic anuvādānā metre of four octosyllabic lines of essentially iambic cadence. But numerous other metres, usually built up on Vedic prototypes, have been constantly more elaborate and strict than their original; in the main they have also become more artistic and beautiful.

Notwithstanding the wonderfully unbroken character of Vedic literature, Sanskrit literature also differs greatly from the Vedic. The chief distinction between the two periods is that the Veda is essentially a religious collection, whereas Sanskrit literature is, with rare exceptions such as the Bhagavad Gita, or the metrical Law Sūtras, profane. In the Veda lyric poetry as well as legendary and expository prose are in the service of prayer and sacrifice; in Sanskrit epic, lyric, didactic, and dramatic forms are all for Vedic poetic product. The great epic, the Mahābhārata, is by far the most important representative of the former kind. Of somewhat similar free style are the eighteen Purāṇas (see below), of much later date than the Mahābhārata. The beginnings of the artistic style are seen in the other great Hindu epic, the Rāmāyana. But the finished style of the kīrpa is not evolved until the time of Kalidasa about the 6th cent. A.D.

The Mahābhārata, or 'Great Bharata Story,' the greatest of Hindu epics, is a huge authorless compilation for which tradition has devised the name Vyasa, 'Redaction;' as author. It is written for the most part in the epic metre, the sthāka, and contains altogether about 10,000 stanzas of four lines each, about eight times the length of the Homer poems.

The kernel story of the epic, which is interrupted by many episodes, or interwoven narratives, tells how the ancient and wicked dynasty of the Kurus was overthrown by the prince Bhéchatá and Pandu. At a gambling-match depicted in the most vital language, Paribhāṣa, the king of the Kurus, the Pandu princes, rule them as their kingdom, and exiles them for thirteen years. But this is only the preparation for the final war, the eighteenth battle, between the opposing royal houses and their allies. In this the Kurus are finally overthrown and destroyed.

The hero story is not only interrupted by episodes, but in general made the pivot around which philosophical (religious) and ethical discussions of great length revolve. The epic has assumed the place in Hindu literature of an encyclopedia of moral and religious instruction.

A Bhārata and a Mahābhārata are mentioned as early as the 'House Books' (see above) of the later Vedic literature, but all dates assigned to the original simpler epic which preceded the encyclopaedic poems in its finished form are mere guesses, except that it obtains the essentially present form in the 4th or 5th cent. of our era.

Among the episodes of the Mahābhārata, the Bhagavad Gita, '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 Pandus are drawn up against each other, Arjuna, the leader of the Pandu, seated on a throne, resolves to enter upon the slaughter. Then the god, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, as Arjuna's charioteer, addresses his two armies by pointing out that action, which is the performance of duty, is the obligation of man in the world, although, finally, abstracted devotion to the Supreme Spirit alone leads to salvation. The poem is conceived in the spirit of eclectic Hindu theosophy or philosophy. At the bottom is the Vedic doctrine of duality, challenged by the poet with monistic Vedantist pantheism (see Bhāgavata Purāṇa).

It is not likely that the poem formed part of the original 'Bhārata Story,' but there is no information as to its date and authorship. The Mahābhārata has been translated into English prose at the expense of Pratapa Chandra Ray (Calcutta, 1895), and by M. N. Dutt (do. 1895).

15. The Rāmāyana. — The Rāmāyana, the second of the great epics, is, in the main the work of a single author, Valmiki. It is said, on the other hand, and though it is not entirely free from digressions, it tells a connected story of great interest in epic diction of the highest order. It is to this day the favourite poem of the Hindus. The central figures are Rama and his devoted wife Sita; the main event the conquest of Lanka (probably Ceylon).

Dāsāratha, the mighty king of Oudh (Ayodhyā), having grown old, decides upon Rāma, his eldest son, as the next king, but his intriguing second son, Kaikēya, succeeds in changing his mind in favour of his son Bāhurūṇa. Rāma, banished for fourteen years, retires with Sītā to the forest. Upon the death of Dāsāratha, his son Bāhurūṇa refuses to usurp Rāma's throne, but seeks him out in the forest in order to place him on 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 resignation of the royal throne. But Kanthi, who is placed on the throne, the shoes upon the throne, and holds over them the yellow parasol, the sign of royalty; he himself stands by and looks on. In the meantime Rāma makes it his business to fight the demons who molest the inhabitants of the forest in their holy activities. As he goes, he also destroys the demons, who live in Lanka, revengefully kidnaps Sītā. Then Rāma forms an alliance with Hanumān and Sīvaguru, the kings of the monkeys, who build for him a wonderful bridge across from the mainland to Laikā. Rāma slays Rāvana, is reunited with Sītā, returns home, and, conjunctly with Bhārata, 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 suspension of containing one or more mythic roots. Certainly in the Veda Sītā is the personified arrow of the field, the beautiful wife of Indra or Purjanyā (see Vedic Religion). Hence Rāma certainly continues the qualities of Indra, the slayer of demons. The story also seems to typify the advance of Brahmanical civilization southward towards Ceylon.

The Rāmāyana consists of seven books, in about 25,000 stanzas. It exists in three recensions, which differ one from the other in their readings, the order of the stanzas, and in having more or less lengthy passages. The most popular of others. The best known and most popular recension has been translated by the Anglo-Indian scholar R. T. H. Griffith in five volumes (Benares, 1870-73).

16. The Purāṇas. — Somewhat related in character to the great epics are the Purāṇas, eighteen in number. They are later poetic works of mixed cosmogenic, epic, and didactic character. The
word पुराण occurs frequently in the prose texts of the Veda as a designation of the Veda's own cosmogonic and legendary lore; the name is also applied to the Mahabharata. In its most distinctive sense the word refers to a class of writings which certainly do not date before the 6th cent. As a prose form पुराण seems to be sectarian or religious manuals for the people, written in the interest of either the worshipers of Vishnu or those of Siva. Though the fundamental later Hindu triad—Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva—is recognized, nevertheless the Vaishnavite Puranas do not hesitate to say: 'Vishnu is the divinity of the gods, Siva of the devils. To Brahma all alike refer only in a perfunctory fashion. According to ancient tradition, the ideal Purana is divided into five parts, viz. (1) the mahā-bhārata, or secondary creation, or the destruction and rebuilding of the worlds; (2) genealogy of the gods and patriarchs; (3) manvantaras, or periods of reigns of the Maha; (4) the history of the dynasties of kings. Though the extent of these parts and the subject-matter roughly follows that order, the entire type of composition is of secondary importance; it borrows its themes very largely from the Vedas. Each Purana represents religious beliefs, practices, and legends in an exaggerated, fantastic, often disordered fashion (see PURANAS).

17. The 'artistic epics.'—The Hindus consider six कथयस, or 'artistic epics,' entitled to the epithet great 'mahā-kātyas'. But their artistic, or better, artistic character is obscured by their reality from the sphere of genuine epic; they are interesting on account of their wealth of descriptive power and delicacy of illustration; they are deflected from the portrayal of strong character or stirring action. Moreover, the dramatic, poetical, commonplace, and with lyric, erotic, and didactic elements, as well as with bombast and play on words. Nevertheless, no less a person than Kālidāsa, the world's greatest dramatist, is the author of the two best known artistic epics, the कुमāra-sambhāva, or 'Birth of the War God,' and the राजगुरुवा, or 'Race of Rāgini.' The former consists of seventeen cantos, the first seven of which are devoted to the story of the birth and wedding of the deities Siva and Pārvati, the parents of the youthful god of war. The real theme of the poem appears only towards the end, in the account of the destruction of the demon Tāraka, the object for which the war was fought. The story, which in nineteen cantos, describes in the first nine the life of Rāma, together with that of his dynasty. Then in the next six cantos comes the story of Rāma himself, the same theme as that of the Ramayana. The remaining cantos deal with the twenty-four kings who ruled as Rāma's successors in Ayodhya. The remaining कथयस deal for the most part with themes from the Mahābhārata and Ramayana.

18. Lyric poetry.—Every form of artistic Sanskrit literature, whether dramatic, or didactic, or confessional lyric, has a strong lyric cast. At the bottom these three kinds, in the Hindu poet's hands, are but thematically differentiated forms of the same poetic endowment. Ornate figures of speech, luxuriant richness of colouring, carried into literary composition from the gorgeous climate, flora, and fauna of India, subtle detail-painting of every sensation and emotion—these are the common characteristics of Hindu artistic poetry. Lack of any special emphasis or specialization of these conditions, yet it has its individual traits, the most important of which is the refined elaboration of the single strophe, in distinction from haphazard composition. In form and name these strophes are inflected and varied. In no other literature have poets endeavoured so strongly to harmonize the sentiment of a stanza with its metrical expression. The most elaborate continue in the style of the रामायण, or 'Ramayana,' the गोविण-वाच, or 'Godiva's Song,' and the रोमन्निवर, or 'Cycle of Seasons,' both by Kalidasa.

The theme of the former is a message sent by a god, either from heaven, or from the earth, or from the sea, which shall return to the god's wife, whom he sends down upon her couch through the watches of the night, the longing of her exiled husband. May the cloud, after its return with reassuring news, and never himself be separated from his lightning spouse. The 'Cycle of Seasons' is famous for its descriptions of India's tropical nature, matched all along with the corresponding human moods and emotions.

The bulk of lyrical poetry, however, is in short stanzaic stanzas, such as the didactic sententious proverb poetry which the Hindus also cultivated with great success. In fact the most famous collection of such stanzas, that of Bhattari, composed of lyric, didactic, and philosophical poems, Bhattari composed in the 7th cent. A.D., is perhaps the most remarkable Hindu poet next to Kalidasa.

His stanzas, 300 in number, are divided into three centuries—the 'Century of Love,' the 'Century of Regret,' the 'Century of Resignation.' There is no action in these stanzas; there are, however, within the narrow frame of a single stanza, the poet pictures to the world for whom the wide universe is summed up in man, from whose glowing eyes there is no escape. But, after singing wonder, the poet finally declares that he has become an altered man. Youth has gone by; his thoughts, freed from infatuation, are all for contemplation in the forest, and the whole world he accepts but as a wisp of straw.

The second master of the erotic stanza is Anamurt, author of the अनमूर्तत्त, or 'Century of Anamurt.' He above all others is the master of the four moods of love: bliss and dejection, anger and devotion. None of the Indian lyrists treats love from the romantic or ideal point of view; it is always sensual love. But a certain delicacy of feeling and expression, as well as appreciation of those qualities of love which attract irresistibly, only finally to repel, lifts their stanzas above the coarse or commonplace. It is in the Hindo 'nine-song,' favoured with the universal, though rather theoretical, Hindu aestheticism.

19. Didactic poetry.—Even in erotic lyrics the Hindu's deep-seated inclination towards speculation and reflection is evident. This has not yet been the highest in their religion and philosophy, but it has assumed shape in another important product of their literature, the gnomic, didactic, sententious stanza, which may be called the 'Proverb.' O. von Lilienfeld calls it the '3000-verse' Petroglyphs, a collection of no 3000 of these stanzas. They begin with the Mahābhārata, and are particularly common in the moral essays of the fable literature. Their keynote is again the vanity of human life, and the superhuman happiness which 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 (metempsychosis). Hence the practical value of virtue almost overrides the pessimistic view of the vanity of all human action. These gnomic stanzas are gathered up into collections such as the संतीयत, or 'Century of Tranquility,' or the महा-मुदय, or 'Hammer ofolly'; but the ethical saw is really at home in the fables of the पुराण, or 'Ramayana' and Hitopadesa. These works are paralleled by Buddhist compositions (see below). In fact, a Buddhist collection of this sort, the धार्मिक पुराण, or 'Way of the Law,' contains perhaps the most beautiful and profound words of wisdom of 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 variety of literary dates in India there is no good reason to assume for this class of works a date earlier than the 5th or 6th 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 for ‘drama’ is nāṭakam, from the root nāṭ, nart, to dance (whence ‘march girls,’ etc.). The word therefore means literally ‘ballet.’ It is not denied that dance came early according to the development of the drama. In various religious ceremonies of earlier times dancing played a part; at a later time the cult of Siva and Vīṣṇu, and especially of Vīṣṇu’s incarnation Kṛṣṇa, was accompanied by pantomime dances. These pantomimes reproduced the heroic deeds of these gods, and were accompanied by songs. Popular representations of this sort, the so-called gātakas, have survived to the present day in Bengal. They are not unlike the new pantomime of the Christian Middle Ages, and their modern continuation, the passion-play. The god Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, his love, are the main characters, but there are also friends, rivals, and enemies of Rādhā. The gātaka, a mixture of singing, dancing, and reciting dialogue, while unquestionably in some way connected with the origin of the drama, are nevertheless separated from the original by a wide gap from the finished product of the nāṭakam as it appears in such works as those of Kālidāsa in the two epics, or they move in the sphere of actually existing Hindu literature. The themes and events are not different from those of other Hindu literature. They show no foreign admixtures. It must not be forgotten that certain general coincidences between the drama and the theatre of different peoples are due to common psychological traits; hence general historical connexions in such matters requires the most exact proof.

The chief dramatic writer is Kālidāsa, the incomparable Hindu poet, master at the same time of epic and lyric verse (see above). Three dramas are ascribed to him: the Sakuntalā, the Urvārī, and Mālavikāgītā, or Mālavikā and Agnimitra. From a time somewhat earlier than Kālidāsa comes the drama Mṛchakabotkāṭhā, the ‘Clay Cart,’ said to have been composed by king Sūdraka, who is praised poetically 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 Ratnavali, or ‘String of Pearl’; the Yajñavalkya, whose hero is a Buddhist, and whose prologue is in praise of Buddha; and the Priyadarśikā. From the 8th cent. A.D. date the dramas of Bhavabhūti, a South Indian poet, the most distinguished dramatist next to Kālidāsa. His most important prologues are the Mālati-amṛtasundarī, or ‘Mālati and Madhava’; and the two dramas Māhābhārata- charitā and Uttararāmacaritā, both of which deal with Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyana. Finally may be mentioned Vaiśākhadīta, the author of the Mudrārakṣasā, the ‘Seal of the Minister Rāksasa,’ a drama of political intrigue, whose composition also dates from the 8th century.

Action is the body of the drama — such is the dictum of the poet in a commentary on his own, and 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-Western India. Brisk commerce was carried on between the west coast of India and Alexandria, the later centre of Greek literature and artistic life. Greek art and Greek astronomy certainly exercised strong influence upon Hindu thought, but 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), separated by varying periods of time; the acts are followed by a prologue. The chief stage manager (sādhaka). The stage was a simple re-entrant, 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 sāyana — that is, ‘Greek curtain’ (_seen_). The characteristics 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 vidyādha, the unromantic friend of the hero, compares well with the go-between, the scourus eares, of the Greek-Roman comedy. The vidyādha is a hunch-backed, bald dwarf of halting gait, the clown of the piece. Though a Brahmin by birth, with maliciously humorous intent, he does not speak Sanskrit, but the popular dialect, Prakrit, like the women and the inferior personages of the drama. He plays the unfeeling idealist, intent upon his material reward; he is always invited to good dinner, to the hero’s sentimental flowery romance. 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 certainly national and Indian. The themes are, for the most part, those of the heroic legend in the epics, or they move in the sphere of actually existing Hindu literature. The themes and events are not different from those of other Hindu literature. They show no foreign admixtures. It must not be forgotten that certain general coincidences between the drama and the theatre of different peoples are due to common psychological traits; hence general historical connexions in such matters requires the most exact proof.

21. Fables and stories. — No department of Hindu literature is more interesting to the student of comparative literature than that of the fables and fairy tales. There is scarcely a single motive of the European fable collections that does not appear in the Hindu collections. The study of the migrations and relations of fables and fairy tales was first elevated to the position of a science by Theodor Mommsen in his Parabelsammlung (Leipzig, 1859). On the other hand, the procedures and instructions which are woven into the fables present the best and most practical picture of Hindu ethics. The most important and extensive collection of fables and tales is Buddhist, being written in Pali. This collection is
LITHUANIANS AND LETTS.

Designated as the Jātaka, 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 Paññatāntra and the Hitopadèsa. The Paññatāntra, or the 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 kings, the most important of which are Pahali, the literary Persian language of that time, and some of the so-called Vedic glosses of Yāska, the so-called Neighasonryas and the Nirukta, and the Prātiṣhākhyas, or phonetic treatises pertaining to the treatment of a prose text in a given school or sākha (see above). Later, but far more important, is the Grammar of Panini, one of the greatest grammarians of all times, and his commentators Kātyāyana and Patanjali. Mathematics and astronomy were cultivated from very early times; the so-called Arabic numerals came to this country 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 a physician named Kāniska was the head physician of king Kaniska in the 1st cent. A.D. The germ of Hindu medical science reach back to the Atharvaveda. The Bower Manuscript, one of the oldest of Sanskrit manuscripts (probable 5th cent. A.D.), contains passages which agree verbally with the works of Sūruta and Charaka, the leading authorities on this subject.

LITERATURE.—The most convenient sketch for English readers is A. A. Macdonell's Sanskrit and Modern History of Sanskrit Literature, one of the volumes of 'Short Histories of the Literature of the World,' edited by Edmund Geese (London, 1890). The bibliographical notes at the end of the book are a distinct help to more extensive study. Readable and popular in style is H. W. Fausset's Literary History of India (London, 1896). Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (London, 1869) deals only with the Vedic period, and was important in its day, but is now antiquated. A. Weber's History of Indian Literature (from the German by T. Zachariac, London, 1878) is a learned and technical work, not at all adapted to the wants of the general reader: it represents the state of knowledge of a quarter of a century ago. The German work of L. v. Schroder, Indische Literatur und Cultur (Leipzig, 1878), is instructive, and readable account of Hindu literature: copious translations and digests of the texts themselves render this work very helpful. For recent treatises in English, consult R. C. Lattimore's Aristarchus and the Literary Life of the Hellenistic East (London, 1951), and J. J. McCannel's A History of Indian Literature (London, 1922). The Literatur der alten Indien (Stuttgart, 1893), and V. Henry, The Cultures of India and Pakistan (London, 1908), are also thorough and instructive works.

LITHUANIANS AND LETTS.—t. Ethnography.—The Lithuanian and the Letts belong to the Aryan family of peoples, and together with the Burussians or Old Prussians, who became extinct in the 17th cent., form a distinct ethnological group. This group, now generally considered as Baltic, 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 sphere of language— as regards which, however, the Lithuanian exhibits a much more archaic type than the Letts. The original home of the Lithu-Lettish or Baltic race was probably the basin of the lower Niemen, and, as that district is virtually coterminous with the Lithuania of to-day, while the Letts are found in Courland, the adjacent Prussian littoral, the southern half of Livonia, and Polish Livonia in the government of Vitebsk, it would appear that the Lettish branch had reached its present location
by migrating to the originally Finnish districts of Courland and Livonia, and that, on the other hand, the Lithuanians remained fast upon their ancestral soil. Consequently, neither member of the group is of great account, nor is it likely that either was ever important. The Lithuanians number some one and a half million, about 120,000 of them being in Prussia; the Letts less rather than more—the estimate varying from 1,200,000 to 2,000,000. In a physical respect both branches are mixed, though the mixture has been in no way detrimental to 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 cent. with prolonged frontier wars with Russia, from which, however, they emerged so successfully, and with their integrity still so far complete, that one of their princes, Mindaugas (1138), was recognized by the pope as king of Lithuania, actually contemplating the founding of a united Lithuan-Russian State. This design, however, was frustrated by Mendow's death (1203) and by internal embroils. Nevertheless, it was the right of the Lithuanian principality to retain complete control of the Grand-duke Gedymin (†1341); and then, under the leadership of his sons, Olgerd (whom his brothers recognized as sovereign Grand-duke) and Keistut, the young nation succeeded in extending its sway from Poland to the Ugra and the Oka, though it did not include the western districts (Nadrauen, Schelauen, and Sudauen), which the Teutonic Knights had brought under their control during the years 1274–83.

At the death of Olgerd, in 1377, his place was taken by his favourite son, Jagiello, who, however, soon quarrelled with Keistut (†1382) and with his son Witaut, the outcome of the dissension being that the Utraquist Hussites in Lithuania took advantage of the situation, and although nominally 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 Poland and Lithuania. The Lithuanians thereby 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 endeavoured, 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 many of his actions, which was upon the death of King Wenceslaus they offered him the Bohemian crown, and it was only the unpropitious political conditions of the time that 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, instead of the passing 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 Olgerd from gradually becoming a Polish feudatory. Witaut himself had been repeatedly compelled by the necessities of war and by external troubles to make concessions to Poland, and his successors, under the increasing pressure of the steadily growing power and wealth of Moscow, were forced in even larger measure to purchase the help of Poland by ever closer fusion 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 Lübeck taking steps to find an outlet for their commerce in the district of the Lower Dvina, 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 a nation of its own. The Western Letts, indeed, were being against that heathen land the enthusiasm for war against unbelievers which in that period of the Crusades dominated the thought of Christendom. It was owing to this enthusiasm that Albert, canon of Bremen (†1200), was able to secure a permanent footing in Livonia (1200), and as its bishop—supported as he was by constant immigration from Germany and by the Livonian Order of the Sword (founded in 1202)—to establish there a German colony in 1207 as a frontier district of the Empire. Its suzerainty was shared by Albert and the Order in such a way as to make the power of the bishop preponderant; but this position of matters was fundamentally altered when, in 1227, the Livonian Order was merged in the Order of the Teutonic Knights, the latter thus adding the domain of the former to its own. Taking as its model the Prussian State, in which it alone held the reins of sovereign power, the Livonian Order set itself being subordinate to it—the Teutonic Order sought to curb the episcopal power among the Letts, and it was all the more successful in this policy as it managed to subjugate the lutherto unconquered northern districts. So powerful that it was far as the Lettish provinces, Livonia and Courland, were concerned, was virtually completed by 1290. The Order, nevertheless, did not thereby win respect, but had constantly to take the field against unfriendly neighbours, and, as the fortune of war was on the whole unfavourable to it, while its powers were sapped by internal dissensions, and the secularization of its Prussian territory in 1525 isolated its Livonian domain, its authority in the latter latter also was a treasure the power of the Grand-duke of Poland a century later, and accordingly, as 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 Jagiello's death was almost entirely pagan, was thrown open to Christianity by Jagiello, who himself had embraced that faith at his marriage with Hedwig,
and strove with all the zeal of a new convert to propagate it among his own people of Lithuania; they became more and more closely bound to Poland, and the Church of the Polish Court and the Polish State soon gained complete spiritual authority among them. In the Lithuanian territory the former was a Roman Catholic country, and such, except to a very small extent, it has always remained; its non-catholic population consists only of a small number of Lutherns, who were won to that communion through efforts directed from Courland, and of some 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 Lithuanians and the Letts took a different course. As in the Prussian territory of the Teutonic Knights, under the Grand-Master Magrave Albert of Brandenburg became a secular Protestant duchy in 1525, so in Livonia and Courland the Lutheran teaching was enthusiastically welcomed, and, in fact, won universal acceptance. Most of the inhabitants remained faithful to it, so that Protestantism is to-day almost universal among the Letts. The Letts, however, are so imbued with the personal belief in the heavenly bodies, especially the sun, as also in the existence of divine beings who control all created things. Pre-eminent among these divine beings was ‘God’, designated by the primitive Aryan name ḏeva (Lat. deus). He was regarded generally as the highest supramundane power, but sometimes, like ὄνομα in Homer, he was a distinct mythological figure, and as such probably identical with Perkinas (Lett. Perkohoms), 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 enamoured of the morning star, Perkinas cut him in pieces with a sword. According to Lithuanian belief, Perkinas was the sun-god. Perkinas’s aunt washed the sun in the weared and dust-covered sun, who was once called the daughter of God, and who herself had sons and daughters; in popular songs these play a great part as mystic powers, but are always represented as human in all respects. We hear frequently also of the ‘children of God’, and it would seem that the mythological imagination did not distinguish between the latter and the ‘children of the sun.’

The sun, nevertheless, was not regarded as the wife of ḏeva (or of Perkinas), as appears not only from what has been said, but also from a Lettish folk-song which tells how, when Perkinas set out to find a wife beyond the sea, he was attended by the sun in whose abode, and who was believed that Perkinas was a polygamist, and in another of their folk-songs 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 originated in the observation of nature and human life. But, with the exception of Laimė, the goddess of fortune, none of them comes down to us under a common Lith-Lettish name, and we must be the more cautious in connecting such beings with the ancient religion because many of the divine names of the Lithuanian religion rest upon the misconceptions or fabrications of later times. There is adequate evidence, however, for Russian authors to speak of demonic beings, such as the lāūnās (‘fairies’) and the pābās (‘goblins,’ ‘flying dragon’), and it is equally certain that the Lithuanian religion was dominated from primitive times by the conception of Bēzev (Lith. beizis), the croaker; Lētta. Now, to make 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 (rāgnia, ‘seersess’), in the practice of casting lots (Lith. būršti; Lett. božu), in notions regarding countless and pointed phenomena, and exclusively 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 Lithuanian cemeteries were not merely churches. As to the situation of the Lithuanian abode of the dead, there seems to have been no general agreement, some data suggesting the sky, others a nether world. In various localities we find traces of a doctrine of metempsychosis.

Whichever the cult had a special class of priests cannot be made out. It had certainly no temples in the proper sense, and the ‘ades sacre’ of which we hear should probably be regarded as slight erections in which fire was kept burning. Sacrifices were common, and were offered not only by way of petition and thanksgiving, but also as propitiation; to judge from the Lettish designation, jeedu ‘offering’; the offerings were evidently of a religious character, and 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 even of the practice of human imanodation.

5. Sociological features.—Our data regarding the political and social conditions, the prevailing sentiments and morals, of the ancient Lithuanians and Letts are not sufficient to enable us 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 divisions 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 and 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 are a pure people who live alone; the art of reading and writing is only a recent acquisition of the body. If
times. It was, in fact, only when the Christian Church began to make use of texts written in the native languages—long after the invention of printing—that literary documents were at length produced. A Lithuanian and a Lettish translation of the Bible was undertaken—by Johannes Biskupius, subsequently a clergyman and published in 1547, the latter by various clergy- men belonging to Courland, in 1586—a Lithuanian version of a Roman Catholic catechism by a canon named Michael Dunkas (1585), and a work translated by a protestant Lithuanian nobleman named Piktiwiez (1598), are the earliest known writings in the Lithu-Lettish languages. Like most of these earlier literary works, the further development of Lithuan-Lettish literature was long due to clergy-men, and thus, naturally enough, that literature, even when it is not of a distinctively religious character, is in its earlier stages largely pervaded by Christian feeling and moral earnestness. Among the Letts the most outstanding figure of the earlier secular literature was Pastor G.F. Stender (1714-96); among the Lithuanians, Pastor Christian Donalitius (1714-90), the distinguished author of a poem entitled 'The Seasons.' As contrasted with this earlier literary and philosophical heritage of Lithuan-Lettish peoples, this progressive movement, which proceeded at first but slowly, has within recent decades become very vigorous, and alike in the field of politics and in that of letters has produced great, if not immortal, work. As a result of the more recent poetic production of Lithuanian and Lettish writers is well worth the attention of foreign readers. Yet even the best of it is not to be compared in poetic quality with the lyrical survivals of the earlier eras, falling far short of the beauty of many Lithuanian folk-songs (datinos), and also of the charm of the countless Lettish lyrics in quatrains (dvecmenys).


LITTLE VEHICLE.—See HINAYAKA.

LITURGIES.—See WORSHIP.

LOCKE.

1. Chief dates in his life. John Locke was born on 29th August 1632, at Wrington, Somersetshire. Brought up at home till the age of fourteen, he was then sent to Westminster School, from which he passed in 1652 to Christ Church, Oxford. He found little satisfaction in the scholastic kind of training that was given there, and, after his election to a Senior Studentship at Christ Church in 1655, he held lectureship and tutorship. His patriotic interests eventually turned more to scientific and medical studies. His connexion with medical practice happened in 1666 to bring him into contact with Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl Shaftesbury, who figured so prominently in the politics of Charles II.'s reign; and the meeting had an important influence on Locke's life. In the following year Locke went to London to act in the double capacity of confidential adviser to Shaftesbury himself and tutor to his son, while he was also engaged in political work and held some appointments. Shaftesbury was dismissed from his place in 1675, and in 1676 Locke had to go to France for his health. He remained abroad for four years, first at Montpellier and Paris, but in 1679 returned to England to assist his friend Shaftesbury once more. The two years that followed the state- man's fall and flight were stormy, and, though Locke had disapproved and probably kept clear of the final plots, he thought it prudent in 1683 to return to France. His health compelled his retirement from this office. His death took place 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 philosophic thought, in the 18th cent.—especially as it concerns 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 philosophy, education, politics, religion—and on the aims and ends of his thought. In all directions he exhibits the merits and the defects which are attributed to the period. He is impatient of authority and of 'the jargon of the schools,' seeks to put aside preconceptions and see the truth of things genuinely 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. On the other hand, he has no adequate knowledge or appreciation of the heritage of the past, nor, always with the happy result, does his thought always make the move in the direction of thoroughness and system. The deficiency is partly explained, no doubt, by his occupation with practical affairs, which interfered with continuous philosophical pursuits; and, partly, too, by the direct practical aims of much that he wrote. 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 wearies his readers. In the 'Epistle to the Reader' with which he preceded the Essay, he admits frankly that he has not been at great pains to correct the fault, and at times it certainly seems to let his pen run on almost as if it pleased 'Da Brittan and France.' (A. C. Fraser, Locke, Preface). Locke's intention upon expressing his whole thought fully and clearly, and his great 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 simple, and, when he is moved to earnestness, he writes with force and real impressiveness. His faults are seen at their worst in his controversial writings. Although he professes his eagerness to be shown his errors, he seems rather to have been rather impatient of criticism. He is too much taken up with exposing the misunderstandings and misrepresentations of which his critics have been guilty to try to penetrate to the real motives of their criticisms. Hence his replies do not carry us much further, while even as polemics they have their defects. For, although Locke can be very effective both in direct retort and in irony,
he is too apt to weaken his case, not merely by over-elaboration, but also by an insistence on the length of his own and his critics' statements which the reader feels to be petty and unpardonable.

3. The 'Essay concerning Human Understanding' (1690).—In the prefatory 'Epistle to the Reader' Locke tells us how he was started upon the line of inquiry which resulted, after some twenty years of interrupted labour, in the publication of the Essay. He was discussing 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 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 work was, as he states, the same throughout, viz. that determination of the certainty, extent, and degree of human knowledge which is the theme of bk. iv. of the Essay, and to which all the rest of the work is subservient. Locke seems to think that we do not believe ourselves to have any certainty of correct knowledge, and, with effectively certain preliminary matters had to be cleared up. To know is to have ideas about things—this at least, whatever more. If, then, we are to arrive at right conclusions about the state of knowledge, we must arrive at right conclusions about the medium in which alone it exists; i.e., we had better try to take stock of our ideas, and see how we come by them. To Locke it was plain that we come by them only through experience. To convince the reader that our knowledge and our ideas have no other source, Locke devotes bk. i. of the Essay to showing that there are no 'innate' principles or ideas, unless we understand the term 'innate' in some sense which makes the assertion of such innate knowledge either insignificant or misleading. If there are no such innate ideas, then we must look to experience and experience only for the origin of all our ideas, and must try to trace them back, one and all, to their source there. This is easy to understand if we consider the existence of Locke's teaching 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 question of the 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 stoic taking of our ideas in bk. ii. can be here only summarized.

He finds that all our ideas may be traced back to two great sources: sensation, which gives us the ideas from which the whole knowledge of the external world, and religion, which is the perception of the operations of our own mind, and which gives us ideas such as those of reasoning, believing, willing. The ideas derived from (one or both of) these sources may be either simple—such as the ideas of yellow, thinking, pleasure, unity—or complex. The complex ideas are subdivided (ii. ch. xiii.) into ideas of modes, substances, and relations. By 'modes' are meant 'such complex ideas which, however compounded, contain not in them the supposition of subsisting by themselves, but are considered as dependences on, or affections of substances: such as are the ideas signified by the words triangle, gratitude, murder.' They may be either simple (unmixed or mixed, according as they are merely attributes of one substance or otherwise) or complex, and then the modes like gratitude and murder are mixed modes. Under the above heads Locke proceeds to survey and examine the most important ideas or classes of ideas that enter into our knowledge. The classification is open to criticism in various ways, but where it principally fails Locke is in dealing with the more abstract contents. Yet it is too much influenced by the point of view of logical analysis to be a truly genetic or psychological account of the growth of our ideas. Finally, both interests are crossed by the further interest in the knowledge-value of our ideas, though the last point of view takes us over to the theme of bk. iv. Thus the discussion of primary and secondary qualities in ch. viii., and the discussions of power, substance, and idea, which we have been considering, are as definitely concerned with the knowledge-value of our ideas, and with the nature of the realities known by means of them, as any part of bk. iv.

In bk. iii. ('Of Words') Locke applies his analysis of ideas to the interpretation of the words by which we express them. The most striking feature of the book is in the effort to make clear the distinction of real and nominal essence is applied to the names which signify mixed modes (e.g., mental ideas) and substances respectively. When we define man, for example, we lay down certain abstract ideas, or combination of abstract ideas, by reference to which our application of the term 'man' is determined. This abstract idea is the 'nominal essence' of

\[1\] The term 'idea' is used by Locke in a very wide sense—'for whatever is the object of the understanding when it thinks.' The equivalent in modern psychology is a term like J. Ward's 'presentation.'
The nominal essence, then, is for Locke nothing more than the statement of the meaning in which we intend to use the general name, whereas the 'real essence' of a thing is the real being on which the denomination of the thing itself. So in Locke's view the ideas of mixed modes are ideas which we ourselves frame or put together at our own discretion. Therefore, so far as they are concerned, nominal and real essence coincide, and there is nothing, unless the complexity or vagueness of the idea to which it relates may prevent it, to distinguish their essence exactly and completely. But in the case of substances we are dealing with things which have a real essence, and, since in Locke's view of real essence a real essence is not known to us, we have their case no guarantee that the distinctions which we draw by means of our abstract ideas or nominal essences will truly represent the real essences of the things themselves. In fact, by introducing the notion of essence at all we are assuming a priori that each kind of thing might with division of things into species, and this assumption is liable at any point to turn 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 us,' 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, what is the same thing, of probability or probable judgment—to which the rest of the work had been subsidiary. Knowledge is defined by Locke as 'the perception of the connexion of and agreement, or disagreement and repugnancy of any of our ideas,' which is the basis on which Locke distinguishes four sorts: (1) identity or diversity (e.g., 'blue is different from yellow'), (2) relation (e.g., geometrical equality), (3) co-existence (of attributes in a subject or substance), and (4) real existence (agreeing to say '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., resulting from a series of steps, and therefore in Locke's view not quite so clear as immediate intuition, even though each step has, or ought to have, intuitive evidence. Lastly (c), there is 'sensitive knowledge,' our knowledge of the particular existence of external things when they are actually affecting our senses. The last degree of knowledge Locke regards as inferior to the other two, though not open to serious doubt. Whatever falls short of these degrees of evidence is Locke's knowledge of mixed modes. From these preliminary determinations Locke proceeds to a series of discussions in which three problems are intertwined in a way that is rather confusing to the reader: (1) the problem of how far 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, (3) the problem how far knowledge which is real in the first sense is also real in the further sense of being a knowledge of real existence, i.e. a knowledge of things which have a substantive existence or reality. The clue to Locke's answer to all three problems lies in the sharp opposition which he sets up between his own position and that of the rationalists, e.g., of the Scotch system, who accept with easy readiness 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. § 149) he tells us that in a constituted commonwealth '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 to be observed that those ends be not remove or alter the legislative, when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them.' He tells us (xl. § 134) that the legislative is 'sacred and unalterable in the hands where the community have once placed it,' yet admits that, as a result of historical changes, the legislative...
may cease to be representative and may therefore strike terror to the minds of private men. (Works, viii. 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 not have recognized 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 supply a lack between his position in civil and his religious doctrines. In 1689 he published in Holland a Latin Epistola de Tolerantia, which was translated into English in the same year. Criticius (attributed to one Jonas Proost of Queen's College, Oxford) drew from Locke A Second Letter concerning Toleration and A Third Letter for Toleration 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 writing. Locke can see nothing at all in his critic's arguments, and it must indeed be admitted that the position which the critic had chosen to defend was an absurd one. 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 showed that it was again and again that moderate penalties fail, that 'the true religion' must for practical purposes mean the magistrate's own religion, and that the arguments by which the critic sought to escape from these conclusions were either circular or question-begging. The practical force of Locke's argument lies in this, that the sincerity of religious dissent makes compulsion futile, while the actual divisions among Christian sects make it practically so. Philosophically 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 more or less in the degree of knowledge.' (Works, vii. 129.) He had also laid down clearly in the first letter the religious ground that it is 'in the inward and full persuasion of the mind' that 'all the life and power of true religion consists' (p. 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 its consistency doubtful. Thus we return to the theory of 'promises, covenants, and oaths, which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold upon a atheist' (p. 47), and, in effect, to Roman Catholics, because their religion requires them to submit themselves to a 'foreign jurisdiction' (p. 40). And this refusal does not square very well with that 'absolute liberty, equal and impartial liberty,' which, the reader was assured at the outset, 'is the thing that we stand in need of.' Locke wants to separate sharply and completely the spheres of the civil power and the Church. As 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 do run into the idea of peculiar authority in civil concerns: 'I say these have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate' (p. 46). But it seems strange that, with the recent history of his own country in view, he should feel unable to say that the proper man to prescribe the religious beliefs in civil concerns was almost certain to be made by the dominant religious sect, whatever it might be. The magistrate who was not to tolerate such ecclesiastical pretensions would hardly be able to avoid needing another to 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 be willing to have both the use and the control of the civil power. As in other cases, so here, Locke's argument makes a great show of robust common sense, but does not go very deep, and involves large tacit assumptions.

6. Religion.—One of these assumptions, no doubt, was that latitudinarianism of his own religious views which found expression later in his Reasonableness of Christianity (1685). In that work he seeks to show, by the evidence that the one and only gospel-article of faith is this, that Jesus is the Messiah, the promised Saviour. To believe this, to repent of our sins, to endeavour after a sincere obedience to the Saviour's commandments—this can produce only outward conformity, not inward conviction, that what was punished was therefore really dissent and not 'want of consideration,' and that any end which justified moderate penalties would equally be served by the use of such penalties. Locke anticipates the objection that, on the strength of reported miracles, the statement that Jesus is the promised Messiah is merely a historical, and not a saving, faith; but it can hardly be said that he sees its evil force of the objection. He speaks, it is true, of the 'oblation of a heart, fixed with dependence on, and affection to God' as 'the foundation of true devotion, and life of all religion,' and describes faith as 'a steadfast reliance on the goodness and faithfulness of God' (Works, vii. 129, 131), but he does not explain sufficiently how this religious faith arises out of the historical belief. He insists on the inability of plain people, 'the day-labourers and tradesmen, the spinners and weavers,' to understand these assumptions, 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, as drew men's eyes and appreciation to her; but leaving her unenforced, very few were willing to expose her. The generality could not refuse her their esteem and commendation; but still turned their backs on her, and forsook her, as a match not for their turn. But now there being put into the scales on her side, "an exceeding and immortal weight of glory;" interest is come about to her, and virtue now is 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 passion, as Butler calls it — were characteristic of the age.

7. Education.—Locke's views on this subject are contained in his Thoughts concerning Education (1693) and the posthumous Conduct of the Understanding. The latter connects directly with the Essay, and was originally designed to form a
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chapter of it. It has been highly praised, but, like other writings on the general education of the individual, must be about as obvious and well known to all as the proverbial pot of scalding water. Indeed, it is almost 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 works make a much more vivid and explicit illustration of the various parts of educative thought.

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 his infancy.' As a medical man he does not divide his researches into strictly intellectual and training. The characteristic feature, however—and the conspicuous merit—of the book is the paramount importance which it gives to the training of character.

That which every Gentleman...desires for his Son, besides the Estate he leaves him, is contained (I suppose) in those four Things, Virtue, Wisdom, Breeding, and Learning' (§ 134).

The order expresses Locke's deliberate estimate of the relative importance of the qualities named, and this order aptly reflects the trend of the subject consistently throughout the book. No render of the Thoughts is likely ever to confuse education with instruction. So too, in the ease of intellectual education itself, Locke insists, in his Considerations, that the business of education 'in respect 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, and of all things, what shall appear to 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 points certainly not such as medical authority sanctions, and some of his views on moral training are at any rate open to question. But there can be little doubt about this, that Locke is at his best in dealing with such matters. His fresh and independent view of his subject, his steady insistence on character as central, important, his own kindliness and affection for young people, and his practical common sense combine to make him an admirable exponent of the spirit in which the educator should go about his work.

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H. BARKER.

LOCKS AND KEYS.—Before the invention of bolts or, later, of locks and keys, a variety of devices were in use to secure safety. Many peoples at a low level of culture live in shelters or huts, one or more sides of which are quite open (Tshimbu, Kongo; Senoufo, Lombo, etc.), and others live in a house only for occasional purposes—sleeping, birth, sickness, death, etc.—so that there is no need of a fastening. But in other instances, even where no doors exist, attempts


are made to render the entrance secure. The huts of the Eskimos are approached by a narrow winding passage along which stockades are built, and the door is approached by a winding passage trodden stockaded. In Fiji, the Caroline Islands, Kivai Island, among the Indians of the Chaco and of Guyana, and in the Highlands of New Guinea, small, very low or very narrow, or is merely a small aperture at some height from the ground (cf. Pr 17).2

Sometimes the doorway is closed merely with a couple of large plantain leaves or palm leaves held in place, with a placed at a coco-nut (Solomon Islands, Roro-speaking tribes of N. Guinea), or with a portiere (ancient Peru), or with a kind of blind or mat which can be raised or lowered at desired (Uapues, Samos, Tonga, Tiasela, New Mexico).3 To this might be fastened pieces of metal or shell which chattered and so gave warning when any one entered (Tiasela), or, as in New Britain, a rattle was hung in the doorway, so that any one entering at night might strike his head against it and warn the inmates.4 In Bonin, where locks were known (§ 1), a cord running through a staple, and attached to a block of wood, served to keep the door closed. Or, again, a wooden screen is slid across the entrance—a kind of primitive door (J. M. E. Eki, Eo, Bageish).5 This is secured by thongs (Baganda, Melanesia ['but the tying can be done from without through an opening made for the purpose']), by props or a wedge (African tribes, Zunis [stone wedges]), by props or a wedge (Mexico, Upper Congo, Grelos, Dayaks, wild Malay tribes, Zunis).6 In some instances such doorways or doors are further protected by charms or fetishes which will work evil on any one trying to enter. These are analogues of the keys which have been placed at a keyhole to prevent fairies, spirits, etc., from entering through them (§ 3).7 As knotted strings or thongs served for tents, so they were also sometimes used to fasten doors. In Babylonia and Egypt seals sometimes served the purpose of locks and keys, but bolts were also used, and over those of the temple of Samaš in Babylonia ilations of oil were poured as well as other parts of the door

4 H. Beuchat, Manuel d'arche. americain, Paris, 1875, p. 635.
5 A. R. Wallace, Travels on the Amazon and the Rio Negro, London, 1853, p. 94; O. Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, do, 1883, p. 256; W. Ellis, Polynesia, London, 1832, i. 176; W. Mariner, Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, do, 1818, ii. 367; Waltz-Gerdan, Anthrop, der Naturvolker, i. Leipzig. 1841-44; JAI, Lock and the Schule von Cambridge, Freiburg, 1893, G. Geil, Uber die Abhandlungen von De Motu, Strauburg, 1887; and R. Sommer, Locke's Verhaltnisse in Deutches, Berlin, 1887) deal with the difficult question of Locke's relation to his predecessors; that of E. Poschmann (the Logik John Locke) 1890 with the philosophy proper.

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(cf. § 3 (d)). A conqueror in Egypt sealed the doors of a house after having bolted them.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 is found. Doors and gates swinging on hinges were a feature of the more ancient cities, or iron, or wood, or across from one doorpost to the other, the ends being set in holes in these (Dt 3 f., Neh 7, Is 45, Jg 16), or with bars and bolts (Neh 3, Balaclaya, Egypt). In Homer, H. xii. 435 ff., two bars are pushed out from square holes in the doorposts and meet in dovetailed fashion in the centre. A bolt or wedge keeps them in position. The primitive bolt, at first of wood, then of metal, slid into a staple on the doorpost.2 Where folding doors were used, probably a vertical bolt was placed behind them.3 Before the use of locks and keys a simple method of sliding a bolt was used in Greece as well as in central and northern Europe, in the shape of a bent hook or sickle-shaped rod. This was inserted 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 ornamented with ring money, and with a hook at the chief's door key, is in use in N. Nigeria.4 Another method was to hold the bolt in place by means of a peg also worked from outside by means of a string. A further development, supplying the use of a key, consisted in using a peg in an upright position to correspond to the sockets in the bolt. These pegs might be fastened in different ways according to the type of lock in use. In one type two pegs fell into notches in the bolt, when it was pulled horizontally and held in place. To raise these a T-shaped key was used.5 It was pushed vertically through a hole in the door, given a quarter turn, bringing the arms into a horizontal position, and then pulled slightly back so that the arm of the T fell into holes in the pegs, which could now be raised. The bolt was then pulled back by means of a string.6 In the second type a number of small pegs dropped into holes in the bolt and are then flushed with its lower surface. The key consisted of a rod, and the teeth fitted variously upon the shorter piece. When inserted below the bolt, the teeth raise the pegs flush with its upper surface, and the bolt can then be pushed back by the key. Innumerable varieties of this type of lock are known, and the key is probably that known as 'Lacoonian' with three teeth, the invention of which was attributed to the Laconians. Locks and keys of this type were used in Egypt, among the Romans (often of an elaborate pattern), Greeks, Scandinavians, and possibly the Celts.7 Both of these locks are of the 'tumbler' type, as is also the third, the tumbler being a bolt of a bolt.8 In this the pins drop into holes in the bolt, which is hollow, until they are flush with the upper side of the hollowed-out part. The key consists of a rod with upright teeth corresponding in size and position with the pegs. It was inserted into the hollow of the bolt and raised the pegs, so that the bolt could be pulled back. In this case the key, which is sometimes of 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 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 Zunis (perhaps of Mormon origin).9

The first of these types is supposed to be the kind of lock which Penelope opens in Odyssey, ii. 46 ff.,95 regarded as fastening the bolt from outside. Penelope unloosens it (probably it was tied by a secret knot); then through a hole in the door she inserts a bar of metal bent twice at a right angle; its end strikes on a knob fixed on the bolt and pushed it out of its staple. If there were two bolts, both, connected together, could be shot at once.10 A large key of this kind is often represented on monuments as a hieratic survival, carried by priests.5 It is akin to the type already described. In Benin a key and bolt working somewhat on this principle are in use. The bolt has a knob; the key is a metal rod, to the end of which is attached another piece bent twice at a right angle and having a knob fixed on its end. This key is inserted through a hole in the door, the keyhole being at a height above the bolt corresponding to the size of the key. The end of the key impinges on the knob, and, when a turn is given to it, the bolt is slid along. The bolts in the king's palace were of carved ivory.6 Locks and keys more or less of this type, but of wood, are used by the Wambs of British Central Africa. The key has teeth of 2 or 3 inches in length. When it was inserted vertically, it might be inserted horizontally into the bolt in place. Possibly these are of Portuguese origin.7 Original native locks are made by the Hausa, and are traded among other tribes.8 Du Chaillu refers to native locks used for chests and doors in Goumal, Equatorial Africa, but does not describe them.9 Among savage tribes generally civilized influences are introducing the use of European or American locks and padlocks—e.g., among the Barongas and elsewhere in Africa.10

1 Arisoph. Theor. 431 B; Diels, p. 144; Wilkinson, p. 334; Brit. Mus. Guide to ... Gr. and Rom. Life, p. 1672. A key of this type might consist simply of a bent rod with a pinset. This kind is used in Egypt, Persia, India, Turkey, etc. (Pitt-Rivers, p. 9).
2 Pitt-Rivers, p. 58; Diels, p. 141; Darenberg-Saglio, ep. Ser: 1. H. R. C. E. Cairo is at work (in the field); Darenberg-Saglio, ed. 'Jama,' col. 677 (Etruris, outside bars); Perrot-Chipiez, viii. 186, 281; Hom. H. xxiv. 453, 567c, etc.
5 Or, as in the Force islands, a key has teeth which fit into notches in the pegs when slipped in horizontally. The pegs are then raised vertically.
In another type, used mainly in padlocks, the key thrust into the lock compresses springs, thus permitting the shackle to be withdrawn. Such padlocks were used in Egypt, and are still known in W. Africa (possibly of Egyptian origin). They were sometimes used by the Romans, especially in China and India (the so-called puzzle padlocks). The Romans had flat keys for raising latches, similar to those in use to-day. Both the Greeks and Romans knew the lock with wards through which the key passes, thus moving the bolt backwards or forwards. Keys of a simple type to suit such locks are represented on vases. More elaborate keys are often small and form a part of fingerings, the key lying flat upon the finger. False keys were also used by Roman robbers.

While locks of the primitive types here described were used in different parts of Europe and are indeed still used in remote districts, the ward system, with obstacles to prevent any but the proper key from turning the bolt, was much used during the Middle Ages. The principle of the tumbler lock was applied to locks during the 18th century. Roman keys terminated in a flat or perforated handle; others were of an open lozenge, or of a rectangular, of a circular, or were of a 13th cent. kind, but had little ornamentation. In the 13th to 15th centuries they terminated in a lozenge, trefoil, or quatrefoil. After this, and especially in the 16th century, they had elaboration and became wares of ample size, of which, terminating the stems were filled with ornament, the stem itself was ornamented or took the form of an animal or human figure, or stem and bow took the form of a crucifix. Even the webs were sometimes ornamented or painted.

2. The key as symbol.—The importance of the key, as that by which doors guarding treasure, stores, etc., might be closed or opened, was marked in ancient times. This doubtless originated in the period when locks and keys of a primitive type were first invented and their value made plain to all.

(a) Frequently the wife as Honefleur bears the household keys symbolically. She is the key-bearing lady of the house. Among the Romans a newly-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—1claves advenient, exspectavit. The woman released from a house could not get back the keys; 'claves remisit.' Among the Teutons and Scandinavians the bride was decked with keys and girdle. Here also at divorce 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 her dead husband as a sign of renunciation in participation of goods—a custom found elsewhere, and also signifying that the widow was free of obligation. Slaves carried keys of various parts of the house, and the janitor bore the house-key. In the Christian Church the church-treasurer who carried the keys of the treasury was known as claviceps. In Is 22:27—laying the key of the house of David upon his shoulder—signifies transference of the supremacy of the kingdom, and the imagery is taken from the large keys opening tumbler locks carried on the shoulder in the East. In Equatorial Africa, as chests containing treasure are a synom for property, and as they are kept locked with either native or American locks, till it is known to whom they belong, richer he is. Hence keys in large numbers are worn as a symbol of wealth.

(b) Since many divinities were key-bearers, their priestesses (not usually their priests) also bore keys symbolically, signifying that the divine powers were theirs, or that they were guardians of the sanctity of the gods. Priestesses are often represented carrying on their shoulder a large key of the rectangular type, already alluded to as an archaic survival; a key represented in a grave-stone signifies the burial-place of a priestess.* Iphigenia is called λαράδιας (‘key-bearer’) of Artemis, and η λαράδιας of Hera. Cassandra bore the keys of Hecate, and in the mysteries of the goddess the priestess was λαράδορα, while the priestesses of Ceres  

(c) As has been shown in the art. Door (vol. iv. p. 551), heaven and the underworld were believed to be regions or abodes with doors and gates. The gods have keys and gates, just as men have locks and keys. In Babylonian mythology Marduk made gates to the heavens and attached secure bolts to them. Samas is said to open the bolt of the bright heaven, and to Ishtar’s supremacy is said to belong the opening of the door of heaven. Hades with its seven gates has also bolts. Over these dust is scattered, and Ishtar threatens to break the bolts when she descends there. The gates of Pluto’s realm are closed with iron bars and keys. The Hebrews had similar conceptions. shut has bars (Job 17:16); cf. Ps 107:19: Hades and the Abyss have locks and keys (Rev 12:9 20). These conceptions were still retained in Christian belief, and nothing is more dramatic in the legends or theology of the Descent than Christ’s breaking the bars and bolts of Hades. Similarly in Manichean mythology the regions of the dark worlds have gates with bolts and with locks and keys differing from all other locks and keys. So also earth, sea, the world, etc., have locks and keys. The Assyrian Ninib holds the lock of heaven and earth, and opens the deep, and Ea unlocks fountains. Cybele is represented with a key—that of earth, which is shut in winter and opened in spring. Eros has keys of love, and Cupid’s arrow is the key of the ocean (πότνως λαράδας). The Egyptian Sarapis has keys of earth and sea. In Hebrew thought the sea has doors and bars, and the earth has bars. In Breton folklore is found the curious idea that menhirs are keys of the sea. Should they be lifted, the sea would rush in. They are also keys of hell. Fairytale 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.

1 Du Chaillu, pp. 2544.
2 Diels, p. 125 ff.
4 Eur. Trood. 2561; Darmst. Saggio, iii. 49: Callimachus, Hymn to Ceres, 45; cf. 55.
6 W. Winck, Deixisynum Tabale Attion, Berlin, 1887, iii. 1.
7 F. Brandt, Minodeche Schriften, Gottingen, 1892, p. 151, 161.
8 Jastrow, p. 201, 237.
9 Servies, de Ern. x. 222: C. G. Schwaar, De Dia Classis, p. 23; Orph. Hymn. xxv. 1.
10 Schwarc, p. 18.
11 Job 38:9, Jan 25.
12 H. Scholz, l. 411, 412.
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closing of the doors of that region to allow or prevent entrance or egress. This was more especially marked in Mithraism and Romano-Celtic religion, in which certain of the divinities bear the title κλειστής, clei-geir. Janus, as god of doors, is said to have been represented 'cum clavi et virga' 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 out the day, and they are shut again at night. Even more universally he was κλειστής, since all things—heaven, sea, clouds, and the earth—were opened by his hand. Of Portunus, another god of doors, probably of barns and stores, also carried keys, 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 κλειστής of the town of Athens.3 According to Parmenides, Dike carries the keys of the doors of day and night, i.e., of heaven, and removes the bar from the door when necessary.4 So Helios, who comes forth from the doors of the sky, is said in the Hymn of Proclus (I. 9) to have keys. The same conceptions are found in Mithraic circles, perhaps partly taken over from these classical models. The Kronos of Mithraeum belief carried a key in his right hand or one in each hand, or, like Janus, a pair of secret keys while the key of the doors of heaven, by which souls enter or pass out to birth. He was addressed as 'the lord who fastens the fiery bars of heaven.'5

Divinities associated with the under world carry its keys: the usual key is that of Hades, kept on monuments or images of the goddess, and is also described as possessing them. She is even called 'the Lady bearing the keys of the Universe.'6 In Caria every fourth year the procession of the key of Deir was celebrated in her honor—a festival which lasted for several days. Panamias (v. xx, 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—Persephone, Euxenis, Anubis—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.7

Openly in the hands of the keys signifies power over the regions; the locks of the doors of which these keys open. As heaven and Hades were regarded as towns or States with walls and gates, so they had locks and keys. The keys are the sacred names of the divine guardians in their several families, 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, 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 of great importance in the art. Binding and Loos- ing. Here it is sufficient to say that the idea of his being dowered with 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 κλειστής, can open to those worthy of the kingdom of its rewards, or can keep the door locked against the unworthy. But it should be observed that, while generally righteousness,

2 Aristoph. Them. 1120.
3 Macrobius, Lib. IX. 7.
5 Orph. Hymn. 1, 2.
6 W. Edelker, AV 782, 1865, 2217.

obedience to divine law, was the condition of future reward, not only in Christianity but in other religions, and is the principle compelling the opening of the gates of heaven. We find this in Mithraism, in Gnosticism, perhaps in the popular Christianity which was so much mingled with Gnosticism and paganism, and in the syncretistic groups of the period. In these, submission to rites and ceremonies—e.g., of baptism, purification, and communion—possession of amulets, knowledge of the right pass-words or the names of the demonic or divine guardian, and some ritual act compelling the opening of all so many keys with which the soul could unlock the gates and pass onwards or compel the κλειστής to unlock them.1

The name 'key' might be given to anything which had the power of opening or closing. Rabbinic lore spoke of three keys which were given to no third party—the keys of the womb or of child-birth, of rain, and of resurrection of the dead.2 As to the first of these, it is still a divine power which works in conception and birth, opening the womb, and we may compare the phrase of Aristophanes regarding Hera, that she guards the keys of marriage (κλειά γάμου φανήσεως), or that of Pindar when he says of Peitho that she bears the holy keys, the way of the house of love.3 But the thought underlying this is seen in the erotic slang of many languages, which describes the female organ as 'key' and the female organ as 'lock.' The consummation of marriage by these means ensured its association with certain divinities. Similarly any book of secret knowledge or of mysteries or γρα δίκη might be called a 'key.' It contained the means of unlocking mysteries, of opening the way to truth. The book of rites of the Egyptian priest of the god of Truth, and some of the magical texts current in the syncretistic groups already referred to bore the name 'Key.' The name is applied also to any book which purports to explain various matters, or even to literal translations of classical or foreign works; hence withholding 'the key of knowledge' of which Christ speaks (Lk 11) means debarring men from the knowledge of moral or spiritual truth which would give them entrance to the Kingdom of God. In the Christian documents Christ Himself is called 'the Key.'

As a symbol the key occurs in herbalry. It is found in the arms of the popes, of various bishoprics, and of families. It also occurs in the names and signs of shops and inns, and is here of ecclesiastical derivation—the Cross-keys, the Cross of St. Michael, the Golden Key, etc., are traditional keys of St. Michael's chamber, are prominent in folk-tales of the Blue-ribbon group (MacCuUoch, CP, London, 1906, p. 356 ff.).

3. Locks and keys in magic—The importance attaching to locks and keys gave them a place in various magical rites, while their being made of metal adds to their value, since metal of itself has magical power (see CHANGELING, vol. iii. p. 339; FAIRY, vol. v. p. 684; METALS AND MINERALS).

(a) As locks and keys make fast or open, bind or loose, so they are sometimes considered to have a sympathetic effect upon dwellers in the house—e.g., at a birth or at death. It is a common custom to open all the locks at a confinement, lest the delivery should be hindered through their remaining fast, and so to lighten the labour. With this may be compared the Roman custom of presenting the woman with a key as a part of an easy delivery. In Sweden in difficult labour the midwife asks the woman whether she has prayed to the Virgin for her key to open the womb. If not, the midwife

1 See, e.g., Plinii Nat. hist., Book of Dei's nat. origin; Origen, C. Celinum, vi. 31; Dieterich, Mithraes, Bd. 1124. ibid., Texte, I. 41; J. A. MacCuUoch, 'Ascent of the Soul,' Irish Church Quarterly, 1912, p. 122. 2 W. W. Fowler, Roman Festivals, London, 1899, p. 203.
3 See Aristotle, Theon, 376; Pinder, Pyth. ii. 39.
LOCKS and KEYS

says the prayer, the woman repeating it after her.1

If a witch was present at a wedding and snapped a padlock to at the benediction, dropping it into water before the couple could be united, the padlock would not open again until the padlock was recovered. This belief is found in Germany and, in a similar way, in Greece.2

On similar grounds the soul cannot leave the body of a dying person as long as any locks or bolts in the house are fastened; these are therefore unlocked or unfastened and the house-doors are opened.3

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

(b) 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 was found (see ERE vol. iii. p. 436). In Italy small keys blessed by the priest are called 'keys of the Holy Spirit,' and are worn by infants as a preservative against convulsions. There, as well as in Portugal, 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 cimarrunt, or round about the child's neck, in the hope that it will work. Sometimes it is phallic, the handle being so shaped.4 In Jerusalem necklaces from which charms depend are worn, and among the latter are a lock and key.5 In China a common amulet is a small key. A silver lock itself 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 it is used to fasten a silver chain or ring round the boy's neck.6 In Korea the neck ring 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.'7 With these practices may be compared an incident in a Danish Märchen: the hero gets a key as a christening gift, and it brings him luck.8 In Norway a large old iron key is used against dwarf-struck cattle. It is hung over the head in the hope that it will work.9 Such keys are 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 round it—perhaps by way of locking the field in from harm, or merely as charms against the hail.10 In Pennsylvania a lock is carried in the seed-bag in order to keep birds from the corn.11 A key, partly for its own virtues, partly because it is of iron, is commonly placed in cradles to prevent fairies from changing the baby.12

In the island of Zacynthos a key is placed on the breast of a corpse, because, being of iron, it will scare away evil spirits, though the popular explanation is that it will open the gate of paradise.13

According to a belief in Brittany, when a wolf is struck between the eyes with a key, the enchantment ends, and the human form is resumed.14

(c) Another magical use is that of the Bible and key. A large key, sometimes an ancient or hereditary key, is placed between the leaves of a Bible, which is then closed and bound with cord. The handle of the key projects and is held in the hand or on the fingers of one or two persons, while some formula is being said. At the psychological moment it twists and turns, thus indicating whatever is desired to be discovered. This has superseded earlier methods—e.g., with a sieve— but Reginald Scot already mentions the use of a palster and key. (i) 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 key is generally used, but seldom now in a magical way. A similar use of Bible and key is for the purpose of 'unwitching' a patient.2 (2) It is also used in divination, usually to discover a thief or a witch. The names of the suspect are repeated with the formula, 'Turn Bible, turn round the key, turn, key, turn, and show the name to me.' At the right name the key twists and the Bible drops from the hand. Within recent years such a use is known to have alock known as a 'sorcerer's key.' The Bible and key (or the key alone) are used in E. Anglia to divine with, and also to help a vessel entering or leaving port. To assist it to enter port, the key is turned towards oneself, and, to leave port, away from oneself.2

(d) The keyhole, as an opening by which fairies, spirits, and the like may enter the house, is often magically protected. Thus in the Sporades it is stopped with a 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 outwit the Mar ('nightmare') which enters thereby. In legal traditions, such a keyhole is customary to say 'in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,' when locking a door, as a protection against genii. The door cannot then be opened by them. 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 broke the latter and then left in disgust.2 Stable men, cow-houses, etc., are sometimes protected by tying charms to the key—usually a perforated stone (the key-stone which keeps off the demon Marn) and a horn.15 In Babylon demons were said to slip into houses through bolts, etc., 'gliding like snakes,' and it may have been to prevent this that libations were poured over these ($1; for other precautions taken see Door, vol. iv. p. 840).16

1 F. Liebrecht, Zur Volkskunde, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 360; Festes, s.v., 'Chains.'
3 T. F. Thesleff-Iyer, English Folk-Lore, London, 1879, p. 228; Choice Notes from Notes and Queries, d. 1859, p. 317; cf. Scobie, Vol. ii. p. 261. And you never open a door being barred when a man was in the dead-tree—how d'ye think the spirit was to get away through bolts and bars like that!?
5 FL xvi. [1893] 114.
6 N. B. Denany, The Folklore of China, London, 1876, p. 55; FL xli. 1879; Cuming, loc. cit.
8 FL xix. [1899] 252; cf. 316. § CR. EHR. ii. 409.
11 F. C. Lawson, pp. 100, 112.
12 F. Flapnet, Contes populaires de Rouen, Rouen, 1834, p. 15.
13 FL xlvi. 1905 (Wyw valley), 172.
14 PL xx. 93 (Jamaica); FLII. ii. [1884-1885] 166 f.; S. F. England, W. Henderson, Folk-Lore of Northern Counties, London [1879], p. 222; Cuming, p. 1109 (Germany). An alleged use of the Bible and key as an 'incantation for the charm' is often referred to in the Evening Dispatch, Edinburgh, May 19, 1914, p. 4.
15 FL xvi. [1893] 201.
16 FL x. [1899] 175, 365.
18 E. W. Lane, Modern Egyptians, p. 215.
19 Sebillott, l. 142.
20 Cuming, loc. cit., p. 120.
21 Jastrow, p. 295.
(e) Keys were sometimes thrown into holy wells as a propitiatory offering to the spirit or guardian of the well, as at Cricetieth on Easter morning.4

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, or white, and was known as the 'wonder-dower' or 'key-flower' (Schlüsselblume); similar properties were also ascribed to the Springwurzel, or 'explosive root,' usually obtained from a woodpecker whose nest had been closed up with a wooden bang. She flew and sought to open the doors, returns with it, and applies it to the bang, which is forced out with a loud noise. It is then taken by the treasurer-seeker, who uses it as the flower is used in other instances.5 Elian and Pliny know of this legend, but speak of a plant, and the latter elsewhere refers to a herb by which all things closed can be opened.6 This is the shāmir of Rabbinic legend, a kind of worm or a stone in possession of a moorhen.7 In connexion with these stories of mountain flowers obtained by a wonder-dower, there are usually mysterious white ladies who guard them, and who, like the Hausfrau, carry a bunch of keys which also give access to the treasure.8 There is a German belief that where the rainbow touches the earth, a gold key, which gives its name to the flower,9 is in the story of Ali Baba, the rock door opens when the mysterious word Sesame is spoken. The word may have stood in an earlier version for the herb aconitum, but in other instances as the name of magical words makes locks and bars open—e.g., those of the Egyptian underground—while even in tales of enchantresses from New Guinea the use of the words, 'Oh, rock be cleft,' and 'Oh, rock be closed,' causes a rock door to open and shut.10 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, but their presence makes the door open. In other instances they pass through closed doors, as modern mediums have claimed to do.11 Probably the point d’appui of these saintly miracles is AC 126.


J. A. Macculloch.

LOCUST. 125

Introduction.—The Latin word locustā first denoted certain crustaceans—e.g., the lobster—and the English word 'locomotive' is itself a corrupt adaptation of the Latin locusta. Dialectically 'locust' denotes the cockchafer and the insect to which allusion is here made and which is usually called the locust.2


3 In Hist. Anim. iii. 26; Pliny, HN x. 18, xxvi. 4.


5 Grimm, p. 902 f.

6 Sirniece, p. 28.

7 C. G. Seligmann, Melanesians of British New Guinea, pp. 320, 326.


10 A. E. Shipley, art. 'Locust,' in EDC; L. Gautier, art. 'Locust,' art. 'Locust' in DBD.

11 OED. s.v. 'Lobster' and 'Locust.' Old Cornish has lepjaw, and Fr. brunois; cf. Prin. Coll. Hum. 127 (1200 a.D.): 'wide and language his meta.' The word appears to mean originally the 'springer' (the 'grass-hopper'); cf. also Fr. brun-nulle; 'oaten;' and rod, 1927, p. 430; W. Mumford, Germ. Mythen, Berlin, 1835, p. 153; Fl. viii. 143; Sibthorp, ii, 409, 476.

12 Linne, Hist. Anim. iii. 26; Pliny, HN x. 18, xxvi. 4.


14 Grimm, p. 902 f.

15 Sirniece, p. 28.

16 C. G. Seligmann, Melanesians of British New Guinea, pp. 320, 326.

so thick together, but that they could escape a stick warded by a black rainy cloud. 1

Another account, from the Levant, states:—

"Their swarms fill the air, darkening the sky, and the noise of the caterpillars is heard towards nightfall till they light. . . . they often break the branches of the trees. . . . the swarms invariably resume its flight as soon as the sun has set; it is little. . . . it has one time to destroy all the vegetation." 2

In 1889 a swarm over the Red Sea occupied 2000 square miles: its weight was calculated at 42,000 million tons of 

3 Munro, writing of locusts in S. Africa, states that, when driven into the sea, they swim with ease on the backs of a bank from three to four feet thick and from fifty to one hundred miles in length, and the stench from the corruption of their bodies is so intense that it is perceived for a hundred and fifty miles inland. 4 He describes the movements of the locusts as "curious, interesting, and pretty."

3. The locust march.—After the flight the females lay their eggs in the soil, each ovum containing about a hundred eggs.

4 When the tiny creatures issue from their nests . . . the very dust of the ground which was so still before, now seems to thunder. They are driven to move by a process of twisting or rolling over one another, so that for the first few days they receive the name of twisters (south Africa). Within eight or ten days, however, they can jump four or six inches, and after an age of three or four weeks a new characteristic makes its appearance to caper. It is so performed, and in a very graceful manner. The whole countryside moves in a body in one general direction, and more or less in a straight line, as if by common consent, without apparently having any recognised leader or commander. 5

The locusts march thus over the country, they eat everything in their path, and even the bark of trees: they enter houses and "eat the very clothes and curtains at 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 storks are on their way, they resemble and receive from the Boers the name of an army on the march. 6

"It is in this marching stage that the storks do enormous damage and eat every visible thing in their path, and completely destroy the work of the husbandman. They are unlike the flying company of locusts, which only levy toll here and there, and these, when they pass, leave nothing. 7 The black locust," says Post, referring to Palestine, "now spread like a poll over the land, eating every green thing, even stripping the bark of the trees. 8"

The Syrians beat pans, shout, and fire guns to drive off a swarm. When they have settled, they are harried by government enforcement for per capita contribution of eggs, or offers a price for them by weight. When the larve hatch out, in fifteen or twenty days, tranches are dug in their pathways, or fires are built. 9 The only successful method of exterminating locusts was adopted in Cyprus in 1881. Since 1000 the island had been a wilderness. Matthaei, conversant with the habits of the larve, erected an insurmountable wall of calico and leather round the main area. Unable to pass the smooth leather, the locusts fell into the trench dug beneath. At the same time 1 1 000 tons of eggs were destroyed. The plague has been obsolete ever since.

4. Superstition and metaphor.—Among the Dervishoids of Muzarap, when locusts invaded the gardens, the natives catch one, decorate its head with red lead (in accordance with ceremonial custom), salam to it, and let it go. The whole swarm is then believed to depart. 1

When in Syria, when caterpillars invaded a vineyard or field, "the vines were gathered, and one of the caterpillars

2 G. E. Post, loc. cit. 3 A. E. Naplcy, loc. cit.
4 ib. p. 38.
5 ib. p. 57.
6 ib. p. 57.
7 ib. p. 59.
8 ib. p. 59.
9 ib. p. 59.
10 ib. p. 59.
11 ib. p. 228.
12 ib. p. 113.
13 MK. 5' loaves.
14 Lk 101-4. T. K. Cheyne, Art 'Bucks' in EB. 15 H. E. Tristram, Nat. Hist. of the Bible, London, 1913, p. 261. 16 The form and the 'Buck's good for cattle' English dealers call the pods 'locusts.' The hard brown seeds were formerly used by jewellers to weigh gold and silver, hence the word 'carat.' 'Carob' is the Arabic or Persian name for the tree, Ceratonia silbopa (Cheyne, loc. cit.). 17 Wajippra Radd, se.
Baptist being essentially the prophet of repentance. It is impossible to decide a detail which is itself perhaps legendary. But its typical value is great; and, as such, the carob bean proverb leaves little doubt in identification. Treating the detail as an hypothesis, we can reach the same conclusion in favour of Cheyne's view, for this reason, that, while the carob, like all leguminous food, is highly sustaining (the Levantines have always made such food their staple diet), the nutritious value of the individual locust is extremely small, and insufficient, with honey, to support life.

LITERATURE.—This is fully given in the article, excepting J. H. Fair, Soutenir entomologiques (Paris, 1879 ff.), vii. 416-512, 535-557. A. E. CRAYLEY.

LOGIC.—I. DEFINITION.—Exceptional difficulties lie in the way of a general description of logic, because the definite increment of knowledge which is undertaken by primary sciences is not claimed here in a sense that is comparable. In logic we merely 're-traverse familiar ground, and survey the mental processes. We do not, except accidentally, so much as widen our mental horizon' (B. Bosanquet, Essentials of Logic, p. 2). And exceptional pains are necessary in explaining how unfamiliar processes which reveal no unfamiliar faculties which appear to knowledge of the past (Wolf), of the universal and necessary laws of thought without distinction of its objects (Kant), of the processes of the understanding concerned in the estimation of evidence (J. S. Mill). It is the art of thinking (P. Gassendi, Arnaud, of reasoning (A. Whately, Bain), of forming instruments for the direction of the mind (Burgess, E. Sanderson, 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 very varied suggestions as to scope and method. The following are influential examples:


2. 'Such a scheme of 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 science which we may call the Nomology of Mind...Pure Logic is only an artificielle development of the various modes in which they (the primary conditions of the possibility of valid thought) are applied...the laws of thought as thought (Kant, 'Regulative Totality, the Constituent of all knowledge' (Logischen Grundbegriffe, 1858-60, §§ 1, 2, III, 5; 157-159).

3. The forms and laws of thought 'are those subjective modes of the connection of our thoughts which are necessary to us, if we are to express and connect thought' (Lotze, Outlines of Logic, Eng. tr., Boston, 1874, p. 6).

4. 'The doctrine of the regulative laws, on whose observance rests the idea of the identity of the intellectual activity of man' (Ueberweg, System of Logic and Hist. of Logical Doctrines, Eng. tr., London, 1877, § 3).

The subject-matter of Logic is Knowledge (gen. Knowledge, or the form of knowledge; that is, the properties which are possessed by objects or ideas in so far as they are part of the world of knowledge...the characteristics by which the various phases of the one intellectual function are fitted for their place in the intellectual system which constitutes the whole of knowledge' (Bosanquet, Essentials of Logic, p. 44, Logic, i, 3).

These definitions with one consent repudiate the relativity, or voluntarist limitation of knowledge...is suggested by the title 'art'; but the responsibilities which must fall on a professed science they acknowledge only with some qualification. Mill does not propose any scientific investigation which is not already sponsored by psychology. Hamilton attains the specific guarantee by relying on conditions that are 'primary.' The others appear to undertake something further, but with the same marks as are attendant on speculative philosophy. Ueberweg expressly relies on 'universal laws of existence' borrowed from metaphysics, and 'laws of the life of the mind,' from psychology, for 'auxiliary axioms' (§ 2). In order that we may avoid the responsibility of the assumption that the unfamiliar processes of which Bosanquet speaks are 'knowledge' in the same sense as our more natural scientific processes are, and that logical doctrine consists of 'theses to be proved' and 'axioms to be applied,' as Ueberweg claims (§§ 1, 4), comparable while and science cannot define logic as the art of raising the natural scientific processes into explicit self-consciousness. The special labour of logical studies, in any case, is to be undertaken with a view to what psychologists describe as 'acquaintances with,' rather than 'knowledge about,' our natural processes.

'Without logic, the mind of man can admirably energise, admirably reason; but without it, does not know itself through and through; and ignores one of the fairest and most fruitful of its faculties. Logic brings to the mind self-acquaintance. Such is its use, and it cannot be a mere 'art,'' (Bartleby 'St. Hilaire, De la Logique et de l'Arétologie, p. xlii).

We might also require of any doctrine which claims to be logical that it shall be (1) reflective, as distinct from assertive, in its significance; (2) teleological or purposive in its principle, (3) a priori or independent in its authority, (4) theoretical rather than practical in its limitations, and (5) disciplinary, not objective, in its motive.

1. Reflexion.—Reflective contents belong to various kinds of philosophical doctrine. In logical doctrine they recover the reference to personality which has been discarded from scientific, and place an 'I know what...would otherwise be a 'So it is.' This reference is the ground for classifying logic with the sciences specially grouped as mental, as in Hamilton's scheme (Lectures, vol. i. ch. 7); or as an 'integral part of philosophy' (Ueberweg, § 6); and it forbids such arrangements as those made by A. Bain and H. Spencer, where, at least in part, it stands first in the series of natural sciences arranged in the order of abstractness. For logic is what it is, not because it leaves out of consideration the spatial and other aspects of reality which natural sciences accept, but because it accepts something which they reject, and so changes the significance of a scientific statement, in scholastic phrase 'a first intention,' into a 'reflective idea,' or 'second intention.'

2. Purpose.—Knowledge is a form of life, and, like other forms, cannot be explained by detailing its constituent energies or organs, without assuming a finality for the whole. For a completely scientific purposes we can say 'since logic forms of knowledge is the motive power of theoretical effort' (Siggurt, § 62, 6); or, to mark off the occasion for logical study, that 'the fundamental fact which underlies all logical reflection is that we make a distinction, from the point of view of value, between the true and the false' (W. Windelband, in Encyclopaedia of the Philosophical Sciences, Eng. tr., i. 11); or, in co-ordinating cognitive life with
other moments of cosmic existence, that 'the
in the Greek Analytic (E. Croce, Introd., p. 260). Logical consciousness reinforces this
roll, though the doctrine is essentially neither
despcription of the experience nor discrimination of
the faculty nor perspective of the event, but ex-
pression of the habit.

3. Independence.—In analogy with Kant's cele-
brated criticism of knowledge, that it all begins
with experience, but does not all spring from
experience, we can say that logical consciousness
begins with knowledge, but does not spring from
it, or wait for a licence from it in the same way
that empirical science has to wait for its special
data. Even the borrowings from psychology and
metaphysics are not for the purpose of conferring
authority on logic, but are methodical devices
for making it precise, for 'unfolding an inward
conviction,' as Butler claimed to do in regard
to conscience. The logical rule is neither more
nor less authoritative than the example, provided
it is understood by the same; the ill may now
stumbles at the fact that when we want to think
about thought we must, in so doing, already follow
the norms of right-thinking—there is no arguing
with him' (Windelband, loc. cit. i. 25). All we
can do is to frame words of instruction to 'make the rule
followed by the understanding a separate object of
thought' (Logic, Introd. § i).

4. Theory.—Cognition gives us the control of
nature; and the reflective faculty, the control of
self; but the logic is the expression of the reflective
faculty so far, and so far only, as the self is cog-
nitive and there is conscience in science. It is
indifferent to the manifestations of personality in
feeling or action, and even in so much of cognition
as control.

5. Discipline.—Thus the motive of logic is not
furnished by the world of objects, but by the aims
of personality; if an art, it is a cognitive art, if a
science, a disciplinary science; and it is sustained
by our 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 ceremonial
deliberation:

'From the Brahminic decisions on disputed points arising in
the course of sacrifice . . . collected in exegetical and philo-
osophical authorities (Gotama, before the 6th cent. B.C.)
evolved a system' (Bodas, Tarka-Sangrah of
Ananatadeva, Introd. p. 29).

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

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

In Greece it originated with canons of public debate and scientific instruction: the propaganda
of sophistical not by the Sophists, the challenges to
the complacency of popular beliefs issued by
Socrates, the polemics of Zeno.

Some of Aristotle's predecessors, he records, 'had given
rhetorical, others interrogative, discourses to learn—since they
instructed that they should instruct their pupils by delivering,
not by the effects of art' (Nepos, Elenchi, ch. 21). The art
which he constructed deepened, like Gotama's, into
direct reflection and self-communion, for 'dialectic (the art of
discovering, investigating, and deliberating)' . . . (the principle
of all methodical thought) (Topics, i. ch. 2, 3, and
Nepos, Elenchi, ch. 2).

But in the Greek, unlike the Hindu, logical illu-
mination, reflection fastened upon conviction at the
point where mental intelligence merged in the
intelligence of humanity at large—just as in Greek
ethics the good of the individual merges in that of
the State. The Greek forms of proposition and
syllogism 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 analytic science idealizes the inner coherence of such a record, whereby
it dominates the individual intellect, while the
Greek dialectic is the interplay through which vitality, welling from the latter, streams into
the record.

The motive of logic being disciplinary, its method
must be adjusted to the intellectual forces which are
permanently constitutive of civilization; and
its general scope cannot change to the extent to
which other sciences change, where any advance
may open up new vistas of inquiry. Kant is able to
say:

'since Aristotle's time Logic has not gained much in extent,
as indeed its nature forbids that it should. But it may gain in
respect of accuracy, definiteness and distinctness. . . . Aris-
totle has omitted no essential point of the understanding;
we have only to become more accurate, methodical and orderly'
(Logic, Introd. § ii).

Nevertheless, it must share the vicissitudes in
fortune of civilization as a whole. And the more
influential of these, since Aristotle, have been
limited in the range of free judgment during
medieval centuries, the value set upon personality
by modern religion and philosophy, and the acceler-
ating progress of physical sciences in the most
recent times—the words of many among us 'in
connexion with a certain exaggeration in value
which has fallen upon the three Aristotelian de-
partments of doctrine successively in scholastic,
modern, and recent years, and has transformed at
least the dialectic almost beyond recognition.
For the contrasts and controversies between the
historic schools are questions of emphasis and balance in
what might be called the 'dimensions' of logical
discipline, to borrow a conception from geometry;
or in the fundamental 'ideas' used in forming our
conceptions, to borrow from Whewell's philosophy
of all scientific discovery whatever.

In almost every science 'controversies' have 'turned up
the possible relations of ideas, much more than upon the actual
relations of Facts' (Philosophy of Discovery, p. 356).

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—
'the science of the universe is a universe to a
conformity with Ideas which we have in our own minds—the
ideas, for instance, of Space, Force, Substance (Natur
and Composition), and the like . . . the Idealization of Facts' (ib.
p. 356)—

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 to which Logic has been subjected in
virtue of the inner essential perpetuity of its nature' (Windel-
band, loc. cit. i. 9).

But the different 'methods' must be such as are
grounded, if not 'in the systematic continuity of
the philosophical theory of knowledge,' as Windel-
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. We must be con-
scious of the definite germinal organization within
our judgments or inferences, whenever occasion
arises to make a decision concerning the
individual, the individual intelligence merged in the
intelligence of humanity at large—just as in Greek
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right notion; doubt; motive; familiar fact; scholastic tenet; syllogism; hypothetical conclusion; ascertaining; discussion; common error; matter of a reason; permission; necessity; to be argued from—knowing the individual; there are these (sixteen things), there is the attainment of supreme good (Apelphousa, tr. Baillantyne, § 1).1

Most of these topics appear to represent stages in dialectic or in the process of clearing up knowledge by discussion (Adamson, History of Logic, p. 160, etc. Saint-Hilaire). But logic in the long course of its development has always made use of a method dialectical in this sense, which should not be hidden from us as a mere inward motive and significance. While it was as yet only tradition, not a method, its practice was possible and even useful; but 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 expressed in the reforms and elaborations made by Dignāga about A.D. 500.

1 Demonstration and refutation together with their fallacies are used in arguing with others; and Perception and Inference, together with their fallacies, are used for self-understanding; seeing this, I compile this Sāstra (Nyāya-pracīsa, quoted in Vidyākālākāra, Hindu Medieval Logic, p. 89).

2 The conception that the same alliance was turned to forensic uses by Cicero, to academic uses by the scholastics, and to educational uses by the many modern and the now contemporary authors who choose to teach a science of argument, and who use it, is an anachronism.

3 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 such as follow. In place of the logical values upon any given judgment, we must bring into consciousness (1) the extent to which our cognitive faculties are committed to it, perceptually, inferentially, conceptually, or interpretatively; ‘that I shall die’ is inferential, the sense of a sign 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 Wheewell, the‘idea’; (3) the question, or pre-determination 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 truism or is perverted in paradox; (4) the emotive root which makes the proposition ‘worth’ the concern of an individual a worthwhile creating; for ‘truth implies 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 background of life; that I shall not allow heredity for the councils of moral perfection; (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 synthesis; there must be (a) the probandum, defined by doubt and motive; (b) the reason, appealing to a sign; (c) the example, verifying a principle of signification; (d) the application, investing the reason with the significance of the example; and (e) the conclusion, establishing the probandum as a significate. ‘That I shall die, seeing that I am but human, as my fathers died before they were human? For I am as more adverse critics, I, must die.’ It is the transition from the problematic to the assertory phase of thought that saddens the application and conclusion from the reason and probandum—a transition which disappears in all the other sciences of the universe because it disappears in proofs and static formulations, as distinct from the processes, of knowledge. The remainder of the sixteen topics are adjustments imposed on a conviction by its entrance into an environment of other convictions on the same question, by its encounter with convictions current in the world of other persons, and by the entrance of its motive into a system of other motives within our manifold practical nature, an organism where cognition, after all, is only one of the forces constituting its life.

2. Consistency.—Under the more complex social and intellectual conditions of life in Greece, the logical consciousness of the logos took on the contact of individual thinking with this ‘static formulation’ of knowledge. And the ‘idea’ most essential for forming conceptions suitable to the spiritual emergency is that of consistency. It is not the consistency of the method, which in modern times became the idea of Hamilton and the ‘subjectively formal’ logicians, but that which makes possible the allegiance of individual intellects, with varying perceptions, memories, and premonitions, to common formulations of knowledge.

(a) Interpretative. In recent psychology the paradoxical tenet is held that, while a permanently existing idea appearing in consciousness ‘at periodical intervals’ is a mythological entity, yet the mind can have no ideas of the same (W. James, Text-book of Psychology, London, 1892, chs. xi. and xiv.). Similarly, we may say that, while a judgment identical in many minds is mythological, varying acts of judgment may give allegiance to knowledge.

The philosophy 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 such as follow. In place of the logical values upon any given judgment, we must bring into consciousness (1) the extent to which our cognitive faculties are committed to it, perceptually, inferentially, conceptually, or interpretatively; 'that I shall die' is inferential, the sense of a sign 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 'idea'; (3) the question, or pre-determination 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 truism or is perverted in paradox; (4) the emotive root which makes the proposition 'worth' the concern of an individual a worthwhile creating; for 'truth implies 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 background of life; that I shall not allow heredity for the councils of moral perfection; (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 synthesis; there must be (a) the probandum, defined by doubt and motive; (b) the reason, appealing to a sign; (c) the example, verifying a principle of signification; (d) the application, investing the reason with the significance of the example; and (e) the conclusion, establishing the probandum as a significate. 'That I shall die, seeing that I am but human, as my fathers died before they were human? For I am as more adverse critics, I, must die.' It is the transition from the problematic to the assertory phase of thought that saddens the application and conclusion from the reason and probandum—a transition which disappears in all the other sciences of the universe because it disappears in proofs and static formulations, as distinct from the processes, of knowledge. The remainder of the sixteen topics are adjustments imposed on a conviction by its entrance into an environment of other convictions on the same
according to order of terms (Kant); and puerile that indirect conceptions should be referred to their own list of instances; and an error that syllogism is an estimate of evidence (Mill); and a usurpation that the formalities of deduction should be limited to syllogistic, and to propositions with two terms only, and to terms rather than objective relations, and to the logical relation only of inclusion and exclusion (L. Couturat, in *Encyc. Philos. Sciences*, i. 167-169).

(b) Conceptual.—A second direction in which consistency may be sought is between the thoughts of the moment and an identity or permanency of personal knowledge, hardly distinguishable from 'meaning the same,' as described in psychology, but quite-distinguishable from the impersonal truth or universally human trend assumed by Aristotle.

The pythagorean workers of the impersonal logicians is replaced by an equally mythological content of the personal microcosm, a static conceptual structure to which our ever variable thoughts conform. The 'subjectively formal' or 'conceptual' logic is the content for the stylist of the 'subject.' It originated with Kant's discrimination between the section of his *Critique of the Pure Understanding* which he named 'Transcendental Logic,' where the 'forms' of ideas as contributions of the mind to the constitution of its objects, and the 'General Logic,' where 'forms' are relations of cognitions to each other (*Critique*, bk. ii. Introd. § 2. *Logic*, Introd. § 1). Once more, then, as in the Hindu discipline, knowledge is referred to personality; but personality ceases being an isolated center of motive interest, to be disciplined for its high destiny, but as a realm of mere abstractions, namely cognitions outside the world of natural sciences, yet metamorphosed through the course of transcendental reflexion. Reason itself, not forgetting of this origin, found in knowledge a dimension of 'relevance' as well as one of consistency. In the living thought he found an interplay corresponding to the pythagorean works of the transcendental 'object.' And, while accepting the law of non-contradiction as the principle of such inference as is merely possible, he added a law of reason and consequence, for the cogency of any actual inference. *Logic* proceeds in a tightly ordered second law we encounter transcendental distinctions, such as between 'logical' or *a priori* universals and 'quasi-logical' or inductive. And the neo-Kantian school of logicians better their introductions to the detailed conceptions of intellectual synthesis framed in transcendental logic. To others, however, still following the disciplinary motive, and unconcerned with the origin of the new realm commended to them for study, the only dimension of recognizable independence of every physical or primary object, in which cognitions could be related to each other, appeared to be consistency.

The stricter followers of the Kantian logical idea, e.g., Mauet and Spinoza, regard as sole principles which can be said to be involved universally in the action of thought, the laws of identity, non-contradiction, and excluded middle, and in their hands logic becomes merely the systematic statement of these laws, and the exposition of the conditions which they impose upon notions, judgments, and reasonings (*Adanson*, p. 10).

(c) Symbolic.—More recently, a third direction in which consistency might be followed has been taken, which seems to presuppose, if not the facts abstracts of transcendental logic, yet still the reflective valuations of general logic. Given these, it furnishes a 'elector,' more precise, and more diagnostically useful than expression that reveals and an equivalence between them. Algebra renders a similar service to arithmetic, but without raising any doubt as to the scientific priority of the latter. Symbolic logic is at least a discipline in consistency when we make logical reflexions. Whether it is also a direct discipline in scientific knowledge, as the older formal logic is, and so may supersede or absorb it, is a matter of decision, and an error that syllogism is an estimate of evidence (Mill); and a usurpation that the formalities of deduction should be limited to syllogistic, and to propositions with two terms only, and to terms rather than objective relations, and to the logical relation only of inclusion and exclusion (L. Couturat, in *Encyc. Philos. Sciences*, i. 167-169).

But on every logic of consistency, however judiciously its pretensions may be restrained, one critical comment may be made:

'I do not desire the science of considering this limited portion of Logic apart from the rest ... but the smaller Logic, which only concerns itself with the conditions of consistency, ought to be, at least finally, studied by the logicians which embraces all the general conditions of the ascertainment of truth (Mill, *Essays, of Sir W. Hamilton*).

3. Relevance.—The larger logic was inaugurated by Aristotle through the addition of his *Posterior Analytics* to the *Prior*. No demonstrative proposition (e.g., about numbers or lines) is taken as referring to "any number you may please," "any straight line you may know of," but to the entire subject or to every possible number or line, etc., etc.

Relevance is that in the 'things we know of,' when we possess or receive a demonstration, relieves us from the need of similarly knowing of the 'entire subject.' It is what Boasquiat describes as 'an inmost character' of the content of knowledge, as revealed by the intra-ordinal relations in which it is found capable of standing' (*Essentials*, p. 40). Aristotle conceives relevance as embodied in 'universalis.' Medieval Hindu logicians (Dignaga, Divakara, [c. A.D. 550], and Candali [c. A.D. 590]) taught 'secondary ideas,' or 'abstract conceptions' in the process of inference, and authorized a 'syllogism for self' in which this dispensed with the analogy between 'example' and 'application' still required in the 'syllogism,' an isolated center of motive interest, to be disciplined for its high destiny, but as a realm of mere abstractions, namely cognitions outside the world of natural sciences, yet metamorphosed through the course of transcendental reflexion. Reason itself, not forgetting of this origin, found in knowledge a dimension of 'relevance' as well as one of consistency. In the living thought he found an interplay corresponding to the pythagorean works of the transcendental 'object.' And, while accepting the law of non-contradiction as the principle of such inference as is merely possible, he added a law of reason and consequence, for the cogency of any actual inference. *Logic* proceeds in a tightly ordered second law we encounter transcendental distinctions, such as between 'logical' or *a priori* universals and 'quasi-logical' or inductive. And the neo-Kantian school of logicians better their introductions to the detailed conceptions of intellectual synthesis framed in transcendental logic. To others, however, still following the disciplinary motive, and unconcerned with the origin of the new realm commended to them for study, the only dimension of recognizable independence of every physical or primary object, in which cognitions could be related to each other, appeared to be consistency.

The universal as a principle assures applications that might escape the 'secondary idea.' 'Man is mortal, therefore I, too, must be mortal,' although men instinctively may 'think all men mortal but themselves.' The inevitability was not objective, as Plato's metaphysics might imply, but inferential.

'It does not follow, if demonstration is to exist, that there must be ideas, metaphysics in the sense that it does follow that some unity must be truly predictable of the many' (*Post. Anat. 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 foretell, 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 discarded the static, self-sufficing constitution, which amounts to spring arbitrary reason. The achievements of reason must themselves become conscious under the guidance of logical conceptions more liberal, such as 'conditions of a rule' (Kant), 'laws of connexion' between attributes (Mill), 'coherence' of conceptual 'content' (Lotze), or 'identity of relational system' (Boasquiat). Two distinct operations of reason must be traced: that which explains the comparative complexity of universals whose constituents are available, and that which explains the selection of constituents from the passive sequences of experience.

(a) Deductive.—The definite logic of the first begins with Descartes, and that of the second with Bacon. The interest of modern mathematical
science supplied to Descartes the 'doubt' and 'motive,' to use Hindu logical conceptions, which brought to an end the Aristotelian superstition of 'second substances,' and suggested a scheme of rationalistic determinism—either conception of a further dimension of logical value—that of system. In this we may conceive the 'additional aids' which transform aspiration into accomplished science. Relevance is a selective principle, system a comprehensive.

4. System.—A conviction which cannot be a stable truth through sheer restrictions of internal relevancy may have value through its membership of a world of other convictions—other conceptions not defined by the same question, as in the Hindu system of standards, but by questions in all degrees of kinship to it. (a) Deductive.—Aristotle's Topics marks out a sphere where such value may be traced by exceedingly 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 probable judgments, and which will instruct us how to proceed to a decision. Let us suppose that we ourselves sustain an argument. . . . We can call what appears to all men, or to the mass of people, and, among the wise, to all, to the greater number, or to the most distinguished and authoritative (Top. i, 14).

The wide ramifications of relevance of any conviction to the remainder of knowledge are suggested by a variety of incidental methods or 'auxiliary aids' to insight.

The organ by which we find materials for religious and inductions are . . . collection of opinion from various sources, resolution of ambiguities in meaning, discrimination between species and genera, association of things to each other or in their relation to other things (Top. i, 15).

(b) Methodological.—In the modern era a more systematic study of system was begun by the Neumann Organism of Bacon, the methodological reflections of scientists themselves, and the theories of explanation, as distinguished from eliminative induction, and of approximate generalization, 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 and thereby (CONCEPT AND INFERENCE). And in this process we both accept limitations from, and contribute pulsations to, a progressive sum of cognitive life.

The logic of system frames conceptions of the limitation and the contribution of the codification of facts by superinduction of conceptual schemata (Whewell), the depth to which conceptions 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. Enriques). In the dimension of system, 'truth can only be tested by more of itself' (Bossav, Lectures on Logic).

LITERATURE.—No bibliography of logic with any approach to completeness appears to have been attempted. J. M. Baldwin, DPhil, vol. ii, pt. 2 (New York, 1905), and the Catalogue of Yen Collected, Univ. Lib., Cambridge, 1895, are the most useful. Reference is advisable to the following selection of representative authors—other conceptions:'

(b) History, scope, and utility.—C. Prantl, Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande, 2 vols, Leipzig, 1883 (the fullest history down to the Middle Ages); P. Harnot, Geschichte der Logik, Berlin, 1881; A. Frank, Épigraphie d'une histoire de la logique, Paris, 1888; P. Janet and G. Séailles, 26è de la philosophie, pt. 2, do. 1887; R. Adamson, A Short History of Logic, London, 1913; W. Whewell, On the Philosophy of Discovery, do. 1869; Eliot, art. 'Logic'; Routledge, 1000 Years of Philosophy, Eng. tr., London, 1933, vol. 3.

(2) Hindu.—P. F. Max Müller, Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, London, 1889; S. Sugiyama, Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan, Philadelphia, 1909; J. R. Ballantine,
been done upon them, from the Jain scriptures, that an unwritten and uncodified body of normative principles and methods of thought had long existed in India. The early medieval logics are among the most conspicuous, expanding and reorganising the logical categories applied in earlier works. These categories included classifications of knowledge, doctrines of terms and propositions, methods of induction, fallacies, and, possibly, in the Jain classics, syllogisms. Of the methods and categories themselves the early works say little or nothing. Those works are the expression of the greater or constructive stage of the Buddhist and Jain movements. The Buddhist scriptures are often critical; but they either express traditions we are used to holding the field, rather than the principles and methods of deduction and induction of their day.

Two passages in the Suttas afford an apparent exception to this assertion. In these, certain matters are declared to be 'not in the sphere of tokka', rendered by Rhys Davids and K. Otto Franke 'mere logic' (turaka-stastra, or 'rules of thought', is one of the technical Indian terms for logic). And logic-mongers (takāra) and pedants (tākāra), as we might be said to arrive at fantastic theories. Again, in prescribing a pragmatic criterion of the merits of a religious doctrine, the Buddha is said to have excluded such criteria as authority, tradition, etc., and has declared that 'effect and cause' and 'condition, cause, inference' and naya ('method') practically covering all reasoned thinking in both Jainist and Buddhist books. This depreciation of the five methods and the conceptions of the orthodox theory of knowledge in early Buddhism, has given rise to the mistaken view that Buddhists rejected both logical method and the validity of any knowledge established by it. But a careful consideration of the two Suttas quoted above, in the light of the sober intellectual method prevailing in the great majority of the Suttas, brings us to a very different conclusion. In the latter passage the soundness of any ethical doctrine or gospel is held to be rightly tested, not by metaphorical dialectic, but by a utilitarian calculus. In the former passage the 'logic' that is condemned as inadequate is such as often finds condemnation among ourselves, when we feel rather than discern that deductions are being made from overworked, overdrawn terms, from wrong data, from words ambiguously used. Only a culture which has a logic of recreated inductions will condemn such misuse of deduction as mere logic, since the penalties implied by such effect reasoning that the noble formulation of right thinking should, in popular usage, inure reproach, as if it had failed in general.

The Buddhist Sutta and Abhidhamma Pitaka afford unmistakable evidence of (1) the existence of a current logical doctrine, (2) misuse of the same by dialecticians or 'sophists', deducing from confused terms and wrong premises, and (3) a constant failure in the appeal of argument, and argument, i.e. to logical faculty, and to logical principles. The Suttas, or discourses, are in great part addressed to relatively immature minds—to the 'man in the street' and to the average bhikkhu or sahha (learner in the Order). But the proportion of discourses filled with categorical assertions is very small. Most of them seek to capture the listener by argument. No sentence occurs oftener than Tuva kisā hetu, 'What is the reason of that?'. The prevailing method is no more critical than the Buddhist: it is not to fill with categorical assertions very small. Most of them seek to capture the listener by argument. No sentence occurs oftener than Tuva kisā hetu, 'What is the reason of that?'. The prevailing method is no more critical than the Buddhist; it is to fill with categorical assertions very small. Most of them seek to capture the listener by argument. No sentence occurs oftener than Tuva kisā hetu, 'What is the reason of that?'. The prevailing method is no more critical than the Buddhist; it is to fill with categorical assertions very small. Most of them seek to capture the listener by argument. No sentence occurs oftener than Tuva kisā hetu, 'What is the reason of that?'.
interlocutors is one of gentle 'reasonableness' (to adopt Matthew Arnold's rendering of eminere). And upekkha (upekkha), 'knowledge', 'science', which is the title-word in the oldest Indian logical method, is used synonymously with adhipa (archa), 'truth'; as forming, with dhamma ('right' or 'norm') and kusala ('good'), the threefold foundation on which the perfect man should be established.2 In the somewhat later collection called Abhidhamma Pitaka, where doctrines, put forward 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 in the medical and metaphysical division, but sometimes, in the dictitivem Indian method of presenting the by us so-called Laws of Thought, thus: Is A B? If not, is A C? If not, is A both B and not-C? 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 books entitled Yamaka and Kathavatthu, 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 prominently in the earliest Buddhist and Jain treatises on logic. Nor, indeed, do the paired words pāramīya (paramīya) 'cogent, correct' and anyādāna ('mediate knowledge', 'inference') apparently occur in the Pitakas as the indispensable logical terms which they subsequently became.4 Nevertheless, the Suttas and the Abhidhamma texts, when read together, will show how far knowledge and illustrative matter disconcerted, present so varied an appeal to the intellect of their age that it is not surprising if one result of the paramounty of Buddhist culture was to yield a harvest, not only of psychology more general, admirable, that may appear likely to those who see in logic only an academic exercise. By intellectual procedure, according to the norms of logic is the interpreter rather than the discourse which is the condition of the general data of experience inductively and deductively. And that procedure has centred round certain concepts here, round other concepts there. The difference in emphasis thus produced tends to be more absolute, hindering both mutual understanding and also thereby a positive, general advance in philosophy. The system, for instance, of definition by genus and species, by division by dichotomy only, of subsuming the particular under the more general, admirable as it has proved in all quantitative analysis, may prove a hindrance in estimating qualitative values in aesthetic and spiritual inquiry. The Buddhist scriptures did not keep rigidly to this (peculiarly Greek) lines in their analyses. They did not always, or empirically, see things as decomposable substances, in wholes and particulars. Their founder disliked 

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LOGOS

LOGOS.—The Greek word λόγος has no exact equivalent in any other language. Just as Goethe's Poems, when translated into the English of the Fourth Gospel into German, tries in succession and rejects Wort, Sinn, Kraft, and finally decides upon That, so Latin theology wavered between Verbum, Sermo, and Ratio before accepting 2. Not an ekhandana, but a bhikkhakāra (Mahañca Nikāya, ii. 197). The Suttas, or mother school, were long known as Vihāravibhavā. 3. Abhidhamma Pitaka (PTS, 1907), 100, passim; Abhidhamma Pitaka (PTS, 1915), 2, passim.

2. C. S. D. N. Kadavarkkal, v. 19, with i. 180; Roy Davids, Buddhist Logic, i. 273 (in the Ilam). The formula of causation is repeatedly called Aya (in Buddhist sūtra).
3. Ed. for PTS, 1901-05, 1904-06. The PTS is publishing a treatise on metaphysics, 1802.
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C. A. F. R. H. R. DAVIES.

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The Logos idea begins with Heraclitus of Ephesus (c. 535-475 B.C.), who, as F. M. Cornford has rightly maintained, represents a mystical reaction against the materialism of the Ionian philosophers. For him the visible world is a symbol of a system which has a beginning and end, and real truth or reality is the divine soul of the world, whose life is manifested in the endless cycle of birth and death, of becoming, change, decay, and renewal. Therefore there is one Logos, the same throughout all the world, which is the end of one. This wisdom we may win by searching within ourselves; it is open to all men to know themselves and be wise. The divine soul is 'Nature,' the cosmic process; it is God; it is Φως, the life-principle, the Logos, life itself. All human laws are fed by the one divine law. It prevails as much as it will, and is sufficient and more than sufficient for all things. This Logos is the immanent reason of the world; it exists (the term is inadequate) between God and the world, being the regulating principle of the universe, the divine intelligence. In Plato, though he was the founder of a philosophy in which the Logos was to find a congenial home, there is but little that bears directly on our subject. The world, he says in the Timaeus (p. 29 f.), is created by a fusion of mind and necessity; it is itself a living and rational organism, the 'only begotten (ωνομικός) son of God, itself a God, and the 'express image' (θεώχε) of the Highest.

In Stoicism the philosophy of Heraclitus received a new life and fresh developments. Like Heraclitus, the Stoics regarded Fire as the primordial substance and the material principle of the divine. Embodied with inherent productive activity, it is the 'semeial Reason' (?key σφραγίας) of the world, which manifests itself in all the phenomena of nature. These phenomena, or, rather, the advances which from them are often called σφραγίας, in the plural. Christian writers like Justin Martyr laid hold of this doctrine to connect Greek philosophy with their own religion. Every man, Justin taught, at his birth participates in the universal Reason, which he identifies with the Johannine Logos which 'lighteth every man.' Accordingly, he argues, hearthenlike Heraclitus and Socrates, in so far as they lived περι Νοότος, may be claimed as Christian, and may be saved. The seminal Logos of the Stoics, when spoken of as a name of the Divine procedure, is the logical principle of the cosmic process, which He directs to a rational and moral end. This power is not present in all creatures equally; only man participates in it so fully that he may be regarded as a real effluence of the Deity. The Stoics distinguished between the Logos φραγίας, the potential, unmanifested Reason, and the Νοός σφραγίας, the thought of God expressed in action. This distinction led to a new emphasis being laid on the other meaning of Νοότος, as 'word.' Plato found in this way Stoicism made it easier for Jewish philosophy to identify the Greek Νοός with the half-personified 'Word of Jehovah.' Words and thoughts, according to the Stoics, were the same things regarded under different aspects. The same Νοός which is Thought as long as it resides in the breast is Word as soon as it comes forth. The distinction between φραγίας and σφραγίας, often used by Philo and the Greek Christians, was first clearly drawn by Aristotle between ὁ Ἄνθρωπος and ὁ ἐν τῷ φύσι. Christian writers found another fruitful idea in the Stoic doctrine that, since the one Logos is present in many human souls, men may achieve commumonence and participation in the same Logos. The Logos-Christ might be explained Stoically as the indwelling revealer of the Father, with whom He is one; as the vital principle of the universe; as the spiritual truth, as Law, or will of God, as the highest morality; and last, but not least, as the living bond of union between the various members of His 'body.' The world, for Stoicism, is simple and unique (ἐν τίνι μόνον); it is a living creature (ζώον εν ζώοις). The Spirit (φύσις) goes through all things, formless itself, but the creator of forms. The Logos, as World-Idea, is also single and simple (ἐν τὶ μόνον), though it assumes manifold forms in its plastic self-unfolding. It is identified with Fate (τελεσκογεία) and Stoelus says:

1 Fate is the λόγος of the θεοσ, or the λόγος of those things in the universe which are directed by providence (ρητωρία). Chrysippus, however, instead of Law, Truth, Cause, Nature, Necessity, and other words (Ed. i. 130).

The question whether Stoicism identified God with the Logos is not easy to answer. E. Zeller is probably right in saying that it was rigidly pantheistic—it was a form of naturalistic monism: Deus sine Nature. Origens says that the Stoics and the Platonists both call the world God; but for Stoicism the world is the supreme God, for the Platonists only God in the second place. But the opponents of Stoicism are too harsh when they say that the Stoics bring in God only in order to be in the fashion. It was their religious need that made them bring Him in. Perhaps they could not consistently find room for any God above the Logos, but in fact they did ascribe to the Deity more personal attributes than could correspond to their Logos. They were certainly able to feel enthusiastic devotion to the Logos as the principle of law and righteousness. This is shown by the famous hymn of Cleanthes:

'Thee it is lawful for all mortals to address. For we are Thine offspring, and alone of living creatures that live and walk the earth moulded in the image of all. Therefore we offer Thy sacrifice, and celebrate Thy power. All this universe, rolling round the earth, owns Thee, and doth fear Thy majesty, that is: 0 King most high, nothing is done without Thee, neither in heaven nor on earth nor on the sea, except what the holy and noble, the just, the wise do in their freedom. They give Thee honour and reverence, and things that arise find in Thee a friend; for Thou hast fitted together good and evil into one, and hast established one Reason (λόγος) that lasteth for ever. Thus live, O Lord, in Thy Law, unbroken ones, and though they desire to possess what


2 From Requalification to Philosophy, London, 1912, p. 131.
is good, yet they see not, neither do they hear, the universal law of God. . . . But O God, giver of all things, who dwellest in dark clouds and rulest over the thunder, deliver men from their sins and forgive all things done by them, and help the poor to obtain wisdom, for by wisdom dost Thou rightly govern all things; that, being honoured, we may repay Thee with honour, since Thy works without ceasing, as we ought to do.

There is no greater thing than this, for mortal men or for gods, to be made new in the image of God (Ps. 8:6).

In fact, this conception of a gerninative 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 in any earlier system of Greek philosophy.

2. In Jewish-Alexandrian theology. — Hebrew thought about the ‘Word of the Lord’ does not enter the subject of the present article until the later tendency arose to personify the self-revealing activity of Jahweh. The earlier books of the OT connect the operations of the Memra with three ideas—creation, providence, and revelation. God spake the word, and the worlds were made; then at once His spirit, or breath, gives life to what the Word creates, and renews the face of the earth. The protecting care of God for the chosen people is attributed to the Jewish God in the Memra. Besides this, the ‘Word of the Lord’ inspires prophecy and imparts the Law. The tendency to personify the activities of Jahweh is seen in the expressions used about the Angel, the Name, the Gloaming, above all, the Memra. 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 147:15, Is 55:11, 12, Ps 33, Jer 25:1. Nevertheless, the personification is more common in a poetical and metaphysical world, except in writers completely under Greek influence.

On the whole, in the later books the conception of Wisdom tends to displace 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 her ways. God created or prepared her before the world was made; she was by His side when He planned the scheme of the world-order; she was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him. Therefore He assures those who listen to her of His power and goodness.

The Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom of Solomon exhibit a further development of Jewish thought in the direction of Greek philosophy. Ecclesiasticus presents us with a pessimistic philosophy quite alien from Judaism and strongly influenced by Stoicism, though the trend is masked by numerous interpolations. Ecclesiasticus 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 Ecclesiastes, and resents their attribution to Solomon; but his doctrine of the divine Wisdom is applicable by God’s decree to all nations; it is Wisdom in man, belonging to the divine essence, and yet existing in quasi-independence side by side with God. Wisdom was the active agent in the creation of the world, selecting and ordering the objects of His creation; 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.

The identification of ‘Wisdom’ with the Greek Logos is almost explicitly made, as is the identification of Wisdom with the Holy Spirit of God. In 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 enunciates the two main ideas about the Logos; he achieves a symmetrium of divergent Greek conceptions. His Logos is a combination of the Platonic ideas and Stoic universal causality. He takes over the main Stoic conception, but detaches it from materialism, and tries to harmonize it with the Platonic theory that visible things are only types of realities laid up in the intelligible world. His Logos is much like Plato’s idea of the Good, except that it is regarded as a creative active. Philo found this conception useful, because he wished to conceive of the divine activity Hellenically, without ceasing to believe in the OT Jahweh. Jewish thought had been in danger of separating the Creator so completely from the angels as to produce an intolerable dualism. This tendency had been mitigated by poetical personification. Philo fixed these poetical symbols, and turned them from poetry to metaphysics by identifying the Memra with the Stoic Logos Platonicized.

The Logos dwells with God as His vice-gerent. 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 of itself in creation. He represents the world before God as High Priest, Intercessor, Paraclete. He is the Shekinah, or glory of God; but also the darkness or shadow of God, since the creature half conceals and half reveals the Creator. He is the intelligible world, the archetypal universe of the Platonists, and the real life of the world that we know. In man He operates as the higher reason. If we ask whether the Logos is an aspect of the divine nature or an individual of God, the answer is not easy to reconcile. The rational part of the soul exhibits the type of the Logos, the ‘second Deity’; no mortal could be formed in the likeness of the supreme Father of the world, or ever brought into comparison with Him. But elsewhere the Logos appears to be only an attribute of God.

As an orthodox Jew (or one who wished to pass for orthodox), Philo cannot have thought of affirming two divine agents. And yet the Platonic doctrine of a transcendent unknowable being required a divine vice-gerent, while the Stoic Logos had been an independent, immanent world-principle, very different from the Hebrew Jahweh. The amalgamation of these doctrines into the earlier Logos is therefore hard to reconcile. The rational part of the soul exhibits the type of the Logos, the ‘second Deity’; no mortal could be formed in the likeness of the divine Father of the world, or ever brought into comparison with Him. But elsewhere the Logos appears to be only an attribute of God. As an orthodox Jew (or one who wished to pass for orthodox), Philo cannot have thought of affirming two divine agents. And yet the Platonic doctrine of a transcendent unknowable being required a divine vice-gerent, while the Stoic Logos had been an independent, immanent world-principle, very different from the Hebrew Jahweh. The amalgamation of these doctrines into the earlier Logos is therefore hard to reconcile. The rational part of the soul exhibits the type of the Logos, the ‘second Deity’; no mortal could be formed in the likeness of the divine Father of the world, or ever brought into comparison with Him. But elsewhere the Logos appears to be only an attribute of God.

Philo is a thoroughly Plotinian passage he says:

‘God appears in His unity when the soul, being perfectly purified and having transended all multiplicity, not only the multiplicity of numbers but even the dual which is nearest to unity, passes on to the unity which is unmingled, simple, and complete in itself.’ (De Abrahamo, 22).
But this is not a common line of speculation in Philo.

In the NT the technical use of the word Logos is found in the Fourth Gospel (unless we should add the Logos as a poetic designation in Philo; (4) But it is important to observe that St. Paul, especially in his later Epistles, gives us almost the whole of the Logos-doctrine which we read in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. The conception of Christ as a cosmic principle is even more emphasized in Colossians than in the Gospel. When we read of the Pauline Christ that He is the image of God, that in Him the Pleroma of the Godhead dwells in bodily form, that He was the agent in creation, and the founder of the Logos through whom are all things, that He pre-existed in the form of God, that He is the first-born of all creation, in whom and through whom to and from all things, that all things are summed up in Him, that He is all and in all, that His reign is co-extensive with the world's history, that He is life-giving Spirit, abiding in the souls of His disciples, forming Himself in them, and transforming them into His likeness, enlightening them and uniting them in one body with Himself, it does not seem that a candid criticism can deny that all the elements of a complete Logos-theology are to be found in the Pauline Epistles. Without assuming any direct influence of Pseudo-Philo, which is perfectly possible, it is notable that the Jewish-Alexandrian Logos-philosophy has a great and increasing influence upon St. Paul's doctrine of the Person of Christ. In proportion as the apocalyptic Messianism which we find in Thessalonians and later, and upon which he was dependent, was abridged or simplified, the Logos-philosophy—a type of which we associate with the name of St. John. It must not be supposed that this statement stands or falls with the authenticity of Colossians and Ephesians. The Epistles to the Corinthians contain similar language.

The large obligations of the author of the Fourth Gospel to the Philonian school cannot reasonably be denied, though they have often been questioned. It is clear from the tone of the Prologue that Philo's conception of the Logos, or something akin to it, was already familiar to those for whom the Evangelist wrote. No explanation of the word Logos is given; and almost every verse in the Prologue is parallel to a verse in Philo. Technical terms from Philo (ἐφόναγμα and παρελεύθερον are examples) abound in the Gospel. Indeed, the whole treatment adopted by the Evangelist presupposes the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of religion, and would be unintelligible without it. Nevertheless, it is true that the identification of the historical Jesus with the Logos, and of the Jewish Messiah with the Logos, makes a great difference. Philo had never thought of identifying the Logos with the Messiah—a figure in which he took very little interest. The chief differences (which have often been exaggerated) between the Philonian and Johannine Logoses are these: (1) the Evangelist defines far more clearly the relation of the Logos to God, as a second Person in the Godhead, distinct, though eternally inseparable from the Father; (2) the notion of the Father as a transcendent unapproachable Being, to be known only through an intermediate, is foreign to the Gospel, in which God the Father acts directly upon the world; it is in consequence of the activity thus attributed to God the Father that the creative function of the Logos loses its interest and is not referred to after the Prologue; (3) in the Gospel the Logos, or the Son of God, is often presented as the Logos-Christ is the complete revelation of the character of God rather than of His nature; the revelation of the Divine as self-sacrificing love is an idea not to be found in Philo; it follows that the conception of life, which implies growth, change, and development, has an importance for the Evangelist which it could not have had for Philo; (4) But it is not only the Incarnation? The difference between the two writers here has often been magnified by orthodox critics. Philo believed in theophanies, and could have easily accepted a docteic theory of the Incarnation. The Fourth Evangelist is no docteic; but for him too the Incarnation was primarily a revelation. The Johannine Christ became flesh that we might 'bekold his glory,' and learn what could only thus be taught. But a real Incarnation, the revelation of the Logos through whom are all things, has been inconceivable to Philo, for whom no historical event seems to have any importance as such. The Logos-doctrine of the Prologue may be briefly summarized as follows. From all eternity, before time began, the Logos was. He is supernatural, 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 (ἐπὶθέτησα) God. The preposition indicates the closest union, with a sort of exaltation, as in 'kethethetai (of the Logos). The Father alone is the θεός θεοτόκος. The opening words of the Prologue do not (with Meyer, Weiss, etc.) refer to the exaltation of Christ, but to His eternal relationship to the Father. Domination was to the Greeks a light thing. The Evangelist shows that the principles of distinction and deeper unity are in God Himself. 'All things came into being through the Logos,' who is the mediater Agent in creation. Apart from him, he apprehended more and more to the type of Christology which we associate with the name of St. John. That which has come into being was, in him, life. Bossuet, following Augustine, comments rightly: 'Everything, even immortal things, were life in the eternal Word, by his idea and eternal thought.'

The Logos is the light of men as life; that is to say, revelation is vital and dynamic. God reveals Himself as vital law to be obeyed and lived. The cosmic process, including, of course, the spiritual history of mankind and of the individual, is the sole field of revelation. 'The light shineth in darkness.' As the first step in the first creation was to divide the light from the darkness, so the new creation effects the same division in the moral and spiritual sphere. 'And the darkness arrested (3) it not.'

'This is the genuine light, which lighteth every man as it comes into the world.' 'He was (always) in the world, and the world knew him not.' And the Logos became flesh and tabernacled among us. Here (v.14) the Evangelist mentions the Incarnation for the first time. The Logos, who from all eternity was fully divine (θεός), became flesh (assumed visible humanity) at a certain time. It is not easy to say whether the Evangelist conceived of the Logos existing before the Incarnation as 'true man from all eternity'; but 30 and 62 (cf. I Co 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 before the Incarnation was, according to this thought, θεύανθρωπος, though not ἑνδοκρατος. The Prologue thus lends up to the Incarnation of the Logos,

There was nothing strange in this doctrine. The book of Proverbs (62) 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. 35: ἐπιθέτησα γὰρ τὸν θεὸν πάντα πᾶν ἰσός ἐστιν. This too is probably right.

3 This is precisely what Hilgenfeld also says about the Logos.

which is the theme of the whole Gospel, though the historical form precludes any further discussion of the subject on its philosophical side. The neglect of selected metaphysical and illustrative value, and the whole tendency of the treatise is quietly to transmute local and temporal 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 ocular evidence. The ascended Christ can be 'touched' 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 Christian Church. It was the answer of orthodox Catholicism to various theories of the Person of Christ which at that time seemed plausible—those which made Jesus a phantom, or an emanation, or a demi-god. Heretical thought, the down to and including Arianism, tended to rank Christ with the imaginary intermediate Spirits 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 λόγος ἀπό εὐγένειας τοῦ θεοῦ, ¹ which has a Gnostic ring, since Valentianus was soon to make Logos and Zoe the offspring of Bythos and Genesis. Tatian has identified the Son with the Logos of God, just as Philo identifies Law and Logos. In the Acts of John the Logos-conception is separated from the man Jesus, so that Christ with His disciples can sing the praises of the Logos. And yet Jealous. This cross of light is sometimes called by Me, Logos, sometimes Jesus, sometimes Christ, sometimes ως, etc. In Montanism (q. v.) this notion of the Logos as a πνεύματος of divine attributes was maintained. The 15-Montesian 'Alogi' represented a reaction against this tendency. They were ‘feeble reptiles’ (ιερον ἀθροίστες) according to Epiphanius. This was a time of unrestrained theological speculation, in which an attempt was made to throw the Logos-conception a mass of heterogeneous elements—Jewish, Greek, and Oriental. The Fourth Gospel had a very steadying effect, when it was accepted as canonical; and so had the writings of the Apologists—Justin, Tatian, Theophilus, and Athenagoras. 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; ² 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 'Spermatie Logos,' the Reason of God, at first immaterial in the Father's bosom, then sent forth as the spoken word for creation and judgment; 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.' Tatian ³ gives us a Stoic-Christian cosmology. The Logos was first developed from the bosom of the Father. Then, by the will of the Father, He came forth, and the worlds were made. The Logos is the ἐσχίσμα in relation to the creatures. Theophilus ⁴ employs the Stoic terms ἁπάντας and προφοράς, and gives in outline a systematic Logos-doctrine.

¹ Athenagoras ¹ maintains that the Logos did not first acquire a personal existence in connexion with creation. Minucius Felix ² equates the Christian Trinity with Mon, Pater, Spiritus. This is to be noted, because later, under Platonic influence, a principle above Noéς (Mens) was asserted, and this, with Christian speculative mystics, was naturally identified with the Father, with the result that Noéς was now to dispense with ocular evidence. (the will and thought of God transmuted into vital law) had to be awkwardly assigned to the Holy Ghost. This led to confusion. The Alexandrians continued to call the Father Noéς, feeling probably that the Neo-Platonic Abodnîne in no way corresponds to the Christian God the Father. Thus they introduced a distinction resembling that between the Godhead and God in Eckhart; a sublimated conception of Noéς was introduced between the 'divinity' of Christ and the Logos. In Clement of Alexandria the Logos-doctrine is a doctrine of Immanence. The world is an organic whole, moving on to some exalted destiny in the harmony of the divine order. Humanity has its Logos of God, and at the same time has its own Logos or Christ. The Incarnation is no abrupt break in the continuity of man's moral history. Christ was in the world before He came in the flesh, and was preparing the world for His visible advent. Hence the Logos-conception enters into the organic process of human history. The history of man's redemption is, for Clement, the education of the human race under its divine Instructor. As Instructor, the Logos has always been 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.³

² He is the Saviour of all, some with the consciousness of what he is to them, others not as yet; some as faithful servants, others hardly even as servants (Strom. vii. 2).

³ 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 He is a creature, or that the Logos is in any way a part of God. The Logos is the seed 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. ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY, vol. i. p. 316. There were two schools which opposed the Logos-theology—the rationalistic Unitarians, who regarded the Logos as a mere power bestowed on Him by God, and emphasized the humanitarian aspect of His Person, and the modalistic Monarchians, such as Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius. These maintained the old alliance with Stoicism, after the Catholics had adopted Neo-Platonism as their mistress in philosophy (see, further, art. MONARCHISM). Hippolytus' anti-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, argues that the Incarnation was the necessary complement of the Creation, the imperfection of Adam being natural. There is a double development—in the race and in the individual, both due to the immanent Logos. The xias is perniciously re-enacted in spiritual experience. Macarius ⁴ teaches the same doctrine: in each believer a Christ is born.

¹ Athenagoras ¹, II. 10. ² Oct. v. 10. ³ Strom. vi. 14. ⁴ N. Compl. iii. 5. ⁵ Heim. iv. 21.
The Arian controversy drove orthodoxy into something like a compromise with modalism. The test-word *doulos* gave the Monarchians most of what they wanted, and its adoption soon ended the hostility of this school. The Arian Christology is of material value; and its great opponent, Athanasius, though he writes much about the Logos, does not add anything significant to the doctrine. It was, in fact, no longer thoroughly acceptable to the Catholics. The word *Nyos* was ascribed to appear in the Ngor, symbol; and the Synod of Sirmium (A.D. 451) condemned the doctrine of the *Nyos* λογίανως και ἀρμοστικά. 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 immanence. 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 now many who (like Max Muller) are ardent supporters of the Logos-idea in religions philosophy, while they cannot accept the Johannine identification of the Logos with a historical individual.

The main evolution in Indian philosophy somewhat similar to the development of the Logos-doctrine see art. VACH.


**LOKAYATA.**—This word, which denotes properly 'belonging to the world of sense,' is the Indian name for the materialistic system whose adherents are termed Lokayatikas or Lankayatikas, or more usually Charvakas, from the name of the founder of their doctrinal system. There are clear indications of the presence in India, as early as pre-Buddhist times, of teachers of a pure materialism, and undoubtedly these theories have had numerous adherents in India from that period onwards to the present day.

Although two authorities2 hear witness to the fact of the existence of textbooks of materialism, viz. the *Bhāgavat* and the *Sātras* of Ephaphastis, 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 *Maha-bhārata*, 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 *Prabhāsottornadojan*. 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 *Sarvasiddhantsamgraha*, a compendium of all the philosophical systems of India, composed in the 14th cent. of our era by Nāḍīhavāchārya, the celebrated teacher of the Vedánta, in which the doctrines of Indian materialism are set forth in the greatest detail. Nāḍīhavāchārya begins his exposition with an expression of regret that the majority of the men of his day follow the materialism represented by Čhārvaka.

The Lokayata allows only perception as a means of knowledge, and rejects 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, since the existence of a soul distinct from the body cannot be established by perception. Supersensuous things are, of course, also wholly denied, and are dismissed at times with a mere jest. Hell is earthly pain, due to earthly causes. The Supreme Being is the King of the eternity of whose existence the whole world affords tangible proof. Emanicipation is the dissolution of the body. The post-operative force of merit and demerit, which, according to all other systems, determines the lot of each individual down to the smallest details, has no existence for the Lokāyata, because this conception is reached only by inference. To the objection of an orthodox philosopher, that those who control the universe leave the various phenomena of the latter without a cause, the materialist replies that the essential nature of things is the cause from which the phenomena proceed.

1 On the practical side this system exhibits itself as the crudest Materialism; for it represents the gratification of the senses as the sole desirable good. The objection that sensual pleasures cannot be the highest aim for mankind, since these are only mingled with more or less pain, is met by the remark that it is for us to secure by prudence enjoyment as little alloyed as possible with pain, and to shun as far as is in our power the suffering inseparably connected with it. The man who would have bliss must take 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 pleasure which we instinctively feel to be congenial.

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 decrievers, whose doctrines are manifestly deceptions.

To the Chārvaka the ritual of the Brāhmaṇa is a fraud, and the costly and laborious sacrifices are useful only for providing with a livelihood the cumin fellows who carry them out. 'If an animal sacrificed at the Jyotistana (the original form of the source 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 Chārvaka is the worst of all heresies. It is natural to conjecture that the Lokayata 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.


**LOKOTTARAVADINS.**—See Bodhisattva.

**LOLLARDS.**—See Wyclif.
LONGSUFFERING.—Longsuffering is alike a divine attribute and a human virtue. In both its uses its meaning is well represented by 'long-animity', a word of frequent occurrence, and not altogether obsolete.

The earliest example of 'longanimity' quoted in the OED (vol. 2) is from a 1510 tr. of de Initiatione, i. xli: 'Thou shalt Govern [emotions] better littel and littel by patience and longanimite'; the most recent citation of it is from the Spenserian, 17th Jan. 1908: 'His longanimity, under the foolishness of the young woman is really marvellous.'

The literal meaning of the Greek word μακροθυμία of which 'longsuffering' is the translation is 'long-tempered', the opposite of our familiar expression 'short-tempered' (cf. Germ. Langmutigkeit).

In three OT passages (Ex 34, Nu 1418, Ps 8013) the RV substitutes a more literal rendering of the Hebrew phrase (τάχισσα γάρ, 'length of face')—slow to anger—for the AV 'longsuffering'. In many passages (Neh 96, Ps 105145, Jer 155, Jl 23, Jon 43, Na 15) the two translations are interchangeable.

'Longsuffering or slowness to anger is the glory of man as it is the glory of God' (R. C. Treisch, Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey, London, 1861, xxx. 349).

That the two expressions are synonymous in many contexts is evident from the retention in the RV of 'longsuffering' in Jer 155: 'Avenge me of my persecutors; take me not away in thy longsuffering.' The former sentence seems decisive in favour of the interpretation which regards the divine longsuffering as displayed towards the persecutors and not towards the prophet.

'The petition shows how great was the peril in which the prophet found himself, and he believes that if God delay to strike down his adversaries, that longsuffering will be fatal to his own life' (G. J. Ball, The Prophecies of Jeremiah, London, 1800, p. 231).

A similar ambiguity arises in the interpretation of Lk 18: AV translates καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐς ἀνθρώπους, 'though he bear long with them'; but RV 'and he is longsuffering over them.' A. Plummer (ICC, 1879) draws attention to the fact that ες ἀνθρώπους may refer to the enemies of the elect, but prefers to understand it to apply to the elect. The meaning, then, would be: 'And shall not God deliver his elect who cry day and night to Him, while He is slow to act for them?' But the analogy of Jer 155 (cf. Sir 337) 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 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, 1915).

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 μακροθυμία usually means 'is slow to anger', yet 'it sometimes means 'to be slow, be backward, tardy,' and is almost synonymous with βαθέως, ... So also μακροθυμία may mean 'slow persistency' as well as 'slowness to anger.' Comp. 1 Mac. viii. 4 (op. cit. p. 414).

The RV renders 'patience' (οὐσία) this wider meaning, and regards 'longsuffering' as equivalent to 'patience' in He 62 and Ja 52. The corresponding verb is applied in Ja 5 to the husbandman's patient wait for the harvest. For 'patience' is more frequent in AV translations of δοξολογία, 'the temper which does not easily succumb under suffering,' while μακροθυμία is the self-restraint which does not hastily retaliate a wrong (J. B. Lightfoot, Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, London, 1879).

To the 'longsuffering' of God reference is made in Lk 18, Ro 242, 1 P 32, 2 P 29, and to the 'longsuffering' of Jesus Christ in 1 Ti 218 and probably 2 P 39. In Ro 2 'forbearance' (ἀδραγνία) is linked with 'longsuffering.'

The distinction between these two words is that 'the δόξα is temporary, transient: we may say that, like our word "trace", it asserts its own temporary, transient character. Yet it may be argued, in true Jesus Christ as well as in things which are true of all life, that although it would be worthy of little honour, which should never be exhausted; while δόξα implies its own merely provisional character' (R. C. Trench, Synonymia of the New Testament, London, 1860, p. 190).

As a moral attribute of God, 'longsuffering' is a manifestation of His grace. In the riches of His goodness He waits long and not angrily for the sinner's repentance (Ro 22), and in loving-kindness He tolerates those who deserve His wrath (Ro 9). Yet 'patience and long-suffering point not merely to the suspension of punishment, but to the love and grace which has exhausted its last resource. Owing to the contrast between the apparent impotence of longsuffering and supreme moral perfection, this is a characteristic of the 'eternal life' (1 Ti 1)'. In 1 Co 13 'longsuffering' is said to be an attribute of the 'love' by which we are made partakers of the divine nature. Tertullian (cd. Patrologia, 12) and other writers of this period explain it to mean greatness of soul or magnanimity, but μακροθυμία differs from μεγαλοφωγία, the 'high-mindedness' of Aristotle:

First, it is not a consciousness of greatness, but a longness of conception. Second, it is not the longness of time that dead men alone possess, but a moral and godly frame of mind in exhibited in the life of every Christian. Third, it is not merely pride that stands aloof, but an interested spectator of life's sufferings, though not an active combatant in the strife' (T. C. Edwards, A Commentary on the Epistle to the Corinthians, London, 1865, p. 343).

In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (ed. R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1913), inter alia the following instructive examples of the use of 'longsuffering' are found:

Test. Dan 2: 'Unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and longsuffering, ye shall perish.'

Test. God 4: 'The spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in longsuffering unto the salvation of the elect.'

Test. Jast. 175: 'With longsuffering hide ye one another's faults.'

First 36: '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.'


LORDS' 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. Montaigne, who visited it in 1589, 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 religious devotees' (Journal of Travels, Eng. tr., London, 1893, ii. 196-209). The great basilica, the dome of which is visible from afar, was begun in 1296 and finished in 1303. Since that time many additions and modifications. Of its artistic glories an excellent account is given in A. Colussanti (Loreto, Bergamo, 1910). But the basilica was built only to enclose and enshrine a tiny edicule known as 'in Santa Casa,' which is the real object of pilgrimage. The Holy House is believed to rest on the surface of the ground without foundations, and this fact seems to be authentic. It measures roughly 31 ft. by 13, and its walls are built of human stones. From their shape and colour they are 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 inspiration, representing the Madonna and Child, now voluminously dressed and also crowned, occupies a niche inside the little house at some height from the floor, and beneath it stands an altar at which Mass is said. Countless ex votos are suspended all around, but these probably represent only small pious gifts which belonged to the shrine before Napoleon riddled it in 1797. On that occasion the statue itself was carried off and taken to Paris, but in 1801 the First Consul returned it to the niche that it had formed in its ancient temple. The wonderful inscription 'Suscipiat factum est sculptura above it indicate the shrine's official 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 1594. 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 glorious miracles herein wrought. It is here that the most holy Mary, Mother of God, was born; here that she was saluted by the angel; here that the eternal Word of God was made Flesh. Angels conveyed this house from Palestine to the town Terasto in Illyria in the year of salvation 2395 in the pontificate of Nicolaus v. Three years later, in the beginning of the second decade of Boniface viii., it was carried again by the ministry of angels a second time. As wood destroyed, in the vicennium of Recanati in the Marches of Ancona, where, having changed its station thrice in the course of a year, at length, by the will of God, it reached the permanent position on this spot three hundred years ago. Ever since that time both the extraordinary nature of the event having called forth the admiration of the whole of the noblest of people, and the wonder of the miracles wrought in this sanctuary having spread far and wide, this Holy House has not lost in the least degree of its fame foundation and remain solid and uninjured after 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 site 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 Teramannus, who held the chair of Roman Law at 1474-1476, wrote the earliest version of the translation story that has been preserved to us (the document has been discussed with great critical acumen by Hulfer in his Loreto, l. 50-66), explains that, because the Santa Casa was not sufficiently honoured 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 Lorethia'; hence the name which has since attached to the shrine ('inde medio lignis antea M. De Lorethia ad illa domina que eraualls sive domina et patrona'). Here, however, there was

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such a concourse of pilgrims that the wood was infested with robbers and murderers.

'For this reason,' the Relatio Teramani goes on, 'the Holy House was once more taken up by the hands of angels, and was carried to the Mount of the Two Brotanis, and on the same mount by the hands of angels it was set down. The which brothers, on account of the immense reverence and gain which they received from money and other innumerable alms, undertook to set up a large rock, and fixed a large board and strie. Wherefore the angels, in the same manner as before, carried it away from the place where it then was, and brought it to a spot in the public road and there they made it fast.'

The legend also relates how the Blessed Virgin in 1296 appeared in her sleep 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 Teramans 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 a small part which belonged to the shrine before Napoleon riddled it in 1797. On that occasion the statue itself was carried off and taken to Paris, but in 1801 the First Consul returned it to the niche that it had formed in its ancient temple. The wonderful inscription 'Suscipiat factum est sculptura above it indicate the shrine's official 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 1594. The approved English rendering of which runs as follows:

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other hand, the first papal document which gives any indication of the special sanctity attaching to the Loreto shrine is the bull of Paul II. in 1470, which speaks thus:

"Desiring to show our veneration for the church of Blessed Mary, and the community founded in honour of the same most holy Virgin outside the walls of Rezzasini, which, as the history of it presents the facts attested, and as the faithful may ascertain for themselves, an image of the glorious Virgin, through the wondrous mercy of God, has been deposited, attended by a troop of angels, and to which church by reason of the countless stupendous miracles which the Most High through her intercession has worked for all who devoutly have recourse to her and humble their petitions, etc., etc." 

Here again not the least suggestion is conveyed that the building, even if believed to exist miraculously without foundations, was the actual house of the Holy Family of Nazareth. On the other hand, the terms of this notice lend great probability to the opinion, supported by Hüffer and others, that it was the statue, showing, as we have noticed, Byzantine characteristics, and consequently known to have come from a distance, that was at first supposed to have been brought to Loreto by the hands of angels. Then the fact that the chapel had no proper foundations seems to have given rise to the further development that the building had been miraculously transported 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. Considerable support is lent to this hypothesis by the legend of the chapel at Ascanio belonging to a certain lord, who at his death left it to his two sons. They quarrelled over the division of the offerings and were on the point of fighting a duel when, during the night, the angels took the chapel up and bore it to a place about 14 miles off, called Colle di Vertighe, near Monte San Savino. G. B. Mittarelli, a really serious and critical antiquary of the 18th cent. (see his Annuale Commedellinensi, Venice, 1755–75, iii. 89–92), bears witness to the existence of the chapel in his time and also to its great antiquity. Here again, just as at Loreto, the chapel was without foundations, and a great church had been erected over the smaller building to protect and embellish it. Whether the Loreto legend or that of the Colle di Vertighe is really the older it is difficult to decide. In the case of Loreto the negative evidence tending to show that in the beginning no idea existed of the chapel having come from the East was emphasized by the large number of documents of the 14th and 15th centuries which have been unearthed concerning it. It is incredible, as Hüffer shows in his very patient discussion, that the supremely sacred character of the building could have been ignored, as it is, in almost all of them, if men had then believed that this actual Holy House in which God had become incarnate.

The second line of argument, developed by Chevalier and other critics, claims to show that at Nazareth itself nothing was known to have happened in 1291, when the Holy House is supposed to have been transported westwards; no pilgrims ever reported a distant building which was known to have been visited by their predecessors in the 12th and 13th centuries, nor do the accounts of what was venerated at Nazareth as the abode of the Holy Family apply in the least to such an edifice as we now see at Loreto. It may be noticed also that the measurements and proportions of the chapel of the English shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, which happen to have been accurately preserved to us, do not agree with those of the Santa Casa, while, according to legend, the Walsingham chapel reproduced exactly the dimensions of the Holy House as measured by a pilgrim about the year 1060.

By the time of the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, the legend of the Santa Casa had established itself in popular favour and it is incorporated in a bull of 1557, but with the qualification 'ut pie creditur et fama est.' In 1518 Leo X. identifies himself with the whole marvellous story 'ut inde sigorum comprobationem et testimonium habere profiteretur'. It is certain that this was correct, for Thomas Duchi and Doughty of Musselburgh made his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and brought back that image of the Italian shrine for which he afterwards built a chapel on the land now occupied by Loreto School. Other pontiffs, notably Sixtus V. and in modern times Pius IX. and Leo XIII., adopted the tradition without any question, and Innocent XII. permitted the celebration of a special feast of the translation of the Holy House after a 'proper' Mass and Office. In the latter part of the 19th cent. the story of the miraculous translation was everywhere accepted, and the local traditions of Nazareth itself were modified to suit it. Nothing, however, has been found among these papal bulls or other similar acts of ecclesiastical authority as regards the translation of the chapel, in the face 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 Santa Casa is built, and it is claimed that experts have shown that that stone was not found in Italy, but only in the neighbourhood of Nazareth (see D. Bartolini, Sopra Santa Casa di Loreto, Rome, 1861). But these experiments were carried out in 1857, and it may be doubted whether their conclusions can be regarded as rigourously scientific. Let us also notice that the frescoes at Gubbio and in one or two other places, said to be of early date and representing angels carrying a house (the date and details are nearly always matters of controversy), cannot be assumed to refer to necessity to the Loreto legend. It is clear from the Monte San Savino chronicle quoted above that there was at least one rival tradition of the same kind in circulation. These frescoes, then, cannot be appealed to as a conclusive 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, by J. Fournier, Bibliographie törtaine, Tours, 1913, and also by G. Hüffer, Loreto (see below), pp. 8–9; only a selection of books and articles can be mentioned here. The text of the early writers who elaborated the legend into the form which ultimately prevailed, viz. Testament, Jerome Angielta, Raphael Riera, and D. Costarini, will be found printed at length in the voluminous work of P. V. Martorelli, Teatro Storico della S. Casa Nazarena, 3 vols., Rome, 1872–85. Besides this, we may note, among other works, the important treatises of G. A. Vogel, De Ecclesia Redacta et Darum Eucharisticarum Acta, 2 vols., Recanati, published in 1529, though written in 1566, and M. Leopardi, La Santa Casa di Loreto, Lugano, 1844. Both these and other research among municipal archives and other MS sources. In the modern controversy, under U. Chevalier, Nota-Diine de Loreto, Paris, 1906, by far the most important contribution to the subject is that of G. Hüffer, Loreto: eine geschichts- und kirchengeschichtliche Untersuchung der Frage des heiligen Hauses, Munich, 1913. Among the texts we may note A. Eichbach, die Loreto, Paris, 1910: F. Thomas, La Santa Casa dana e la Loreto, Lyons, 1910: E. Chirat and M. Picard, La Casa di Loreto secondo un agnoco di Giubelli, Rome, 1891; J. Binet, La Santa Casa di Loreto, 3 vols., Turin, 1911; G. K. Alward, Praktische Quartalschriften, Linz, 1907, pp. 729–810, and 1911, pp. 698–
LOTUS (Egyptian).—1. Name.—First we must dismiss entirely the modern botanical name 'lotus.'

"Lotus, Argemone lotus" is a small leguminous plant resembling a vettil (Proc. Roy. Soc. ivxli. [1900] 225). 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 its long-petalled blossoms and the bud; (2) white lotus (Nympheolea lotus), distinguished by ribbed petals on the bud, rounded when opened; and (3) blue lotus (Nympheolea caerulea), distinguished by smooth, pointed petals. The two Nympheolea lotuses cross, and any intermediate form may occur naturally.

(1) Rose lotus.—This is at present an Egyptian plant unknown in Egypt, except as a cultivated rarity. It was known in Roman times, being found in the cemetery at Hawara (W. M. Petrie. Hawara, London, 1890, p. 52), and described by Athenaeus:

"Lotus grows in the marshes . . . one like that of the rose, and has white and bluish petals; the colour of these flowers which is properly called the garlands of Antinous; but the other kind is called the lotus garland, being of a blue colour." (v. 21).

It was cultivated earlier by Herodotus.

"There are also other liliees like roses that grow in the river, the fruit of which is contained in a separate pod . . . in this there are many berries fit to be eaten."

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 to be on the head of Nefertum; but that flower appears rather to be a Nympheolea. He agrees that it is not shown on monuments. The capital found at Memphis (Petrie, Palace of Apries, London, 1890, xvii.), like other early capitals, is white lotus, and not rose.

(2) Blue lotus.—This is characterized by the sepals and petals being ovoid with rounded ends. It is frequent in canal scenes of the early kingdom; as a capital at Memphis (Petrie, Palace of Apries, xviii.); as figures of capitals (Zoweyt el-Mayrawy, Vol. II., El-Bersheh, XIXth dyn.: see E. Prisse d'Avennes, Hist. de l'art egyptien, 'iris, 1870), as a garland (P. E. Newberry and F. J. Griffith, El Bersheh, London, 1893) it was placed upon the mummies of Ani, Amenhetep I., and Ramses II. It is represented by the flower upon which Horus is seated, shown by the strong ribbing of the sepalis (K. V. Lanzoni, Dizionario di mitologia egizia, Turin, 1836, ccxiv. 1). This figure is entirely of late date, 8th cent. B.c. and onward. Loret attributes this to the rose lotus; but J. G. Wilkinson emphatically states that it is the blue lotus (Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians, London, 1878, II. 132 f.); the ribbing would indicate that it is, as a matter of fact, the white lotus.

(3) White lotus.—This is the most usual lotus-flower of all periods, with straight-edged pointed petals. It is found commonly in the tombs, and is the origin of the regular lotus-capitals. The Egyptian names of these flowers are variously equated. Loret puts the netch, netch, or netch to the rose lotus, seshni 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 Vth dynasty (Papyrus, i. col. 440). Now Loret gives Arab authority for the blue flower (Flore phart., p. 116), and the khatnuw (which in the Scutum=seshnu) being also blue. It seems probable that shesni is the blue lotus. The seeds of all three lotus-plants were eaten (Herod, ii. 92), and seshni was gathered in the 11th dynasty with sirup of it is 53°, where it stands in antithesis to myrtle, and is therefore probably a balsam 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 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 dynasty (A. Mariette, Nyphos, Paris, 1859-80, i. 396), where it appears, as with sirup of it is 53°, as the 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 Ethiopian and later ages (G. Colonna-Cerni, Monuments de Chypre, etc., Paris, 1882, pl. viii. G. A. Hoskins, Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert, London, 1837, 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. 132).

3. Literature.—The principal books are V. Loret, La Flore phantastique, Paris, 1859, for the botany; G. Foucart, Histoire de l'art laotique, de, 1857, for Egyptian architecture; W. H. Goodear, Grammar of the Lotus, London, 1891, for general art connexions, but overthrown.

LOTUS (Indian).—To the Indian taste the lotus has always been the fairest flower: it has enjoyed an unparalleled popularity throughout the length and breadth of India from the earliest times down to the present day, as is shown by its predominant place in architecture and in art. Beginning to be mentioned in the oldest Veda, it plays a prominent part in the mythology of Brahmaunism. In the later Sanskrit poetics it is the emblem of beauty, to which they constantly compare the faces of their heroines. The lotus, moreover, enters into Indian art of all ages and all religions as a conspicuous decorative element. It appears thus on the oldest architectural monuments of Jainism and Buddhism all over India. With the spread of Buddhism to the countries of the Farther East, its use as an ornament in religious art has extended as far as Japan.

1. In literature.—The lotus is already named in the Rigveda. The purandari (later known as a white variety of the Nelumbium speciosum) is once referred to (x. xxiii. 5) as a water-plant. In the Atharavaveda (x. viii. 43) the human heart is compared with this lotus, and the Patha-chanda Varthamaana (xviii. ix. 6) speaks of its flower as 'born of the light of the constellations.' The Yajurveda repeatedly uses (vi. vi. 2) the word. In the Brahmanda-purana it is named a garland of such lotus—pudra-svarja. The blue variety named padma-nirguna appears several times in the Rigveda (vi. vii. 3, vii. xxxiii. 11, vii. lxxii. 1) and still often in the
After Buddha began to be represented in sculpture, from about the beginning of our era, his image constantly appears sitting cross-legged on a lotus-seat, occasionally also standing on a lotus pedestal. In this form it occurs, for instance, at Rajgir in Bihar, in the Kanheri caves near Bombay, and often in the Gandhara monuments of the North-West. From the latter region this type spread beyond the boundaries of India, appearing in Nepal, Burma, China, and Japan. Even when the seat is not actually the flower itself, two, three, or four lotus seats are, in the Gandhara sculpture, placed under a Bodhisattva. These 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 Mahā rocker is represented sitting in this way not only at Sārnāth, near Benares, but also in Java and Tibet. In a modern Tibetan picture Maitreyā 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 to Central Asia. Lotuses are found in the Avalokiteśvara sitting on a lotus seat, and in Nepal also as standing on a lotus pedestal. The lotus is otherwise intimately connected with this bodhisattva; for he is represented as born from a lotus, and also regularly holds a lotus in his hand, whence is derived his epithet of Padmapani, "lotus-handed." To him, moreover, refers the Buddhist formula Om maṇipadme hūṃ ("Yea! O jewel 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 of the lotus is indicated by the fact that it often appears not only in modern Indian brass images of Hindu gods, but even in seated portraits of Mahākāyas of the 19th century.

The lotus seat and pedestal have an almost universal application in connexion with the figures of Hindu mythology. Thus Brähma appears seated on Viṣṇu's navel lotus. The three great gods of India, in the Hindu triune type of that art in India, on all the Buddhist monuments which came into being in different parts of the country from about 250 B.C. onwards. In its simplest form the expanded lotus is very frequent as a circular ornament on pilasters or medallions. In a lotus, Anantarātā, and Bodhi Gaya, 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 used 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 Mathūra, and often figure in elaborate floral designs on the pillars of the temples of Amaravati.

The lotus is further found from the earliest times conventionalized either as a seat or as a pedestal on which divine or sacred beings rest in a sitting or standing posture. The oldest and most striking example of this use is exhibited in the figure of the Hindu goddess Lakṣmī in the Buddhist sculptures at Udayagiri, at Bharhut, and especially at Sānchi, where it is frequently repeated on the gateways of the Great Stūpa. She is portrayed sitting or standing on a lotus and holding up in each hand a lotus-flower which is watered by two elephants from pots raised aloft by their trunks. This ancient type is found all over India at the present day; it even occurs among the old sculptures at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon.
LOTUS (Indian)


A. A. MACDONELL.

3. In Buddhism.—The symbolism of the lotus-flower (padma, pûndarika, utpala) was borrowed by the Buddhists directly from the parent religion Brâhmanism. 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 supernatural birth, and the emergence of the first created object from the primal waters of chaos; hence also the flower was regarded as the matrix of the Hindu creator himself, Narâyana, and his later form as the god Brâhman, who are respectively figured and described as reclining and seated upon a lotus-flower of divine purity.

As an emblem of divine birth, the lotus is the commonest of motives in Buddhist art and literature, as has been noted above (§ 2). In the Bud- dhist paradise of Sukhavati, the goal of popular Mahâyâna Buddhists, where no women exist, every one is born as a god upon a lotus-flower (Sadâkarma-pûndarika) [SBE xxi. (1884) 389, xiix. (1894) pt. ii. pp. x, 62]; and there are lotus-flowers of metricus [SBE xix. pt. ii. 36], The Western notion of the lotus-flower as a symbol of purity is 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 marvellous power of imprinting the image of a lotus-flower on the earth at every step that he took. The references to this are innumerable in the Pâli canon; but in the book which the present writer has shown to be manifestly the earliest of all the books of that canon, the Mahâpadâja Sutta Jâti (Jâras 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 rests, no doubt, 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 air; and that it might be the revivifier, resurrector, or 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 we find the lotus-flower in the Gandhâra sculptures, and often subsequently, taking the place on Buddha's footprints of the 'wheeled disk of the sun with its thousand spokes.' This possibility 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. The ancient Sanskrit name of the lotus, a just guesses as the supreme god of the universe and the possessor of the famous 'Uma mayi padma Hām' formula (see JEWEL [Buddhist], § 7). Probably, therefore, such a meaning may be in part implied in the lotus held in the hand of Avalokitis, the consort of Târâ, to whom that formula is now specially addressed.

In the hands of Maitreya, the next coming Buddha, and other divine bodhisattvas of Gândhâra, the lotus in the hand, however, may have had a metaphorical 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 cheerer of the law that we find 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 Buddhists 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 Târâ, Avalokitis, Padmapani, and, occasionally, Maitreya. The lotus surmounted by a sword is an attribute of Amoghâpâsa, Khârâgarha, Sânanâda, Târâ, Padmapinyâvalokita, and Maitreya; surmounted by a lâmundrell (vyêga), it is an attribute of Mânjuśrî and mild Vajrapâni (Sânta); surmounted by a book, it is an attribute of Mânjuśrî and Prajñâ Panâmita; surmounted by a jewel, it denotes Keîtîgarha and Ekaâtā; by a sun, Samanta-bhadra. Among Tibetan saints the lotus is the especial emblem of the founder of the Order of Lâmas, Padmakara, 'the Lotus-born'; and Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow-Hat reformed sect, the Gelug, has two, one on either side of him. Images of them symbolically seek the seven treasures (see JEWEL [Buddhist]), are figured usually upon lotus-flowers.

In mythology the 'lotus' gives its name to two out of the twenty-five principal Buddha of the Pâli canon, namely Padmapa (properly Padma) and Padumnattâ, and to several nâga demigods, Padma, Padmottara, and Punendarika; also to several of the Buddha hells, notably Padma, Mahâyanam, and Punazarika (Sutta Nipâta [SBE x. pt. ii. 121]; these appear to be named from the flower-shaped boles which torment the inmates therein). It is also used to denote the highest number known to Buddhist canon, namely 10,000,000, or I followed by 119 ciphers, which is called a padma or, in Pâli, paduma, whilst the white lotus, punendarika, gives 10,000,00000, or I followed by 112 ciphers (R. C. Childers, Dict. of the Pâli Language, London, 1875, pp. 315, 392).

The white lotus, punendarika, gives its name to one of the great canonical texts of Mahâyânist Buddhism, the Sadâkarma-pundarika, and 'Lotus of the True Law.' This is the theistic development of the Buddhist theory which represents Sâkyamuni as the supreme god of the universe and the possessor of the famous law. See following article.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently quoted throughout.

L. A. WADDIEL.
LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW.

LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW.—No book gives a more accurate idea of the literature of the Great Vehicle or Mahāyāna (q.v.) than the *Sūdrakaṃputrikā, or Lotus of the True Law;* and nowhere is the better fortune and the change of circumstances undergone by Buddha in certain surroundings, from its beginnings down to the earliest times of the Christian 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.*

1. 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 unvels in a phalanthomorphic setting the 'divinity,' i.e. the divine splendour and the majestic power, which Buddhists now attribute to the Buddhas; 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 annihilation. 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 and surrounded by supernatural scenery.'

Among the most characteristic episodes we may mention the silence which Sākyamuni maintains for thousands of centuries, lengthening out his divine tongue into the most distant worlds; the appearance of the *Lotus* (xli.); the appearance of innumerable saints and Buddhas eager to hear the teaching of the Master, and coming from all the worlds; the *means of Kern's* excellent translation (*SBE* xxii.) we can appreciate the character of the 'sublime' and the 'supernatural' attributed by the Great Vehicle to the Buddha.

Although completely divine, Sākyamuni is not God in the orthodox sense. 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 Nirvāṇa he appears in a human form which is illusory; he is born, teaches, and enters Nirvāṇa—at least as far as ordinary men can see; but in reality, while illusory Sākyamuni is appearing in this world, the true Sākyamuni reigns on a divine mountain, surrounded by innumerable Buddhas and imparting to them the true teaching, the true law. It is this true Sākyamuni that the *Lotus* shows.

Nevertheless, as we said, this god is not God in the orthodox sense. There is not a single word in the *Lotus* which is peculiar of an orthodox, i.e. 'atheist,' interpretation. Sākyamuni may be styled Swayamibuddha, 2 who is by himself, because, like all the Buddhas, he became Buddha without receiving the teaching from another. He is *Buddha* 'from the beginning'; 3 but, just as the *Lotus* mentions a Buddha who will one day replace Sākyamuni, so we must believe that Sākyamuni is *Buddha* 'from the beginning of this cosmic age.'

We know, moreover, that Brahmā himself 4 the development of the tongue is capable of covering the whole face, is one of the signs of the 'great man' in the ancient sources. Contrary, evidently, to all Buddhist dogmas, the being 'who has attained Nirvāṇa' is 'invisible to gods and men,' since he is annihilated or has entered eternal rest. The appearance of the 'divine Buddha' in the *Lotus* is probably, therefore, only a case of the magical or deceptive power (siddhi) of Sākyamuni.

2 A hill near Rājagaha, which was formed by the neo-Buddhists into a heavenly mountain.

3 This is a name of Brahmā. The *Swayamābhikārya* is a glorification of the Buddha of Nepal (Ś. Levi, *Le Signé, Paris, 1863*).

4 Cf., this expression, with the one described in art. MĀHĀTMA. Moreover, the characteristic of the *Lotus* is probably, therefore, only a case of the magical or deceptive power (siddhi) of Sākyamuni.

is not, properly speaking, eternal. Besides, Sākyamuni is not the only Buddha; other Buddhas reign and teach at the same time as he, his equals in nature, although not necessarily in merit, glory, or activity as a saviour; every Buddha is, therefore, the father of the world, it is not because he creates human beings; it is because by his teaching he is the father of the saints or future Buddhas.

2. The doctrine of salvation in the Lotus.—According to the *Lotus,* the saints of the Little Vehicle (see art. ARHAT), or Hinayāna (q.v.), do not attain Nirvāṇa; they believe that they will not be re-born, but they are re-born to receive the true teaching. The same cannot be obtained except by first becoming a Buddha; and for that purpose it is necessary to enter the Vehicle of the future Buddhas (see art. BUDDHASATTVA). 2 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.

'If it is the case that a certain man went away from his father and betook himself to some other place. He lives there in foreign parts for many years, twenty or thirty or forty or fifty. In course of time the man died. The other, which is other (the son) is poor; in seeking a livelihood, . . . he roams in all directions and goes to some place, whereas his father returns to another country. The father is vexed at having no son; but one day, when sitting at the gate of his palace, he sees his son and is dealing with the affairs of all the world that is in front of him, he betook himself to the gate of his son, and the son, whom he had sought for some time, and having found him, said to his father: if you are my son, you will come here to me.' 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 nearest, then, at the most important. The father treats his son with paternal kindness, but the son, although he manages all his father's property, lives in a thatched cottage, and believes himself poor. At last, when his education is completed, he learns the truth. In the same way we are the sons of the Buddha, and the Buddha says to us today, 'You are my sons.' But, like the poor man, we had no idea of our dignity, of our mission as future Buddhas. Thus the Buddha has made us reflect on inferior doctrines; we have applied ourselves to seeking, as payment for our work, only Nirvāṇa, and finding ourselves utterly devoid of the knowledge of the Buddha, and we have preached it without a sufficient basis. But last the Buddha has revealed to us that this knowledge is to be ours, and that we are to become Buddhas like him.

3. Episodes.—Although the last part of the book (see below, § 4) is almost entirely devoted to Sākyamuni, chs. xxi.—xxvi. glorify several Bodhisattvas. We may mention the *episodes* of Avalokita (xxvi.), which is one of the most widely read works in China (see art. AVARAKITASVARA); the myth of the 'healer king,' Bhāsaśārā (xxii.), a Bodhisattva who sets fire to his gigantic body for the salvation of human beings, and who is none other than the sun. In the Chinese Great Vehicle the practice of burning the self is connected with this myth. In submitting to this cruel rite, the monk fulfills the duty of self-sacrifice incumbent on future Buddhas (J. J. M. de Groot, *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, pp. 50, 217, 227).

The history of Sādāparibhūtikārya (see the passage *which* is said to have been recited to the Buddha) is the incident of the "always desired one" (xix.), exemplifies the 'superiority of simple mindedness and pure-heartedness to worldly wisdom and scepticism' (Kern, in *SBE* xxii. p. xxii.). We should not have a right idea of the *Lotus* if we did not mention the glorification of the *dāhāraṇīs,* or magical
formule (xx.), and the glorification of the Lotus itself (xx.): 'He who writes this book, or causes it to be written, shall live. I know that, in the Milinda, a Pali book of the Little Vehicle, all that is required to obtain a divine rebirth is to think of Buddha when dying (SBE xxv. [1890], 124); with more reason, in the Great Vehicle, the tendencies of bhakti predominate (see art. BHAKTI-MARGA).

4. Date of the Lotus.—The Lotus was translated into Chinese for the first time in A.D. 255; but this ancient translation is lost. The next one (Keren, see below, xxi.), which probably was to have been added afterwards, the former ch. xxii. becoming ch. xxvii. On the other hand, the former chapters include verses (gōthās) and explanations in prose (the latter more recent). Kern therefore thinks that 'several centuries' separate the primitive reduction from the one which was certainly in existence before 286. Winternitz is not so generous, and places the original about the year 290. The present writer is inclined to favour an earlier date: the sūtras of Amāvīțha were translated into Chinese in 148–170, and show a Buddhology as developed as the Lotus. It is difficult to identify the Bodhisattvas of the Gandhāra sculpture, except Maitreya, but there is little doubt that this sculpture also shows the quasi-divinization of Buddhās and future Buddhas.


L. DE LA VALÉE POUSSEIN.

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. Lotze’s significance lies, above all, in his having instituted and constructed an all-embracing theory of the universe which does full justice to the claims of modern science, and at the same time conserves whatever was of real value in the older traditions of German philosophy in the preceding period; it was Lotze, in fact, who first directed those results to genuinely fruitful issues. To him belongs, moreover, the distinction of having stated and defined the problem of the necessity of metaphysics, which was the distinctive feature of the Metaphysik in which he stood forth as an independent thinker who had struck out upon fresh paths, though at the same time the powerful impetus which he had received from Hegel and Herbart is evident in him. In his works Lotze’s fundamental idea of the metaphysical system of the Idea of the Good, finds pointed, if somewhat paradoxical, expression in the concluding statement of the book, viz. that the beginning of metaphysics lies not in itself, but in ethics. In 1842 Lotze issued a second work of importance, his Allgemeine Pathologie und Therapie als mechanische Naturwissenschaften. Here he attempts to apply without reservation the systematic method which he had employed in his earlier work, to the field of organic life, where the scientifically inadequate and, indeed, inadmissible idea of vital force had so long been resorted to; to that idea he likewise devoted a special article entitled ‘Leben, Lebenskraft,’ in which he made the transition from the speculative to the materialistic views then forming their way into psychology. His opinions in the field of aesthetics he set forth in a treatise entitled Über den Begriff der Schönheit (1843), which was soon followed by his Über die Bedingungen der Künstlichkeit (1847)—both appearing in the Göttinger Studien.

II. Life and works.—Lotze’s early life falls within the period dominated by the thought and sentiment of Romanticism. Born on the 21st of May 1817 at Bantzen in Lusatia, he was grounded in classical study at the gymnasium of Zittau. Even as a boy he displayed that combination of critical acumen and lofty idealistic thought which characterized the ideas of a number of his contemporaries. At the age of about sixteen, and given to the public among his posthumous papers, we can clearly trace the rudiments of the comprehensive views which he subsequently elaborated; they reveal a maturity which amazes us in one so young. In 1834 he entered upon his academic course at the University of Leipzig, where he devoted himself to the study of German literature. In 1837 he came into practical touch with scientific pursuits and with the exact methods of contemporary natural science. Simultaneously, however, he sought to satisfy his philosophical and aesthetic aspirations by the study of German idealism, and to this end attended the lectures of 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, and that the current unmetrical doctrine of ‘vital force’ must be banished from the scientific field (cf. his dissertation, De future biologie principis philosophici, Leipzig, 1838); and this challenge to vitalism continued to be one of the leading features of his critical activity until his view of length won general acceptance.

After practising for a time as a doctor in Zittau, Lotze qualified as a Dozent both in the medical and in the philosophical faculty of the University of Leipzig (1838), and from that time to his call to Göttingen in 1844 he not only laboured successfully as an academic teacher (he had become a Professor Extraordinarius in 1842), but manifested a remarkable fertility as an author. In 1841 he published the first of his greater philosophical works, Metaphysik, in which he stood forth as an independent thinker who had struck out upon fresh paths, though at the same time the powerful impetus which he had received from Hegel and Herbart is evident in him. The distinctive feature of the Metaphysik is in constant presentation of the idea that that which truly exists—the ultimate root of reality—is to be found only in what by virtue of its unconditional value deserves to exist in a metaphysical position. This line of thought, reminding us of Platonism and the Platonic insistence upon the supremacy of the Idea of the Good, finds pointed, if somewhat paradoxical, expression in the concluding statement of the book, viz. that the beginning of metaphysics lies not in itself, but in ethics. In 1842 Lotze issued a second work of importance, his Allgemeine Pathologie und Therapie als mechanische Naturwissenschaften. Here he attempts to apply without reservation the systematic method which he had employed in his earlier work, to the field of organic life, where the scientifically inadequate and, indeed, inadmissible idea of vital force had so long been resorted to; to that idea he likewise devoted a special article entitled ‘Leben, Lebenskraft,’ in which he made the transition from the speculative to the materialistic views then forming their way into psychology. His opinions in the field of aesthetics he set forth in a treatise entitled Über den Begriff der Schönheit (1843), which was soon followed by his Über die Bedingungen der Künstlichkeit (1847)—both appearing in the Göttinger Studien.
LOTZE

Lotze, in opposition to the parallelistic theory, quite definitely champions the hypothesis of a causal connection between body and soul; and to this he adhered all his life. As regards the relation between the physical organism and the soul, he held in fact, that the former is simply a system by which external stimuli are enabled to make a due impression upon the latter, and by which, 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 truth is rather that the soul governs the body, and makes it subservient to its own higher ends.

From 1856 to 1860 appeared three volumes of Lotze’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 Lotze’s life-work in relation to his age took definite shape—to show how absolutely universal in its application, and at the same time how subordinate in its significance, is the function performed by the causal mechanism in the life of the world. It is in reality the philosophical problem of the age at which Lotze here undertakes to solve; he makes its task to refute the assumption that the modern mechanical science of nature demands as a necessary consequence a materialistic conception of the world; and his conclusion is that mechanism is simply the aggregate of the means by which the higher ideal element in the world can realize itself, and thus must not be allowed to rank as the ultimate reality. In particular, such mechanism does not conflict with that freedom of individual volition which we must postulate on moral grounds; the case is rather that it is to be conceived as simply the necessary condition of the efficient action of the conscious will—-as the mode of its self-realization. And just as little does this mechanism imply that the real world is a mere automaton, having its action fixed as by clock-work; on the contrary, the essential ground of the concatenation and the world as the Infinite, in which the last resort can be conceived only as a living and all-embracing deity.

Lotze’s next work of importance was his Geschichte der Ästhetik in Deutschland (1868). This work (1) gives a historical 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 beauty in reflection’; and, finally, (3) a history of the theories of art as developed in the various periods of aesthetics.

In 1874 and 1879 respectively he published his larger Logik und Metaphysik (Eng. tr. of both, ed. B. Bosanquet, 2 vols., Oxford, 1881; Metaphysik, 2 vols., do. 1879, Logik, 2 vols., do. 1888) as the first two volumes of the System der Philosophie which he hoped to crown his life-work. The third part, which was to have treated of ethics, aesthetics, and the philosophy of religion, was never completed. Lotze died in July 1881, shortly after he had completed his work in the University of Berlin, to which he had been called in the spring of that year. For the aspects of his fini theory of the world, the composition of which in system he could not finish, we are therefore dependent upon his earlier works, especially the Mikrokosmus. Much valuable additional material on many points is to be obtained from the dictated portions of his lectures, edited by J. E. Rohlf (Eng. tr., ed. G. T. Ladd, Lotze’s Outlines of Philosophy, 6 parts, Boston, 1881-87).

3. Philosophical teaching.—The scientific foundation of Lotze’s philosophy lies in his investigations of metaphysics; his chief interest is the problem of the causal connection of things, and he arrives at a most characteristic solution of it. As the starting-point of his inquiries he takes the fundamental postulate of all natural science, viz. the assumption of a connexive mechanism among the elements of reality; or, to speak more precisely, he is concerned with the problem of ‘transitive action’ (transses actio, i.e. the question how a change that occurs in one 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 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 universal unity of being, 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 of the 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 immeasurable power and free from the limitations necessarily inherent in human nature as a finite thing. Ultimately, therefore, the world-ground is defined as an infinite spiritual being, or deity, the entire process of things being conceived as occurring among the parts of the Infinite, as being integrated and sustained by the unity of its being.

Lotze then proceeds to deal in a thorough-going way with the idea that this world-ground or deity forms the one ultimate basis of the existence and interpretation of all things. The elements of the real are all merely dependent parts or modifications of the Infinite; at a later period Lotze preferred to call them ‘actions.’ Such actions of the Infinite lie between the inscrutable elementary particles of the material world, or the atoms, which he Speaks of as the ‘elementary actions of the world-ground,’ but as ‘actions always maintained in uniformity by it’; and, secondly, souls, the concrete actions of the Infinite, existing 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 to itself.’

Further, a vital constituent in Lotze’s theory of the universe as originally formulated was the inclusion of a causal law of causal connexion. The ultimate elements of the real he at first regarded as spiritual entities, as of kindred nature with the Leibnizian monads. He was led to take this view mainly by aesthetic motives, as also by the con-
tion that a purely material reality could have no independent existence. But, as he gradually worked out his doctrine of the infinite, the divine world-ground, his hypothesis of the animate nature of reality was more and more dispelled with, being come over by the less necessary. In his treatise, what it had been designed 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 uniformity, and thus differentiated in the clearest possible way from souls. Souls themselves, however, were likewise conceived of 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 this his theory of the universe, and for the sake of which he rejects, e.g., the pantheism of Spinoza, notwithstanding the profound relationship between that theory and his own. But this was doubtless, therefore, Lotze himself did not believe that his conception as actions of the Infinite in any way implied the surrender of human freedom; but it is nevertheless true that he refers to the subject, only in certain religious-philosophical reflections, and nowhere adequately with the crux which inevitably 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.


M. WENTSCHER.
early as 25th March 1858, three physicians, appointed by the Prefect of the Department, who was anxious to suppress these 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 early apparitions is recapitulated as the doctors heard it from Bernadette's own lips, and they do not note its complete agreement with the account given by her many years later. Of mental disease or of any moral obliquity which would suggest the probability of conscious fraud the doctors found no trace. There is nothing, in fact, to show that Bernadette wished to impose upon the public. On the other hand, nothing in the report suggests that the medical examiners themselves placed any faith in the story of the apparitions. They think that Bernadette was the innocent subject of a hallucination, and, while calling attention to her naturally impressionable character, they point out a certain development in the intensity of the trance with which the apparitions were normally accompanied. For the rest, they report that the child was delicate but perfectly sane and healthy-minded, and they offer no kind of suggestion that she should be put under restraint (Cros, p. 143).

It is interesting to contrast this report, which was fully justified by Bernadette's subsequent history, with the very unsatisfactory career of the two children who were witnesses of the alleged apparitions of the Blessed Virgin at La Salette in 1846, as well as with the official account of Marie Magnotier, the child Bernadette of L'éponine, already referred to:

'I have no doubt,' says Marillier, 'so far as I am concerned, of the reality of her visions. In my opinion she certainly saw the Virgin at the crack of the wall. . . . She is no doubt subject to hallucinations; but at the same time she is ill-balanced and heavily weighted with the burden of heredity. She is the daughter of a father who was epileptic and of a mother who was doubtless insane, and she has the bearing, the character— in a word all the appearance of a sufferer from hereditary degeneration. She is filled too with the morbid self-love and the enormous vanity so common among the degenerate' (Proc. Soc. Psych. Research, vii. 107).

According to the testimony of a number of persons who, much to the child's distress, pursued her with questions as to what she had seen, none of the doctors could have been present at Bernadette's apparitions. Traps were laid to induce her to take money for herself or her parents, but her simplicity and good sense defeated them all. Though below the average in intelligence, she learned to read and write in school, and until 1866 she remained engaged in humble occupations at Lourdes. She never saw the apparition again after 16th July 1858, though she visited the grotto frequently. In 1868 she became a nun at Nevers and remained there discharging the duties of infirmary and sacristan, as far as her delicate health permitted, until her death in 1879. It is noteworthy that, though her body at the time of her death was covered with tumours and sores, she was found, when the cadaver was officially examined in 1909, thirty years afterwards, entire and free from corruption (see Carrière, Histoire de Notre-Dame de Lourdes, p. 213).

With regard to the apparitions of the year 1858, it is to be noted that Bernadette always described the vision as one of ravishing beauty, and as living, moving, and speaking to her. The recorded words— for there seem to have been others which the child felt that she was bidden to keep secret as revealed by Bernadette to herself— are as follows:

'The Virgin—I saw her again. I asked her if it were true that a grotto (la Pierre) was to be built. She told me it was true. She gave me the name of the grotto. I asked her if a house were to be built there. She told me that a house was to be built. I asked her if she was going to appear there. She told me that she was going to appear; that it was the place where the statue is now seen, the Blessed Virgin appeared Bernadette Soularie eight times—the 11th and the 14th of February, each day with two exceptions to which reference is made in the report, on March 4th, and on March 23rd, April 7th, and July 16th. The Blessed Virgin said to the child on Feb. 16th and the 18th, and on March 23rd, April 7th, and July 16th, 'I do not promise to make you happy in this world, but I shall give you happiness in the world to come.' You will pray for sinners, you will kiss the earth for sinners. Penitence, Penitence, Penitence.' "Go tell the people to come here." "I want people to come here in procession." "Go and drink at the fountain and wash yourself in the grass which is there." On March 25th the Virgin said: 'I am the Immaculate Conception."

One point claims to be especially noted. These visions did not come to Bernadette at command. On two important occasions, as the inscription notices, she failed to see the apparition, viz. on 22nd Feb. and 3rd March, when she herself certainly expected to do so and when a large crowd—in the latter case some 4000 people, many of whom had spent the night upon the spot—had come long distances to assist at the manifestation. But, as sensible critics remarked even then, this arbitrary behaviour of the mysterious lady was an indication that something was amiss. In reply, she said: 'If the child had simply invented the apparition,' she said, 'she would not have kept it secret, for she was anxious to stop the spring. She would have said the Virgins had just been sighted. But, had she done so, the people would not have believed her.'

It is not denied that towards the end of 1857, a number of persons beside the child resided at Soulsou, or were in Lourdes, who saw the spring which the Virgin had blessed. The evidence of such persons was examined by a commission appointed by the bishop of Tarbes, which occupied itself with the inquiry from Nov. 1858 to the end of 1861. It is to be noted, and the fact is proved by contemporary reports made to Baron Massy, the Prefect of Hautes Pyrénées, and to M. Roulant, the Minister of Worship, that for some months the clergy did all in their power to discourage these manifestations. They fully acquiesced in the Government's expeditiously to stop the apparitions—though Bernadette several times asked the lady, as she had been bidden to do, to disclose her name, the apparition down to the sixteenth vision—that on March 25th—only smiled in reply. The dates and utterances of the series of apparitions are thus commemorated in an inscription upon marble which is erected near the grotto:—

'Dates of the eighteen apparitions and works of the Blessed Virgin in the year grace 1858. In the month of February, each day with two exceptions to which reference is made in the report, on March 4th, and on March 23rd, April 7th, and July 16th. The Blessed Virgin said to the child on Feb. 16th and the 18th, and on March 23rd, April 7th, and July 16th, 'I do not promise to make you happy in this world but I shall give you happiness in the world to come.' You will pray for sinners, you will kiss the earth for sinners. Penitence, Penitence, Penitence. 'Go tell the people to come here.' "I want people to come here in procession." "Go and drink at the fountain and wash yourself in the grass which is there." On March 25th the Virgin said: 'I am the Immaculate Conception.'"
apparitions (of the Blessed Virgin) have all the characteristics of truth and that the faithful are justified in believing them to be true.' Since then further ecclesiastical approbation has been given to both the apparitions and to the miracles of Lourdes in numerous ways, both direct and indirect, by the authority of the Holy See.

Any adequate discussion of the marvellous cures which take place at Lourdes must raise the whole question of the possibility of miracles. For Roman Catholic thinkers the possibility that the 60 thousand cases of a dispensation 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 invertebrate 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 convenient examples offer than the cures with which Emile Zola was brought into contact during his visit to Lourdes, and which he has insinuated under fictitious names into his novel L'Aurore.

Clémentine Tronc (called in the novel Sophie Costeau) was cured instantaneously of a peritonitis fitted of the most aggravated kind which, down to the moment of her bathing in the piscina, was supposed to be incurable. Marie Le Marchand (sister Elise Bouquet) was also instantaneously healed. This was a nature that was being shown before the face of the world. It had been taken away as almost to lose the semblance of a human countenance. The evidence quoted by Bertrin in his last edition (Histoire, p. 529f) shows that seven years after the cure Marie Le Marchand was a healthy married woman with five children. Marie Gedel (in the novel Mlle. de Guirisons) had been in leprosy for twelve years. The other most painful disorders, including tumour and pleurisy, for more than twelve years. It is, however, stated that the only possible remedy was a dangerous operation, but she also was instantaneously cured in the piscina. In the case of Marie Lebrun (Zola's La Guérison) suffering from a tuberculous affection, and had reached the very last stage of consumption, Zola supposes in his novel that the patient, after a temporary rally owing to the excitement of the pilgrimage, relapsed soon after and falls a victim to the old disease which had never really relaxed its hold. In point of fact, the real Marie Lebrun was in the enjoyment of vigorous health in 1908, fourteen years after the date of her cure (see for all these Bertrin, Histoire, 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 be most conveniently studied, especially by medical readers, in F. de Grandpré's L'Affaire Lourdes, which gives an admirable choice of specially selected examples. It is not, of course, for one moment disputed that modern psychotherapeutics, and especially suggestion, have accomplished many marvellous, but the instantaneousness of the cure, as witnessed more particularly in such cases as those of Pierre de Rudder, Mme. Rouchel, Gabriel Garagan, etc., can in no way be paralleled by any of Charron'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. Amoureux of Nantes, born with a club-foot and instantaneously cured at Lourdes, of which a remarkable account is given in the Annales des sciences psychiques (1907, 185f). It may be confidently affirmed that the more carefully the evidence is studied, the more certain it becomes that the words 'suggestion' and, still less, 'hysteria' are not capable of accounting for such cases.

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 scientist—to whom we owe one of the great works of modern times—who has made a special study of Lourdes and its phenomena. The conclusions of this scientist, which, as Benson says, are particularly interesting because 'he is not himself at present a practising Catholic,' were formulated by him as follows:

'(1) That no scientific hypothesis up to the present accounts satisfactorily for the phenomena. Upon this point adds Benson, 'I breathed the word suggestion,' and his answer was to laugh in my face and to tell me, positively, that this is the most fruitful hypothesis of all.

(2) That, so far as he can see, the one thing necessary for such cures as he himself has witnessed or written of is the power of prayer. Where this rises to the intensity of the cures rises with it; where this sinks, the cures sink too.

(3) That he is inclined to link them with a transference of vitalizing force either from the energetic faith of the sufferer or from that of the bystanders. He instance an example in which his wife, herself a qualified physician, took part. She held in her arms a child aged two and a half years, blind from birth; during a procession of the Blessed Virgin, the blindness came opposite, tears began to stream from the child's eyes, his sight returned. When it had passed, the child's eye was open. Again, a week later, the eye was closed. At the close of the procession, the lady, who herself related to me the story, was conscious of an extraordinary exhaustion, for which there was no ordinary explanation.'

In a lecture given by Benson in June 1914 he stated publicly that the scientist here referred to was no other than Prof. Alexis Carrel, whose marvellous experiments in the transplantation of animal tissue have constituted the most sensation of recent biological research. Indeed, signs are multiplying on all hands that in the less conservative circles of the medical profession the brusque dismissal of the phenomena of Lourdes is slowly but surely being abandoned, and fully accounted for is going out of favor. This change of attitude was emphasized not long since by the action of the medical faculty of the University of Lyons. A lady doctor, Jeanne Bon, presented a Thèse sur quelques guérisons de Lourdes (Paris, 1912). This University thesis was officially approved, and certain of the professors superintended its composition. It was only at the last moment that the jury took fright and found a pretext for conferring the doctorate upon the candid date in virtue of some different title. The author in her thesis maintains that genuine cases of tuberculosis, in which laboratory experiment has established the fact that pseudo-tuberculous hysteria was not in question, have been spontaneously cured at Lourdes, and that these cures are effected under conditions of extreme rapidity which conspicuously mark them off from other spontaneous cures of consumption as generally observed. Finally, it should be noted that Lourdes, with the cures of Christian Science and many other faith-healing organizations, the fullest medical investigation is welcomed at Lourdes. Medical men of all creeds are invited to attend at the Bureau des Constatations, to which a permanent medical staff is attached, and every facility for observation is afforded to all scientific inquirers. Patients who believe themselves to have been miraculously healed or benefited are urged to bring their medical certificates and to attend personally at the Bureau that the case may be properly investigated, and efforts are also made to induce them to return after an interval of a year or more to afford the staff of the Bureau an opportunity of inquiring into the permanence of the cure.

LITERATURE.—Many of the earlier books on Lourdes, notably that of H. Lassaire, Notes-Donnees de Lourdes, Paris, 1888, which has been translated into many languages and of which numerous editions have been published, are not always accurate or in the medical knowledge desirable in the treatment of such a subject. The best recent work is undoubtedly Bertrin, Histoire critique des événements de Lourdes, 37th thousand, Paris, 1912 (the Eng. tr., Lourdes: A History of Its Apparitions and Cures, London, 1903, is a valuable abridgement, lacking most of the documents printed in the Appendices). Other valuable works are: F. de Grandpré, L'Affaire Lourdes (Paris, 1912); A. Voué, Quelques Cas de guérisons de Lourdes et le fait qui goute; Aube wonderée, do. 1913; A. Béziers, Les Lourdes, Florence, 1912, Cib che rispondono gli Aversari di
LOVE

LOVE (Psychological and Ethical).—I. The psychology of love.—Love, as a complex psychological experience, may be classed as a 'sentiment' or an 'emotion.' The term 'passion' being here understood not as an explosive emotional outburst, but as a deep and steadfast enthusiasm. Whether we prefer to call love a sentiment or a passion will depend on the point of view from which we regard it. A genuine sentiment is a stable and complex organization 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.'

Where the life of the passions 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 punishment and desire for his master's approval. 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.

In every passion there is a system of self-control regulating more or less efficiently the intensity and behaviour of its emotions.1

A mother loves her child. She may tend to be jealous if an aunt or a nurse wins too much 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 yearn to shield him from every danger, but she may comfort him despite her fears to the inevitable perils of hardy growth. Here emotions of solicitude, fear, and self-sacrifice, like those of jealousy and gratitude on the former supposition, all feel the dominance of the steady, distinct

may be found in the Revue pratique d'apothéctique, xxvii. [1914]. There is also a large number of books and articles which discuss the phenomena of love in a critical or hostile spirit, among others, J. Rouby, Les Visites de Lourdes, Paris, 1911; H. Bazudou, Le Porce ouvreure a Lourdes et la psychologie du miracle, do. 1914; D. J. Grandaison, H. Lourdes et la psychologie du miracle, in Revue de psychanalyse, June and July 1913; a discussion of the whole question of faith-healing by several English physicians and magi in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, and a similar discussion by R. P. Mangan, 'Les Oublions de Lourdes,' in Annalen des Schlesischen Psychologisches, xvii. [1902] 316-334. Two periodicals, the Revue de la Côte de la Grote, provide information regarding the reputed miracles and other incidents occurring during the pilgrimage to the shrine. A bibliography of earlier books on Lourdes may be found in L. Clugnet, Bibliographie du culte local de la Vierge Marie [France, Province d'Avrich, pl. iii., Paris, 1902].

HERBERT THURSTON.


Egyptian.—See 'Semitic and Egyptian.'


Roman (J. B. CARTER), p. 178.


interested love, and, as they feel it, tend to pass into harmony with one another.

A passion is not only an organized emotion; it is also organized desire. For our emotions have their instinctive impulses, and these, when checked, tend to rise to conscious desires, into convergent tendencies often urging in conflicting directions. Now it is of the very nature of a steadfast passion such as love to act alike for a stable and complex organization 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.' When the life of the passions 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 punishment and desire for his master's approval. 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.

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1 See art. 'M. Riddle's Theory of the Passions,' in Mind, new ser. ii. [1897] 439.


3 See ibid., 'M. Riddle's Theory of the Passions,' in Mind, new ser. ii. [1897] 439.
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.

For the normal development of love the fundamental condition is that there shall be joy in the object. 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.

In joy the features dilate, the eye-brows are arched, the countenance opens out, the voice is louder and fuller, the gait is more buoyant, and the whole man, or at least his heart and lungs dilate, and the brain works more easily and more rapidly. There is increased muscular tension, of sympathetic feeling and goodness in all that is said and done. In a word the expression of joy is the expression of liberty and therefore of liberty. It may also become the fundamental expression of love. And the condition for this is that this expansive emotion, whose primitive bias is to go out of itself, shall fasten round some object and give it an intrinsic value, a value for its own sake.

To have a joy in anything for its own sake is the primary essential for the development of love. Indeed it is this valuation of the object for its own sake, so essential to joy as to love, that is the mark distinguishing joy from pleasure. I am pleased with an object when it gratifies some interest or supplies some instinctive impulse; I have joy because is fulfills my need. It is a pleasure in relation to my sensibility or to my activity. And we speak correctly of the pleasures of sense and of movement. But joy is not self-sufficient like pleasure. No doubt there is pleasure in it, for all 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 of its essence. The joy itself attaches itself 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 instinctive impulse is not only to maintain its object, but to surrender itself to it and rest freely in it as in something of intrinsic value and promise.

To have joy in an object is to respect its individuality. This is implied in the very idea of delighting in it for its own sake. To have joy in what is real is to subordinate individual opinion wholesale 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 artifice. The interests of the object dictate at each step the line of advance. And yet, essential as joy is to the development of love, it is not 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 we go round ever on a search for a lost joy, whereas joy is not a search for a lost sorrow. Moreover, were it not for the joy in retrospect and prospect which is operative in and through sorrow, sorrow would have a contracting and depressing influence on life.

Love, then, is more than its dominant emotion, joy; more than any mere synthesis of joy and 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 intuitive 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, xii. [1857], 2891), defines belief somewhat differently, but with similar purport, as the goal of thought and the starting-point of action. It is essentially the self-confidence that comes from having reached beyond doubt, and in its place built up settled habits or rules of action, the assurance that one is ready to meet the contingencies of life in any direction. At root this view identifies belief with the sense of power, power being here conceived as the reality with which our life is invested when doubt passes over into belief. To have a sense of power is to believe in one's self, 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 fruit et origo of all reality is ourselves.

Now, if we turn from belief so understood to love, and ask what the passion of love has to tell us about reality, we find that for love the supremely real thing is not itself, but the object. Love and belief and love are to meet harmoniously, the sense of the reality and significance of self so essential to the belief that means power must be identical with that sense of the reality and supreme worth of its object which is so essential to the sense of self in the object must be one with our belief in ourselves.

This requirement leaves us with the question: What must the nature of that object be which we can intimately identify with our own selves? It must be at least personal or we could not identify ourselves with it. Moreover, the view that we take of the nature of our own personality must be such a kind that we can conceive it as identified with the personal object without having lost or absorbed in it. If the self is lost in its object, the sense of power, the belief, will also go, and there will be no reconciliation of belief and love. Thus, if belief is to be love's belief, if faith is to be love's faith, the object of love must be in harmonious communion with it, that heightens our sense of personality and makes us more truly ourselves than we were before.

But, it may be objected, when I really love anything, is it not one of the most satisfying features of this experience that I get away from myself? How can I surrender myself to the call of the great starry spaces of ether or of spirit and yet continue to be impressed with the importance of my own individuality?

The question goes to the root of all ethical inquiry. It compels us to recognize that there is something which we currently call our individuality, which is yet too weak to subsist in the presence of what is really sublime in the universe and in history. This individuality, which grapples itself to a finite body and shrinks from all the great things, from the infinite, from suicide and from death, how is it possible to conceive any organized sentiment or passion fulfilling itself within the limits of such being as this? Sooner or later it must strike its roots home into deeper personal ground. Only a self which has these roots of the infinite about its heart can ever ask the question out of which the true love emerges. Only in this infinite self can the will to love and the will to power prove no longer tendencies that are mutually destructive.
2. 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 instinct. As a deep-rooted comitative tendency shaped and determined in connexion 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 a strong case for holding that love, as an instinct, provided we do not forget the fundamentally comitative character of all instinctive behaviour, or insist that instinct shall from the outset have at its disposal some mechanism through which it operates. There is such a mechanism for 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 life animated by the ideals of truth, beauty, and right is not a mere derivative from the natural life of the body, but, as a φάσεως καὶ σωφροσύνης τῆς ζωῆς, in Plato’s memorable phrase,—a heavenly and not an earthly plant—has independent instincts of its own, instincts of spiritual self-preservation, instinctive passions for the ideal and the heroical, and that the instinctive passion παρά εὐεργείαν  

loves love.

Virtue is love.—When love is conceived in this ultimate way as the creative power of a new life, it is legitimate to look upon it as the supreme virtue. By the same instinct which underlies the special power (ἐνεργεία) and special excellence (ἐξουσία) which enable us to live the best life. Now the question ‘What is virtue?’ received in the ancient world a great variety of answers; but of these, three stand out as the closest, those of Plato, Aristotle, and Socrates. They assume that virtue is primarily a matter of habit and of mere rational insight: none the less the habit of right choosing, in which virtue essentially consists, is guided by the practical reason; for to choose rightly is in all things, the moral mean, conceived as the practical reason alone can show where the mean lies. Thus with Aristotle we reach a more inclusive conception of virtue than that given by Socrates. The Aristotelian conception is a substitute for the Socratic only in the sense that it is a deepening or transcending of it. The Socratic ‘reason’ is taken up into the Aristotelian ‘will’ and made to function in its service. Similarly the definition ‘Virtue is love’ does not supersede the Socratic definition. It simply deepens, and by so doing develops and reorganizes it. To do justice to the value of the virtue of human nature we must look deeper than the habit. Moral habits grow from their instinctive foundations, not automatically, but through the enthusiasm which we put into the task of their formation. Hence, when we say ‘Virtue is love,’ we are far indeed from denying that it involves habits of right willing. We simply emphasize the motive power which is at the root of the formation of the right willing; the reason is for us insem for what is good felt as an imperative. If we substitute the habit, 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 spiritual immortal frame,’ that love stands out as the ultimate virtue of the spiritual life, of the life which aims at a universal or common good. Working through the emotion of anger, it is the root of moral indignation and of justice; through that of fear, it makes the object loved the object whose hurt is intended for that reason; regarding sentiments, transferring their affection from the atomic, private ego to the personal and inclusive self; the composition of others, directed as it is against the merely individual self, is no longer felt as an injustice, but as a personal and therefore excites neither envy nor ill-will.

‘There is no remedy but love,’ writes Goethe, ‘against great supererogities of others.’

Nor can the inclusiveness of true love tolerate the exclusive passion of jealousy. Moreover, with the complete passing of exclusiveness not only jealousy, but pride also, is transfigured, for love is not truly inclusive until it shows itself as ready to be grateful as it is to be generous, as ready to receive as to give. Love again is inseparable from reverence, and as such is the great security of true personal dignity. The negative element is never absent from love’s sense of its own freedom. Inclusiveness does not mean an insuperable barrier between self and not-self. Intimacy with a friend through love means increased respect for him or her personality. There is thus in all love an element of reverence which guarantees that as intimacy grows so also does the value set upon personality.

Again, we reverence the object of our love because we have a joy in it for its own sake, as an end in itself, and this joy is rooted in our sense of its reality, and most intimately associated also with the sense of our own reality. There is an emotional belief in the intrinsic value of its object, is therefore essential to love, for faith is just this sense of personal reality. Once again—this is a central point—love is the source and also the very substance of moral vocation. For by ‘will’ we mean the whole personality as active in deliberation, 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 principle of love, it seems justified in affirming that the power 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 an essential 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. ‘Quaintened sympathy means liberality of intelligence and enlightened understanding.’ Or, again, ‘genuine moral knowledge involves the affection and the resolute will as well as the intellectual knowledge of the varied elements of value in the lives of others and in the possi

1. Conitors, 90 A.


4. J. Dewey and J. H. Tufts, Ethics, London, 1909, p. 253; cf. also G. Stanley Hall, Advances in Psychology, II, 1905; ‘First, last, and best of 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 phila-sy is not the possession, but the love and wooing of wisdom.’

bilities of our own, save as our affections are strong. Every narrowing of love, every encroachment of egoism, means just something in the way to good.'

So Plato, as we see in the Republic, connects the philosophical element in human nature very intimately with that which makes him fond of what he understands, and again makes him want to understand and the attraction got together. Indeed the very word 'philosophy' implies this.

But there is still one question to be faced if the inclusiveness of love as a virtue is not to be misconceived. There is such a thing as love's hate, for the lover of good is the hater of evil. Hence, so long as evil actually exists, love must exclude it with all the force of its being. Now, in order that evil may actually exist, it must grail itself on to the good. For evil is a sort of disintegration, and nothing can be wholly evil without being wholly disintegrated. Plato points out, in the first book of the Republic, that it is only in virtue of there being honour among thieves that the gang can subsist at all. Evil, in fact, can subsist in actuality only in virtue of the good which it possesses and enslaves. Hence, if love, through successive redemptions of all the elements of good contained in things evil, becomes inclusive of all good, evil as an actuality must cease to be. We cannot, indeed, think of it as annihilated, but we can conceive it as depressed to an infra-actual level of reality. At best it could survive as a real possibility of evil, real, that is, in relation to the will. As an actuality it would have been purged from the world. Then, and not till then, will love be inclusive of evil as of all else. For, though love cannot include actual evil, it must include at all times the possibility of evil, seeing that the possible evil is implied in the possibility of good, and all moral choice is a choice between possible evil and possible good. Hence, when evil shall have been reduced to the status of a real possibility, it will cease to lie outside love. Love will then be all-inclusive.


LOVE (Primitive).—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:

'Simplest of all primitive is the love of the animals, the love of the animals of the world, the love of the animals of our species.' Again, in its fully developed form the passion which enters into the lives of the great human families. Mr. Spencer thus sums up the matter:

analysis he has given of it:—' Round the physical feeling forming the nucleus of the whole, are gathered the feelings produced by personal beauty, that constitute the feeling towards a new creation of reverence, of love, of approbation, of self-esteem, of property, of love of freedom, of sympathy. These, all greatly exalted, and severely tending to react to their excitements or reactions, are a new, noble, and it might be said a social, might be said a mental state we call love.'

Mantegazzia, speaking of it as a colour, form, and Spence, in his reference to the importance of the sense, rightly emphasize the most remarkable characteristic of sexual love. This is the temporary raising of the individual to a higher power, the intensifying of his capacity, and the personal people said:—' When I am not in love, I am nothing.' Nietzsche has eloquently described this result:

'One seems to oneself transfigured, stronger, richer, more complete; one is more complete, . . . it is not merely that it changes the feeling of values; the lover is worth more.'

For Plato love was a 'divine madness'; he was thinking of its automatism, its sweeping away of reason and even consciousness. It was perhaps this aspect that led Schopenhauer and others to condemn it as an illusion. But love is only a delusion in so far as the whole of life is a delusion, and if we accept the fact of life, it is unethical, metaphysical or religious to refuse to accept the fact of love. 1 Ellis defines love 'in the sexual sense as a synthesis of sexual emotion (in the primitive and uncoloured sense) and friendship.' 1 It is a minimum definition.

There is no doubt that the various forms of love—sexual, parental, fraternal, filial, and social—are kindred emotions. Their relative intensity decreases from the sexual to the social, but, as this decreases, extension increases, and more and more persons may be embraced. It is unnecessary to do more than mention the social and the artificial, for all its love plays a part in society only less important than that of the instinct to live. It brings together the primary elements of the family, it keeps the family together, and it unites in a certain fellow feeling all members of a nation or race.

I. SEXUAL LOVE.—Especially in its sexual grade, love has certainly during the progress of civilization become not only more refined and complex but more intense. 1 This is shown by a comparison with modern savages. Not only is the impulse weak, but the physical development is inferior, and consequently the difficulty of obtaining sexual enfrisment is great. A social result of this last condition is the curiously artificial excitement (see below). Jealousy is frequently absent, among the Central Australians to a remarkable degree.

'Amongst the Australian natives with whom we have come in contact, the feeling of sexual jealousy is not developed to anything like the extent to which it would appear to be in many other savage tribes.' 1

Jealousy, however, seems to have little or no connexion with sympathetic love, but to be entirely concerned with animal instinct and the sense of property, and many savages show jealousy as a remarkable degree as the Central Australians show its absence.

The question remains, and it is important for the study of the origin of the family, whether primitive love was merely organic desire. A priori it is conceivable that the family could have been established, monogamy made the type of marriage, and

1 E. Westermarch, Mf li. 192, quoting Spencer, Principles of Psychology, 1, 456.
2 F. Nietzsche, Der Wille zur Macht, Leipzig, 1911, iii. 235. The neuro-muscular effects in man are curiously paralleled in the animal by the most intense activities, by the development of new weapons, pigments, colours and forms, . . . new rhythms, a new seductive music' (Havelock Ellis, Sex in Relation to Some Composed of the human feelings. Mr. Spencer thus sums up the matter

1 Boyce-Tate, p. 427.
3 'Combination oj psychic or emotional, or 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 the case of the animal world to preserve the race and prevent destruction.

The accounts available vary from pessimistic denial of anything but reproductive impulse to fulsome predication of refined and romantic emotion. The contrast illustrates the difficulty of penetrating to the psychological 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 long-distance romance is manifest from kind treatment. It is pointed out that 'love' must be assumed in Australian marriages by elopement, which was a recognized form of marriage.

The Papuan language possesses no word for 'love.' The Haus has no word for it; but they feel it all the same. The Paharias are said to form 'romantic' attachments.

An observer remarks even of the Arabs that 'the passion of love is a matter of the two sexes; but I doubt whether anything is meant by them more than the grossest animal desire.'

This 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. But Polynesian peoples are peculiarly at home in love poetry, which may be regarded as proving some degree of an emotional refinement, or rather irradiation, 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 rubbing noses, their favourite mark of affection, with an air of tenderness.' Suicide, which is fairly frequent among the lower races, is often prompted by 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 Inuit, in love-taking 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, even in the highest society, 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 maternal care of children contribute to the character 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.

It is possible to argue that 'love has played little or no part in the institution of the family' (see below, § 1). 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, of primitive love 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 frequent denials 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 diagnosis of love is 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 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 the family and social organization are essentially antagonistic. But the pacific way in which they work together in existing races, both civilized and barbarous, and

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also the fact that crude types of social organization have been broken up by the family, strongly oppose this partial view.

It is right to notice that a time came when the conditions of life became favorable to an expansion of nervous and intellectual faculties, when the chief obstacle to a gregarious life—security of food—was overcome. But before that there was a different type of gregariousness, which, so far as we know, did possess elements antagonistic to conjugal affection, at least. It is possible that increased security of subsistence assisted the growth of this emotion and strengthened thereby the family bonds. Westermarck has argued:

"Where the generative power is restricted to a certain season and which primitive man seems to have shared with other animals—it cannot be the sexual instinct that causes the prolonged union of the sexes, nor can I conceive any other cause that might 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. It has been said that no one has induced the sexes to remain united and that the male to protect the female after the sexual act, but I am not convinced; and if procuring great advantage to the species in the struggle for existence, conjugal attachment would naturally have developed into a special type of affection." This is an important statement and calls for consideration. In the first place, the assumption that even the earliest paleolithic men were capable only of periodic impulse is insecurely based. That a more or less regular capacity did 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 be kept in mind, 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 who finds a right of property in 'her man,' however badly he treats her. Again, the invocation of 'natural selection' is, when analyzed, merely rhetorical. Westermarck admits that sexual impulse is 'at the bottom' of conjugal affection, but he ignores improved environment. Neither of these factors can, except by a metaphor, be identified with the agents or machinery of 'natural selection.' The fact is that improvement of conditions and development of nervous and intellectual faculties have been accompanied by an increase both in emotions and in their control: the emotion of love in all its grades has been no exception. To apply the doctrine of the survival of the fittest to such a development within the species is a misapplication of Darwinism, or, rather, an unnecessary extension of the doctrine.

2. Development of sexual love. In order to estimate aright not only the course of development, but the character, of modern love in its typical form, it is necessary to note some further elements—in particular, complementary elements—in the love of man and woman. Male love is active and dominant; female love is passive and subservient. In sex life it is possible to inflict pain, or to give a semblance of pain, on the women they love; it is still easier to transfer the whole of one's delight in experiencing physical pain when inflicted by a lover, and an eagerness to accept submission to his will. Such a tendency is certainly normal. Hence, various aspects of married life and of courtship:

Among the Slavs of the lower class the wives feel hurt if they are not beaten by their husbands; the peasant women in some parts of Hungary do not think they are loved by their husbands until they have received the first box on the ear; among the Italian Camorrista a wife who is not beaten by her husband regards him as a fool.3

It is possible that human love, the more active, the female the more passive part. During the seasons when the number of the most timid animal species engage in desperate combats with each other for the possession of the females, and there can be no doubt that our primate human ancestors did so in the same way, to fight for their wives; even now this kind of courtship is far from being unknown among some male pursuers and tries to capture the female, and she, after some resistance, finally surrenders herself to him. The sexual impulse of the male is more closely connected with a desire to win the female, and the sexual impulse of the female with a desire to be pursued and won by the male. In the female sex there is consequently an instinctive appreciation of manly strength and courage.4

A connected result of male superiority in strength, activity, and courage is the element of protection in male love, and of trust on the side of the female. The pugnacity observed in the males, both of animals and of wild men, is one aspect of the general increase of capacity effected by passion. The intimate psychology of love reveals not only an impulse for union, but an association in the male 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 in front of defining it. 'I la pudeur,' says Gyanu, 'a civilised amour.'5 Connected with these differences is 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.6

Biologically, courtship is a stimulus of love, a means of producing tunescence. Owing to the differences of secondary characters the noted aspect of the love of the male is expressed chiefly in acts of courtship, that of the female in receiving them. If the preservation of love in a permanent union is analyzed, it will be found that it depends on a more or less continuous process of courtship.

A remarkable development of sexual love was made by the early Christians. This was the practice of close but chaste unions between the virgins and young men (see art. CHASTITY). The poetic or Romantic exploitation of prolonged union, but here ignores the custom led (as is shown by the literature) was perhaps the only sociological result. It is possible that this became a tradition and thus reinforced 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 chaste 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 the natural and necessary consequence.

In European civilization to-day the factor of intellectual and moral sympathy in love has become more pronounced with the greater freedom and higher education of women. Sympathy strengthens affection, and affection strengthens sympathy. The element of equal friendship in love has been greatly increased, and thus, curiously, in spite of the levelling which has taken place to some extent in class-distinctions, has made love between members of different social spheres more rare.

1 Ellis, Sexual Impulse, p. 654.
2 M. I., 657.
4 ib., ii, 432.
5 Call, Egypt (1905), p. 177.
LOVE (Primitive)

is a fact that spring and harvest are among savages, barbarians, and modern peasants regular seasons both for germinative and for special development of the sexual feelings. The reason may be partly biological, partly climatic, and partly connected with the food-supply. The probable conclusion is that the conditions being favourable for any sort of expression 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 naturally feeble sexuality and to obtain organic relief.

The principle of dramatization, which is at the root of magical ritual, may be noted in love-charms, of which all folk-ways, from the Australian to the European, have a store, and in a large class of primitive marriage ceremonies, which generally typify union. The latter are organized in love-charms.

The connexion between love and religion is of the same nature as the connexion between love and art and life generally.

* Very much of what is best in religion, art, and life, owes its charm to the progressively widening irradiation of sexual feeling.

4. Homosexual love.—Sexual love between individuals of the same sex is a not infrequent abnormality. It probably occurs, at least sporadically, among savages, though the practice actually realized is 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 beings of the same sex. The one tendency is expressed in the remarkable rules 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 been popular belief 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.

* But it has affirmed clearly and repeatedly the charm of parity. It is a law of love in which and marriage those who resemble themselves.

Modern investigations have established this conclusion.

One of these came from the popular notion that married people end by resembling each other. The explanation was that they began by doing. On the other hand, persons are not attracted to members of the opposite sex whom strikingly unlike themselves in pigmenitary characters.

* 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 related, race. But the barriers between radically different races are occasionally broken by love.

(c) Sexual 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 Dravidians of India. Certain festivals of medieval Europe have been classed in the same category, with little foundation. A prevalent deduction from these periods of licence was that the sexual character of those persons was degraded. 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). A more recent deduction was that among the earliest men and the lowest modern savages pairing took place only in spring and at harvest. The festivals in question would be survivals of a periodic pairing-season. Among mammal and other animals (though not domesticated), in a periodic rutting the sexes are brought together by force of instinct. A similar instance of sexual licence occurs in the birth of the infant from an early age displays some attachment to its parents, especially to the mother. If the affection is pure and simple, it is affection mingled with regard for the physical and mental superiority of the parent.

According to Aristotle, parents love their children as being portions of themselves. Esquiens regards this love as a modified love of self or property. A. Bain, however, derived pure parental love from the "intensive pleasure in the embrace of the young." But, as Westermarck notes, "if the satisfaction in animal contact were not the bottom of the maternal feeling, conjugal affection ought by far to surpass in intensity; and yet, among the lower races at least, the case is exactly the reverse. Conjugal affection is very much inferior and of a lower degree to a mother's love of her child. He adds: 'It seems much more likely that parents do not love their children because they love them, but that they love them because they love them.'

According to Herbert Spencer, parental love is essentially love of the weak or helpless. Westermarck notes that West-European parents "when the young are born in a state of utter helplessness somebody must take care of them, or the species cannot survive, or, rather, such a species could never have come into existence. The maternal instinct may thus be assumed to owe its origin to the survival of the fittest, to the natural selection of useful spontaneous variations. But, as stated above, it is unnecessary to regard these instincts as causes of natural selection.

2. Filial love.—Children's love of their parents is generally much weaker than the parents' love of their children. . . . No individual is born with that love, but it 'universally' exists in all human beings from the infant. This early age displays some attachment to its parents, especially to the mother, and this affection is pure and simple, it is affection mingled with regard for the physical and mental superiority of the parent.
Conversely, parental and, still more so, paternal affection includes a regard for weakness and helplessness. Filial love is proved to be normal in primitive races; as with other forms of love, it is both less intense and less complex than in civilization.

3. Fraternal and social love.—All peoples exhibit ‘altruism of the fraternal type, binding together children of the same parents, relatives more intimately allied, and generally members of the same social unit.1 In primitive tribes social organization is the outcome of social needs, and a real social affection and friendly sympathy are proved. As before, Westernmarck applies the doctrine of natural selection to this development.2 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,3 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 akshias of Hindu religions.

The philosophical literature which exploits the idea of love is enormous. Plato developed the visual factor of love, the beauty of beauty, though beauty must have an objective element. Greek, Christian, and medieval thinkers developed the connexion between love and faith, love of good and love of God. The amor intellectualis, or the development of the soul, is paralleled by many Oriental theories of contemplation. Throughout, love in religion stands midway between the philosophical and the human conceptions.

III. LOVE-DOSSES.—Deities embodying the abstract notion of love are hardly developed until the higher stages of barbarism are reached, but some points may be noted in the previous evolution. Animistic thought may produce, by a process of normal ‘hallucination,’ the belief that evil spirits, being the father or mother of beauty, whatever beauty may be, must have an objective element. Greek, and Christian, and mediaeval thinkers developed the connexion between love and faith, love of good and love of God. The amor intellectualis is paralleled by many Oriental systems of contemplation. Throughout, love in religion stands midway between the philosophical and the human conceptions.

3. 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 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,4 and that of Catlin, that the North Americans are not behind us in conjugal, filial, and paternal affection.5 An accidental case of difference, not due to observers, is the remarkable fact that the Nahua possessed no word for love, while Quichua, the ancient language of Peru, had six hundred combinations of the word meaning ‘to love.’ Observations of this fact has led to an interesting analysis by Brinton of the expression of the idea in the North American dialects. He distinguishes four methods of linguistic reaction to the emotion of love: (1) inarticulate cries, (2) assertions of love, (3) assertions of sympathy and similarity (2 and 3 are clearly not distinct), and (4) assertions of a desire. It is noted that the Maya possessed a radical word for the joy of love, which was purely psychical in significance,6 while the North American was related, as usual, by certain observers.7 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. It is, for instance, stated that the Central Americans at the time of the Spanish invasion were remarkable for their brotherly love and charity to the needy. The Northweesities

The persona 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, Xochitlcatl, and Tlazolteotl, who were patronesses of sexual love. But the Central American deities, with the exception of the leading members of the pantheon, were extremely rarely ministered to by village and city to converse with all and any who came to hear. It is true that its ideals, like those of Christianity, stretched far beyond and away from the range of notions and wishes common among average erranti (collections of normal love as follows: (1) parental, especially mother-love; (2) filial love; (3) fraternal and kin love; (4) friendship; (5) sex love; (6) love of a superior for an inferior; (7) love of an inferior for a superior; and (8) aesthetic and ideal love. It is easy to see that other emotions were blended with these, whereas in the one movement, as in the other, availed to draw to it the hearts of the many as well as the aspirations of the few. And among the deities and the emotions covered by the word 'love,' the teachers of Buddhism and the compilers of its sacred literature met and dealt with every variety of channel, and every degree of refinement or the reverse. We may, for clearness of reference, set out those channels of normal love as follows: (1) parental, especially mother-love; (2) filial love; (3) fraternal and kin love; (4) friendship; (5) sex love; (6) love of a superior for an inferior; (7) love of an inferior for a superior; and (8) aesthetic and ideal love. It is easy to see that other emotions were blended with these, whereas in the one movement, as in the other, availed to draw to it the hearts of the many as well as the aspirations of the few. And among the deities and the emotions covered by the word 'love,' the teachers of Buddhism and the compilers of its sacred literature met and dealt with every variety of channel, and every degree of refinement or the reverse. We may, for clearness of reference, set out those channels of normal love as follows: (1) parental, especially mother-love; (2) filial love; (3) fraternal and kin love; (4) friendship; (5) sex love; (6) love of a superior for an inferior; (7) love of an inferior for a superior; and (8) aesthetic and ideal love. It is easy to see that other emotions were blended with these, whereas in the one movement, as in the other, availed to draw to it the hearts of the many as well as the aspirations of the few. And among the deities and the emotions covered by the word 'love,' the teachers of Buddhism and the compilers of its sacred literature met and dealt with every variety of channel, and every degree of refinement or the reverse. We may, for clearness of reference, set out those channels of normal love as follows: (1) parental, especially mother-love; (2) filial love; (3) fraternal and kin love; (4) friendship; (5) sex love; (6) love of a superior for an inferior; (7) love of an inferior for a superior; and (8) aesthetic and ideal love. It is easy to see that other emotions were blended with these, whereas in the one movement, as in the other, availed to draw to it the hearts of the many as well as the aspirations of the few.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

LOVE (Buddhist).—The way in which early Buddhist literature takes account of the emotion of love is many-sided. It cannot be adequately described, as some have tried to settle it, by a treatment of what is too abstract or, again, too specialized. The hunger for unity or simplification leads some historians to assign to every departure in religions

2 Engels Nibbana, iii., xxxii.
to servant and conversely, and that of layman to reclus or Brahman and conversely. The practical forms which these six several modes of devotion or charity should take are here briefly described. For our present purpose it is chiefly interesting to note that they are prescribed not as mere duties or moral acts, but rather as ways of giving expression to a spirit of 'compassion' felt by the agent. Thus not only should parents in five ways take compassion on (cum-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 any honourable man (kalapattra; this would refer pointedly to Singáda and his companions), in yet other five ways servants should take compassion on their master, and in yet other six ways recluses and Brahmins should take compassion on the laity. The corresponding term in the other six cases of reciprocated service—e.g., of children to parents, husbands to wives, etc.—is 'ministering to,' or 'waiting upon.' And the choice of these two Pali words, differing as they do from those that we should find in a similar European catalogue, is interesting. The former word—to show, take, feel 'compassion'—while it is used in the Sutta, for instance, of the devotion of the good servant, is very often used in the Suttes for the supreme instance of the reciprocal devotion—that of a superior for inferiors—to wit, the compassion moving a Buddha to spend himself for the welfare and happiness of many folk, for the good of gods and men, and to live permanently moved towards the welfare of all that lives and breathes. It was this spirit that he prescribed for those whom he sent forth as missionaries. For all religious forms of 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, Singáda's religious beliefs, but supersedes the latter by the former, and, again, the fact that it substitutes the 'divine emotion' of compassion and the practical devotion of ministry for our more familiar and pragmatic 'love' show no western claim to common caution in making affirmations about love in Buddhism. It may help us further towards some, or away from other, conclusions if we examine in brief detail some of these forms as met with in the five Articles.

1. Parental love.—The typical form of intense and self-surrendering devotion is that of mother-love, just as the type of overwhelming sorrow is that of the bereaved mother. The wise man should elevate to a genuine friend—a watchful, loving, sagacious, sympathizing friend—as the mother is devoted to her child. And not only to his friends: Even as a mother watcheth over her child, her only child, even with life itself, so let us for all creatures, great or small, develop such a boundless heart and mind, that we may let in passionless love for all the world. Upward and downward, near, yea, before, behind, uncumbered, free from ill-will and enmity. This simple is quite in keeping with the chosen term 'being moved, or waiting on, 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. Sati does not appear in any of the stories. The score mentioned above has one case, touched for by the Commentary only, of a man leaving the world because of his young wife's death from snake-bite. And women are recorded, in text and commentary, as having left the world because their husbands had forsaken it for his religion. The power of sex to enthrall is fully acknowledged, as is that of sex-repulsion. But there was no one ancient and moving 'Canticle' of sex-love calling for spiritualized annexation to the Buddha's teaching, 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 Sakká.' Concupiscent—sex-feeling, parent-feeling, and friendship—finds beautiful expression in the old Indian literature, but in poems that are younger than early Buddhist books. This is possibly the outcome of a social evolution—its evolution which in 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 connexion that the Asokan rock and pillar edicts, although they are now and then didactic in tone, are not so much as to make of the Buddhist policy of marriage one of love and fidelity. Again, it is perhaps a pathetic touch in the Anthologies that shows woman at her best ready for the comfradreship, but man blind to it. Mahá-Kassapa, who headed the Order at the Buddha's death, and a Jina himself, is famed as a preacher of marriage, by commentarial tradition, husband and wife, and not in their final birth only. They left the world by mutual agreement, having gone through the form of marriage to please their kin. She, in the poems so fervently extolled her, glories in her ex-husband's gifts and in their 'spiritual friendship' and common vision of the truth. His much longer poem reveals him as both the anchorite and the friend of mankind, even of the outcast, but has no word concerning her. 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 Suttes on domestic life, it was a girl left that there is no term for love not her husband, but of her father-in-law. 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:

'Wooed when sharing home with hostile wife.'

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. 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 by 'taking compassion upon him.' He, as father, teacher, etc., is ministered to or waited upon; it is he who 'takes compassion' on children, disciples, and laity. Honour, worship, or homage, faith or confidence, and the term pannamita, which may be rendered 'resting in,'

1 Rhys Davids, Psalms, ii. 34. 2 Aggántara Níkāya, l. 1. 3 Rhys Davids, Psalms, l. 1594. 4 T. W. Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, London, 1899-1906, ii. 301. 5 Rhys Davids, Psalms, l. 49. l. 2041. 6 Majjhima Níkāya, l. 186; Rhys Davids, Psalms, l. 1595. 7 Rhys Davids, Psalms, l. 1595. 8 H. E. Parker, xxxii, p. 140, and text. 9 Dharmapala Commentary, l. 21, 430, etc.
satisfied with'—such are the expressions for the emotion felt, but not 'love.' The Indian words for love were frequently elastic 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 adoring 'heart' or of the intellectual love of the philosophic mind:

1. I see him with my mind as if 't were mine eyes,
By night, by day, incessant, watching ever.
I reverence him while waiting for the morrow.
And thus methinks I'm ever with him dwelling.

Truly my mind with him is joined, O Brahman.

The emancipating force of his teaching drew the imagination:

'God', leaving the men of vision cramped,
Comes as the swan flies to the mighty sea.'

And the charm or majesty of his presence drew by way of sense:

'O wood'son fair the All-enlightened shines
Like a great storm-cloud in the summer sky,
There on the followers pours most precious rain,
Noble of aspect, whose skin
Resemblith gold, say, what is thus? for
To thee with presence so supremely fair!

This adoration for his person is usually accepted, but not always,

'Long have I wished, lord,' said the devoted Vakkali on his deathbed, 'to draw near to the Exalted One, but now is there no comfort for me in the presence of Vakkali, what hast thou to do with seeing this poor frame of me? He who seeth the Norm, he it is that seeth me; he that seeth me is he who seeth the Norm.'

And indeed it was the conviction that, in this man of the long and tireless ministry, carried out purely from sweet compassion for the sons of men, such wisdom and goodness, charm and power, were combined and made to hold sway in this world; and where he lived, the need for superhuman objects of worship from his followers, and which, long after he had passed away, aided the theological evolutions of Mahayana—conception, namely, of Mahajurati, and Avalokitesvara; and Maditeya or Metteyya, the future Buddha, has been conceived as one who will revive the spirit of lovingkindness among men.

4. Love towards devatas. For deity, or the deities of its age, early Buddhism finds no need of adoring devotion. No deities in our sense of the word exist for it. All devas are more like our conception of angels, beings differing from mankind in form and activity and in some of their mental characteristics. They inhabited other more or less adjacent worlds or spheres. On earth were nature-spirits or fairies, usually termed devatā (lt., 'deity'). All were to be treated with goodwill and respect, 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 Arhats—it is the devas who render homage and minister to the man, not the reverse.

5. Ideal Love. The emotion of ideal love, though it was not reserved for any personified deity in Buddhism, and though it played largely round the person of the founder, was not otherwise atrophied. It never appears as associated with the whole of that cosmology which, for the more intellectual Buddhists, takes the place of a theodicy. Devotion bestowed on a 'cosmic mechanism,' not planned by divine wisdom, and involving for each and all so much unspeakable suffering, was not to be looked for. But the Norm, as doctrine and as a part of that cosmos, in Pali dhamma and dhammatā, constituted for the intelligent adherent a source of austere affection (rāti). Admiration for dhammatā is a feature in the Brihadāraṇyaka, and the expression 'love for the Norm' (dhammaṅgatā rāti) is met with; e.g. (here called 'the Ideal'),

'Iis love set on the Ideal,
Other loves that Love surpasseth.'

The same emotion is aroused by the idea of Nirvāṇa (nibbānāṅgū patri) also, a stronger form of rāti; and by that of the Sāsana, or 'religion,' 'rule' (āgāramātā).

6. Friendships. 'Goodwill and friendliness' (aryagāpa, adoṣa, 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 (orātis), 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 home life, and have never aised in business or leisure. Sine I have never harboured conscious wish or plan Uncommons such as are linked with evil.
Never under the quest, all this long interval—
'Let's suite our fellow-creatures, let us say,
Let them be hushed to pain and bury;'
Say, how, love, I do avow, made infinite,
Well trained, by orderly progression grown.
Even as by the Buddha it is taught,
With all I am a friend, comrade to all,
And to all creatures kind and successful;
A heart of amity I cultivate,
And ever in goodwill is my delight.
A heart that cannot drift or fluctuate,
I make my joy; the sentiments sublime That evil men do shun I cultivate.'

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 exordium to practise mettā and sympathy with pain or joy or by sluggishness in the carrying out of these virtues by leading Buddhists.

It would be hard to give a physical or mental illustration of any exordium so aglow with 'goodwill towards men' as that of the so-called Four Brahmajīhāras, i.e. Best Dispositions, or Four Infinitudes:

'Suffusing, tender and compassionate, such an one with the rays of our loving or sympathy (bhāvanā) thought, and from him forthgoing suffusing this and that quarter, the whole world with living consciousness for reaching even to or, again, as that of the emanation of mind through 'amity':

All the means that can be used as hasse so right doing... are outshone in radiance and glory by this, which takes all those up into itself.'

If this be 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. All were either to be 'ministered unto' with honour or to be taken compassion upon in that spirit of grave tenderness for the burden of ill on earth—and in the heavens too—which is Buddhism at its emotional best. 'Conquer the wrathfulness by mildness, ... the stingy by giving, the liar by truth.'

7. Altruism. Among the channels for cathartic altruistic sentiment, however termed, the giving of

1 Rhys Davids, Psalms, ii. 403, 411.
3 E.g., Rhys Davids, Psalms, ii. 274, 389.
4 H. Oldenberg, Buddha's, Stuttgart, 1894, p. 367.
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the ocean near the mouth of the Loire; and, though Strabo calls these rites Bacchie, it is very probable that they were connected with some form of love-worship.

In the betrothal rites of the founders of Marseille there appear to be indications of the existence of a love-god. We are told that the daughter of the king, after a splendid repast, entered the room with a full cup in her hand, and extended it, by chance or strategy, to some of the men who were sitting by the father, sanctioned it at once, declaring that it was a god who wished it (Aristotle, quoted by Athenaeus, xiii. 36 [p. 576]). According to Plutarch (Arist. Res., xxii., de Mulierum viribus, &c.), it was customary among the Gauls for the father to take place before the altar of the goddess, who, in the case which he cites, happened to be Artemis. It is impossible to say how far those rites were influenced by the customs of the Greeks.

In spite of her beauty, and the love which was shown her by some of the men from the kingdom of the Loire, women were reduced among the Gauls, they were not free to marry, and fidelity to their husbands (see ETHICS AND MORALITY [Celtic], i. 2).

Yet by the 4th cent. A.D., if we may accept the statement of the Emperor Julian, we can learn from St. Thomas Aquinas, “the first and last,” who, writing C. c. 157, saw a beautiful damsels approaching. "She was attired in a strange garb," he writes, "and the Druids who passed by without a word, she replied: "We are the great side, hence we are called the people of the side," i.e. of the mound or hillock. 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 Meg Meld, "Plain of Delight," where dwelt King Bedadug. "Come with me," she cried. Conna, the Red, of the speckled neck, flame-red, a yellow crown adorning thee; thy figure shall not wither, nor thy youth nor thy beauty till the dreadful judgment." Conna then bore the druid to whom, like the others, had not seen the damsel, chant a magic song against her. She departed, but not before throwing Conna an apple, which was his sole sustenance for a month, and yet nothing diminished the delicacy of the apple. After a while longing seized Conna for the damsels, and at the end of a month he beheld her again, when she addressed him thus: "It is no lofty seat on which Conna sits among the short-lived mortals, waiting fearful death. The ever-living beings (bi bith) invite thee. Thou art a favourite of the men of Tethra, for they see thee every day in the assembly of thy father's house among thy dear friends." The king urged the druid to chant against her, but she made answer: "O Conal of the Hundred Battles, druidism is no race save only men and maidens. When she had ended, Conna gave a bound into her ship of glass, and they sailed away, from that day to this they have never come, and no one knows whether they went (for this text of the saga see Winch.

In his analysis of the Trinity, the great epic of Ireland—which depicts to a great extent the morals of Cuchulainn—H. Zimmerman pointed out that Medb, the heroine of the legend, is 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 (D'Arbois d'Entremont, Hintergrund in den Erzählungen der irischen Heldensage, SBAW, 1911, pp. 174-227).

An idea of the unusual prominence of the love-motive in the early Irish sagas can be formed from the list of titles given in A. W축h's Essai d'un catalogue de la littérature épique de l'irlande (Paris, 1883).

There are on pp. 34-37 there are twelve stories bearing the title alba, or 'eloquence,' among the more important of which are Aithil Blazon, toin Follail, naísa Fhidhla, to Colubhainn, or 'Eloquence of Eblain, daughter of Fidhla, to Colubhainn' (ed. G. Keating, Hist. of Ireland, tr. J. O'Connell, New York, 1840, pp. 582-841); Aithil Breacan re meicrib Unaig, or 'Eloquence to one of the sons of the god, identical with Longes macus Unaig, or 'Eloquence of the Son of the God' (ed. Windisch, loc. cit., pp. 184-184, 184).

Buch der Philos. Hnhuchenscheln, 'Women, one of the Enchanted Palace' (d'Ars of de Juvainville, p. 224.) is concerned entirely with the rather unlikely story of 'The Marriage of Colubhainn.'

In addition to Cicth na Snìr and Cath Tochmarc, the sagas, such as Tochmarc or 'Eloquence of Graine to Duirainn' (Book of Lecan, fol. 161; Brit. Mus., Harley MS. 520, fol. 25). In addition to Cirth na Snìr and Cath Tochmarc, which are 'Eloquence to the god.'

A most interesting example of the development of the primitive love-theme is found in Cuchulainn's Sick Bed.

Without multiplying examples, it is obvious that the women is usually the aggressive figure in Irish mythology. In Christian times wherein beliefs the pagan love-theme have flourished, the method of procedure is different, as has been pointed out, the man pursuing the woman, who is then against her wishes. Thus, when King Finnachta was bewitched by the enchantress and in great danger of his life, a stranger appeared to him, declaring that he would save his husband's life if she would consent to yield herself to him. She consented with relucrance; and the child born of this union was the 7th century. King Monlog of the annalist says: "Every one knows that his real father was Manannán" (Lecbehair na Midhre, facsimile reprint, Dublin, 1870, p. 135, 19).

In the Christian cycle the love-motive is usually one of wild lust; and, as these scenes are doubtless reflect, to a great extent, the condition of society at the beginning of the Christian era, we can form from them an idea of the status of woman at that period. The nearest approach to a goddess of love is found in Bravan, "White Beoune," daughter of a widow, who has been called the "Venus of the northern sea." (C. I. Elton, origins of English History, London, 1890, p. 291). She was in all probability a goddess of fertility, but appears as Bravan in romance, giving a title: poem to her name, which in itself is perhaps a reminiscence of her 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 Gwydion, Gilvathwy, and Arianrhod (MacCulloch, p. 103). All these diversities play a more or less important part in the story of Gilvathwy's illicit love for Goeun, the 'founder' of Mab in the Mabinogion.

Returning to magic, Gwydion succeeded in obtaining for Mab from the court of Frydri certain swine sent him by Arawn, king of the Annwn, for the purpose of testing him in his love affair. The trick was discovered, and a battle ensued, in which Gwydion slew Prydervy by enchantment. Having discovered that Gilvathwy had seduced Goeun, Mab transformed him into a swine, and succeeded in the matter, which is also implied by the fact that Gwydion was the lover of his own sister Arianrhod, by whom he had two children. MacCullouch (p. 100) that these myths reflect from time to time such unions, perhaps only in royal houses, were permitted to Arianrhod, her part, while being the mother of her children, it corresponds to a virgin and refuses to acknowledge her children.

The more or less universal type of the treacherous wife is found in the story of the marriage of the goddess, Blodwen, who discovers the secret of her husband's and then places him at the mercy of her lover (T. W. Rolleston, Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race.) This purpose, the 1911, p. 836). In the Welsh romances the element of love, principally to foreign influences, assumes the aspect of woman-worship. This new attitude towards
love is already apparent in Kihkuch and Oloen, which is comparatively an ancient tale, and is further developed in later stories like Peredur and The Lady of the Fountain (see A. Nutt, Celtic and Medieval Romance, London, 1899). It is the main symptom of the extent to which, in comparison with the Irish, Welsh literature had lost its pure Celtic form (Rossetti, "The Lady of the Fountain," 1845 ff.). The relations between the sexes in Wales have already been discussed in ETHICS AND MORALITY (Celtic), III. 1-7.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

JOHN LAWRENCE GERRIG.

LOVE (Chinese).—The importance of love as an ethical principle is recognized by Chinese moralists. This can be made sufficiently evident from the classics when asked about benevolence (jin), Confucius replied: 'It is to love all men' (Analects, xi. 23). 'Jin is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives' (Dialectic of Meaning, xx, 5). 'The benevolent embrace all in their love; but they who considered of the greatest importance is to cultivate an earnest affection for the virtuous' (Menelaus, vi, 1, 45).

From these passages it appears that the general affection of love is modified in accordance with the classes of kinship and virtue. The nature of true love is further brought out in such sayings as these: 'For he that is a lover, said Confucius, 'It is only the truly virtuous man who can love or who can hate others' (Analects, vi. 9). 'The Master said, 'Can there be love which does not lead to strictness with its object?' (Ku, vi. 6).

The importance of love as an ethical principle may also be seen in what is said of 'reciprocity' (shu). This is 'in action, to put oneself in another's place.' Primacy is given to it as the rule of life (Analect, xv, 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' (Dialectic of Meaning, xiii, 5). In the Confucian ethic, however, the exercise of love is limited by retributive justice.

'Some one said, 'What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompenced with kindness?' The Master said, 'With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness.' (Analect, vi. 26, 27).

Specially interesting in connexion with the place of love in Chinese ethics is the philosopher Mencius and his doctrine of universal love, as the bond of a perfect social state. The Confucian ethic has no 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 depravations are unreflected in Chinese literature from the Shi King and Shu King down to presentation novels. In view of too evident grossness of thought and life, one is surprised to find the literature no less refined. Love is neither a mysterious superstition, 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 E. H. Parker (Studies in Chinese Religion, London, 1910), "There is a considerable amount of disguised ling worship, especially in the south of China." He adds, 'In any case, prayers for children, offered up by women, are common enough everywhere.' Such prayers are in themselves innocent, but in some cases the accompanying ritual worship of the idol invoked is somewhat suspect, and is shy of public view. All this is undoubtedly 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 works of SBE; and E. Faber, Menelkus, Shanghai, 1897. For examples of popular superstition cf. H. C. Du Bose, The Dragon, Imag, and Demon, London, 1889.

P. J. MACLAGAN.

LOVE (Christian and New Testament).—I. Divine love.—The highest and most satisfying faith which the human mind has attained, or can attain, is formulated in the Christian conceptions of love, 'God is love' (1 Jn 4:16). 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 to be waged against the forces opposing this first principle of religion and ethics, the acceptance or rejection of which leads logically to optimism or pessimism.

A few expressions of the belief that eternal love subsists at the heart of all things, and manifests itself through them, may be chosen as typical.

'Let me tell you why the Creator made the universe. He was good ... and desired that all things should be as like Himself as possible' (Plato, Tim., 26 E). 'The Lord is good to all; and his tender mercies are over all his works' (Ps 145).

'For thou lovest all things that are, as if they were the things which thou didst make; for never wouldst thou have formed anything if thou didst hate it' (Wis 11:4). 'And we know that to them love God all things together for good' (Rom 8:28). 'O tender God, if Thou art so loving in Thy creatures, how fair and lovely must Thou be in Thyself!' (Suau, quoted by W. K. Inge, Christian Mysticism, London, 1883, p. 252). For lovers of Nature Wordsworth expresses the conviction that nothing 'Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold Is full of blessings' (Tintern Abbey, 122 ff.).

There is no doubt in R. C. Trench's large utterance: 'We and all men move Under a canopy of love. As broad as the blue sky above' (The Kingdom of God, 4:6).

"er in Browning's 'cri du cœur': 'God! Thou art love! I build my faith on that' (Paracelsus, v. 51).

And in Carlyle's words there is at least a wishful longing to believe: 'O Nature! ... Art not thou the "Living Garment of God"? ... Is it, in very deed, He, then, that ever speaks through thee... that loves and loves in thee?' (Sartor Resartus, The Everlasting Year).

It is common knowledge, however, that this splendid creed of three syllables is not only severely tested but strenuously contested. The notion that love is the ultimate reality of things implies that transcendent love is Creator and Lord of the world, and immanent love the life which pulsates through it, the Spirit ceaselessly operant in Nature and humanity—is pronounced by many to be a delusion and a snare. One of the chief arguments of free-thought thus emphatically expresses himself: "That God is love is a very lofty, poetical and grading conception, but it is open to one fatal objection—it is not true" (R. Blatchford, God and My Neighbor, London, 1897, p. 25).

One of the leaders of philosophical 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. 257). So manifest and repellent is the blending of good and evil in human lives that Swinburne makes the chorus of one of his dramas sing:

'The high gods
.... wronged with weeping and laughter,
And fashioned with looking and love
.... The holy spirit on
(Atalanta in Calypso (Poems, London, 1904, iv. 220)."

The bitter pagan belief, that the gods take the same pleasure in the sufferings of mankind as cruel children in the torture of flies, still has its adherents, finding expression, for example, in Thomas Hardy's pessimistic dictum, 'The President of the Immortals (in Eschylean phrase) has ended his sport with Tess.' Some critics of the world-order do not hesitate to declare that 'for all the Sin which the Face of Man has blackened' God needs to take as well as give man's forgiveness (Omar Khayyám, quatrain lviii.).

Worst of all,
science hesitates to say that God is love. The belief so dear to the heart of Linnaeus, that the phenomena of Nature bear witness to the benevolence of the Creator, is supposed to have received a staggering, if not a fatal, blow from the principle of evolution, so that no comforting rod or staff, but only a broken reed, appears to be left in the hand of the man

Who trusted God was love indeed
The Nature, red in tooth and claw
With raving, shed's against his creed.

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, from which all things proceed' (H. Spencer, Ecclesiastical Institutions, London, 1883, p. 548). The question is whether that Energy is controlled by love, or, rather, is identical with love—whether the All-Great is the All-Loving.

(c) What answer comes from the heart of Nature? The search for an answer, whether in the form of a realized survival of the fittest and extinction of the unfit, has gone on through geological ages and is still going on. But if we may demonstrate a truism which modern science has added to the sum of knowledge. And it is impossible, to imagine a God of 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 andawan bokrlyrlydays of the evolution doctrine is now generally admitted to have been based upon half truths. Unqualified assertions that 'nature is one with rapine,' that any little wood is a 'world of plunder and prey' (Tennyson, Maud, iv, jv.), that the cosmic process has no sort of relation to moral ends (T. H. Huxley, Collected Essays, London, 1898, p. 83; cf. 197), that all progress is attained by the methods of the gladiatorial show or the battle-field, are seen to be almost libel. For the whole range of life upon the earth—vegetal, animal, social—bears witness to something quite different from hatred and strife.

The two main activities of all living things are reproduction and reproduction, and, while the object of the former is to secure the life of the individual, the object of reproduction is to secure the life of the species. If one great factor of evolution is concerned with self-assertion, another is concerned with self-sacrifice, and it is not too much to assert that evolution 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 gentle, of the loving (J. A. Thomson, The Bible of Nature, Edinburgh, 1985, p. 179).

If Rousseau erred in closing his mind to everything but the love, peace, and harmony of Nature, we are equally at fault if we find in her nothing but discord and cruelty.

Love is not a late arrival, an after-thought, with Creation. It is not a novelty of a romantic civilization. It is not a piece of history. Its roots began to grow with the first cell of life that budded on this earth. It is the supreme factor in the evolution of the world. The Struggle for the Life of Others is the philosophical name for the greatest word of ethics—Creation. Love (not Maud, London, 1894, pp. 274-284). 'The principles of morality have their roots in the deepest foundations of the universe,' and 'the basis of general ethics is ethical in the profoundest sense' (John Fiske, Through Nature to God, London, 1899, p. 79).

If, then, creative evolution is God's theophany—His manifestation infolding His purpose and revealing Himself—the facts of the case, in 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 rush of enthusiasm towards God' (Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memoirs of his Life, London, 1877, p. 56). It must be admitted, however, that there is another side. Nature's physical and vital forces do not all inspire confidence, making us 'very sure of God' and ready to acclaim the sentiment, '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 complex to be ignored. The life of the forest and the jungle is not all idyllic. The wolf does not lie down with the lamb, nor the lion eat straw like the ox. The tiger and the tarantula are no less real than the fawn and the dove. It is impossible to forget Nature's menaces to the unfit or her savage outbreaks of fire and flood and tempest. Over against Natura Maligna we have always to set Natura Maligna, as T. Watts-Dunton does in a group of sonnets (The Coming of Love). And the existence of pain in the world there are not a few observers, especially those who have been victims, to the conclusion that God, whether personal or impersonal, is no more than an irresistible and inexorable Force, indifferent to pain, success, or failure, and regardless of Hell, nation, or Church, ruled by the unwholesome, the hated, or scorned, rather than trusted and loved. This is the view which lends a tragic pathos to the Promethaeus Vinctus, the book of Job, and other literature of religious doubt.

With the best 'wholesome,' many a man cannot wholeheartedly affirm that 'the variety of creatures . . . is so many Sounds and Voices, Peacocks and Parrots, giving Glory and Praise and Thanksgiving to that Delight of Love, which goes life to all Nature and Creature' (William Law, The Spirit of Love in Works, London, 1892-93, viii, 353).

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 seek to 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 and mystery, only a little has been read, and though there is no religion without mystery, yet the inquiring spirit of man is troubled. Devout but open-eyed spectators of the world-drama are sometimes 'perplexed in the extreme.' They feel as if Nature were betraying the heart that they have loved.

'God is love, transcendent, alpervading! We do not get this faith from Nature or the world. If we look at Nature alone, full of perfection and imperfection, she tells that is disease, murder, and rapine' (H. T. Tennyson, Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir, London, 1897, p. 314).

And, if 'to be with those we love doth work like madness in the brain,' it is the crowning sorrow to doubt the God whose loving-kindness is better than life (Ps 63).

(b) But the God who speaks ambiguously through Nature reveals Himself also through literature. He has His dwelling 'in the mind of man' (Wordsworth, Tintern Abbey, 96). Here it must not be forgotten that the isolation of the human species from the rest of the sentient creation is now known to be unsustained. This fact alone makes evident the ethical ideas and ideals the more wonderful. The basis of society is the family, and the cosmic process which has brought into existence the conscious personal relation between mother and child cannot be said to be indifferent to ethical ends; rather it may be held to exist for the sake of such ends. While Huxley is right enough in maintaining (L. Huxley, Life and Letters of Thomas
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Henry Huxley, London, 1900, ii. 264) 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 the universe. If God is personally involved in the human life, he is the crowning achievement.

The development of 'the moral sentiments, the moral law, devotion to unselfish ends, disinterested love, nobility of soul — these are Nature's most highly wrought products, least in coming to maturity; they are the consummation, towards which all earlier prophecy had pointed' (J. Fiske, op. cit. p. 139).

Now, these constitutive elements of the moral life are the root and ground of that assurance of Divine love which must be regarded in the first instance as an instinct or intuition of loving hearts. The writer of the Song of Solomon makes a Hebrew maiden, inspired by her passion of holy love, explain: 'For love is strong as death... the flashes thereof are flashes of fire, a very flame of the Lord.' (8). This means not only that the pure love which glows and burns in the human breast is a fire kindled and cherished by God, but that it is an emanation from, and in quality identical with, His own uncreated flame of love. He 'never is dishonoured in the spark' (Browning, An Wife to Any Husband, 12). Follow the spark, and it leads to God. The natural is seen to be supernatural. 'The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord' (Pr 20:27). The prophet Hosea, made wise by a patient love outwearing man's own self-willed heart, 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 concept in the supreme moral crisis of life, his sensitized mind to receive a new and true image of the Absolute. His forgiving pity, his redeeming love, his confidence in the ultimate triumph of God, gave him an uncircling insight into the controlling principle of the Divine character. Love, he sees, is paramount in heaven and earth, and justice is 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 "confesso annus" the preface to a stupendous love-tale, of which the scene is the world and the hero is God. He represents Israel's patient Divine Friend as saying, 'I delight in love, and not in sacrifice. When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love' (6th 11:1-4; cf. 3: 14). Latter prophets and lawgivers reiterate Hosea's teaching in many beautiful forms — I have loved thee with an everlasting love: therefore have I continued my mercies unto thee' (Jer 31: 3). 'He will rest in his love, he will joy over thee with singing' (Zeph 3: 17; cf. Dt 4: 7; 7: 10). Is 48: 63). '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 theological and ethical views and ideas are to be found in his book.' (C. H. Corin, The Prophets of Israel, Chicago, 1899, p. 53. (c) Jesus linked His gospel with the prophecy of Hosea by repeatedly quoting the words: 'I will love him not (ritual) sacrifice' (Mt 9: 12). 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 benediction 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. He sanctioned the religious use of 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. Love and the love of God. 'There is none like my love; there is none like me.' (J. Fiske, op. cit. p. 5).

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 vilest, His yearning to bring back the lost, His forgiveness of those who 'know not what they do,' He is the Revealer of God. He changes Israel's Lord of Hosts into mankind's Father. The writer 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 is a fact which science must reverently accept. Christ is indeed (herown out not only the spiritual ideals of Israel, but the cosmic ethological strivings of Nature.

Our first reason, then, for believing that God is Love, is the authority of Jesus, Son of God, infinite Love.

(c) The apostles always interpret Divine love in the light of Christ's sacrifice. The love which inspired the early Church was more than that of the Father who makes His sun to shine on the evil and on the good. It was as the love of the Father who withholds 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 institution which provided a propitiation for sins (1 Jn 4: 10). 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: 20). 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 'Gentle and Submissive Son of God, infinite 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 cosmicognic myths. The Eros of Hesiod is not 'erotic' in the later sense of the word. The Love is the fairest of the gods, who rules over the minds and councils of gods and men, the great using power, who brings order and beauty among the conflicting elements of Chaos. To the lofty mind of Plato love is the sympathy of affinities, the instinctive rushing together of kindred souls, the harmony of spirits, not without that touch of natural feeling as strengths 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 the Christians, 'are Thine offspring, alone of mortal things that live and walk the earth moulded in the image of the All' (cf. At 1757).

But Christianity raises love to a higher mood, sanctifies it with a new armour, purifies it by the touch of God, making the nature of man and woman sacramentally holy, and changing the bitterest foe into a potable passion for the husband and the wife. And Christ died.' The very vocabulary of love is changed, Eros, a word too often profaned, giving place to Agape. The natural elements of conjugal love, real and imperious enough, now new to the highest uses, have been ascended to them the intimate communion of heart and soul. The genus of love is seen to be sacrificial, which has its source and sanctification in God's eternal self-giving.

'Three sorts of these lives are faithful prayers, Whose lovers are in God's love enduring' (Tennyson, In Memoriam, xxii.).
One of such lives can it be safely said that 'love is an unerring light, and joy its own security' (Wordsworth, Ode to Duty, 19.4). The strongest affection decays unless it is rooted in idealism. The home of life cannot be built on the shifting sand of passion. Love faints and fails unless it is braced by the sense of duty. Love's elocution's voice, going to the wars, says to Lucasta:

'if could not love thee, dear, so much, Loved I not honour, I.'

It is always the '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 which the soul is the repository and an intensity and an earnestness of the life of the pampered individualism. When Christ says, 'He that loveth father or mother ... or daughter, more than me is not worthy of me,' He is calling men to the ideal life, which includes whatsoever things are pure and lovely and of good report. 'We needs must love the highest when we see it' (Tennyson, Guinevere, ad fin.).

The truth is that the heart's deepest instinct—its passionate 'sacred desire'—cannot be satisfied with an earthly affection. The Hebrew poet speaks for the human race when he says that, as the hart pants for the water brooks, so his soul pants after God, thirsts for the living God (Ps. 42:1-2).

The mystical and philosophical students of love from Plato and Plotinus to Augustine and Dante have felt that demands, in the last resort, an infinite object and an infinite response (Fillingworth, p. 33). 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 is the void of the manly of the ideal, and rest is till it rests in God. The deepest thoughts of a nation are expressed by its artists and poets. Rosseti painted human love languishing for fullness of life, but evermore fearing death. Watts painted divine love leading life per aspera ad astra. Tennyson proclaims that his love would be half-dead to know that it must die (In Memoriam, xxxv.), while his faith in immortality stays itself on its deathless love of a friend.

'Peace, let it be for I loved him, and love him for ever: the dead are not dead but alive' (Psalm, ad fin.).

My love is perfect, my brother, and my God' (I John, 4:16).

Browning repeats in a hundred forms his reasoned conviction that:

'There is no good of life but love—but love!'

What else is good, is some shade hung from love

'Love gilds it, gives it worth' (In a Balcony [Works, London, 1855, p. 177].

And he is certain that love cannot be quenched by death.

'No: love which, on earth, amid all the shores of it, has ever seen the sole good of life in it,
The love, lover growing there, spite of the strife in it,
Shall arise, made perfect, from death's repose of it.' (Christian Erst, 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.

(e) True intercourse with God Himself is a fellowship of love. To be right with God is to have a heart of a lover or a child. Though the OT breathes many passionate longings for such an intercourse, it is alone exemplifies it in its perfection. The bare notion of such a divine fellowship was strange to the Gentile whose relation to the object of his worship was always cold and distant. Jesus lived in uninterrupted filial communion with His Father, teaching His followers to do the same. It is their high privilege to know Him, to walk in the steps of Him, to be loved and to love Him. And so to have His love shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit given to them (Ro. 5:5).

(f) The knowledge of God can be attained only through love. In love's love a 'dry light' helps but little. Theology at its best, like 'divine philosophy,' is always charged with feeling. 'Perceus factit theogoniam.' Selfishness absolutely disqualifies the student of divine things. God reveals Himself to those who tread, like Himself, the 'love-way'—'the way of lowly service' (1 John 3:18). Even as the eye, said Plutinus, 'could not behold the sun itself sunlike, so neither could the soul behold God if it were not Godlike' (Ennead, i. vi. 9). Not to sympathize is not to understand. Love is the present hierarch of the mysteries of God. He who willeth to do the will of God shall be called His brother. His highest teaching (Jn 7:16); but He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, and therefore cannot love God whom he hath not seen (1 Jn 4:20), has lost 'the key of knowledge' (1 Jn 11).

(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 are strong and stable in proportion as they are welded together by that brotherly love which is the law of the kingdom of heaven.

'Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,
And men below, and saints above.'

For love is heaven, and heaven is love' (Scott, Lay of the Last Minstrel, ii. 5-7).

(d) As man's chief good, love is a task as well as a gift—an Affraged as well as an end. Love is not a passive sentiment or an involuntary emotion. The verb 'to love' has an imperative mood, which the greatest lawgivers—Jesus as well as Moses—frequently use. To this extent Christianity as well as Judaism is legalistic. The practice of love is the highest exercise of freedom. 'The love of the will' is no less real than that of the heart (Fillingworth, p. 110). 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 delusive; it is a good will—which, 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's virtues as the unfolding of love—'Virtus est ordo 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 minders and what helps itself' (de Moribus, l. 15 [23].)

The law of love is called the royal law (rXarov BpevXOv, da 2), because, being above in dignity and power among the moral virtues, which are only human, action, it brings all the others into subjection to itself.

'All thoughts, all passions, all delights, Whatever stirs this mortal frame, from love springs All are but ministers of love,
And true housewife of God's love' (Coleridge, Lorr. 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' (M. Arnold, Morell, 21. Poet. Rod [dude w], p. 256). But the moral life needs the heart to aid the will, and the will, if it moved the will as long as its roots are dry, its strength and fruitfulness are always traceable to hidden springs of
George Herbert calls sin and love the 'two vast, spacious things' which it believes every man to measure (The Agony, 4). The one is infinite. And the stronger subdues the weaker. Where sin abounds, grace—which is Divine love in its redeeming energy—superabounds (Ro 5:20). And all hope for the world lies in the fact that a God of holy love and his Spirit in His children, for ever wrestling with its sin.

1 Is not God now i' the world His love first made?
   Is not His love at issue still with sin,
   Visibly when a wrong is done or left undone?

(Browning, A Death in the Desert, 213.)

Augustine uses a still finer figure than that of the arena. He speaks of the glory of love as 'alive but yet frostbound. The root is alive, but the branches are almost dry. There is a heart of love within, and within are leaves and fruits; but they are waiting for a summer' (In Epist. Jean. of Porth. v. 10). And, with eyes opened by eating of the fruit, men find their Paradise in setting their desire and will be turned,

'Even as a wheel that equally is moved,
By the Love that moves the sun and the other stars.'

(Dante, Vita, xxiii. 141.)

GEORGE HERBERT, *The Temple*:

**LOVE** (Greek)—I. GODS OF LOVE. 1. Introductory. —Gods of love, whether co-ordinate with, or actually in opposition to, deities presiding over marriage and fertility, are products of a relatively late development. Doubtless, too, the moment of gratification gave rise to 'momentary gods,' and served to fix their permanent influence in the cultus; this group will include Aphrodite Ἀφροδιτη in Megara (Paus. i. xiii. 6), Aphrodite *Venus* in Abydos (Athen. xii. 572 C; cf. R. Meister, Griechische Dicht. Stuttgart, 1882), Aphrodite Μουσώτις in Gythium (Pans. iii. xxii. 1), and Aphrodite Ἀφροδίτη in Argos (Hesych. sv. ; Nicand. frag. 23 [Scheffer]). In Provence the phallic demes *Téscro* was dedicated to her service (IG xiv. 2424), and in the closer connexion with the Kuck [enumerated under a decided, quasi- Cretan] Ter (W. Hosnett, The Faith of a Modern Protestant, London, 1800, p. 77 f.)

While, however, all finite love flows from God's infinite love, it is not always conscious of its source. It may well up pure and strong in a heart which has never been able by searching to find out God. And it is none the less acceptable to God though He 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 expressed more authoritatively in Mt 25, where our Lord proclaims that deeds done in love to the least of His brethren are accepted as done to Himself. And they are enumerated as 'the name which has for itself become explicit' (Ullswater, p. 190).

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an epigram of Theocritus (no. 13; cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Textgesch. der Euphiletter, Berlin, 1906, p. 118) a woman of Cos thanks her for the worship of Aphrodite in that city, and for a second husband were directed to her (Naupactus (Paus. x. xxxviii, 12)); in Sparta she was entertained to retard the coming of old age (ib. iii. xvii. 11: Orosi. Pop. frag. 2 (Bergk)).

In addition to these functions, however, she promoted increase and growth in the larger world of nature, as appears from such epithets as Διάρμης (Chiduq (Paus. i. 1. 3)) and Εὔδηδα (Syracuse), (Hesych. s.v.), which can hardly apply exclusively to the άρμης of her. Appropriated to her, as the goddess of fertility, was the goat sacred, and she rides upon it (A. Fortwängler, SMA, 1899, ii. 390 ff.: P. Gardner, Mélanges Perrot, Paris, 1902, p. 121 ff.). Moreover, sacrifices of swine were offered to her, as to Demeter, at the festival of the ξύρισις in Argos ( Athen. iii. 96 A; the name of the festival is ancient, as is shown by the mode of its formation: as 'Ανότης-τηπα). As also in Cos (W. Dittenberger, Sylloge inscr. Gr. Leipzig, 1898, p. 621), Phocis, and Phrygia (Strob. ix. 438). And, as just goddesses of the field and of fertility, like the Charites and the Horai (g.v.), were often represented as triads, so we find three Aphrodites in one temple at Thebes (Paus. ix. 15. 7), and also—presumably—entreated in the Βέροια, at the temple of Zeus, there (ib. viii. xxii. 2). In this broader capacity she was worshipped along with Zeus, as was Dion (who in Homer is her mother) in Dodona (ib. iii. xi. 12); II. xii. 5. 220, where the names of Aphrodite and Zeus are found together in a dedication (ib. 551 addit.). Her association with Hermes is, however, to be understood in the same way (Paus. viii. xxxiii. 3; II. xii. 5. 275; C. Michel, Recueil d'inscr. greques, Brussels, 1896-1900, nos. 292 ff. (ib. 441, 442, 448, 490 ff. to be found in the British Museum, London, 1874-83, iv. 796; F. Hiller von Gaertner, Inschriften von Priene, Berlin, 1906, no. 183). As the tutelary goddess of the meadow and of fertility, of the prosperity of man and beast, perhaps also the dedications made to Aphrodite—probably as thanksgiving for εξαρτήρια—by those who were leaving office, as found in Haliacarnassus (Ancient Inscri. in the Brit. Mus., iv. 901), Cos (II. xii. 5. 552), Paros (ib. iii. xi. 229), Megara (ib. 440, 441), Myrtilus (ib. iv. 298 ff.), and elsewhere. As the protectress of a whole people she is called Ακατορός (cf. CGS ii. 638), and in this capacity she was actually accorded a προτάτος at Athens (H. G. Suppl. 314). She invites human beings not usually to enter her eyes, and is thus called Εὔδηδα (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, in G. Wenzel, Ernstes Orakel Göttingen, 1890, p. 4) and Αυξία (Plut. Amat. 22, though a reference to marriage is also possible here).

Then the sinister aspect of her character as an earth-goddess is likewise duly brought out; she bears the epithets Εποίης (Hesych. s.v.) and Μακροίς (Paus. ii. ii. 5; Athen. xiii. 588 C; Paus. viii. vi. 5, ix. xxvii. 5) as does Demeter in Arcadia; in Thessaly there was a festival of Aphrodite 'Αρώδια or Αρώδανθος (Nilsson, p. 378), which is true, seems to have had a reference to female love; 1 Gardner's attempt to find an Oriental origin for this feature is not altogether in the right; then the goat has no place in the Astarte cult; similarly Furtwängler's efforts to interpret Aphrodite 'Εντομία as a goddess of light are futile, as the associations which she is occasionally portrayed merely implies that at a later period she was identified with Ορίσσως. 2

1 Farnell (CGS ii. 660) and M. P. Nilsson (Griechische Feste, Leipzig, 1906, p. 280) are undoubtedly wrong in seeking to trace in all these instances a connection with Asopus; such a connection in the treatment of goddesses, so far as the Argive festival is concerned, is contradicted by the fact that there was no State cult of Asopus in Greece.

2 C. H. Usener, in Berliner Morgenbl., viii. [1903] 265, where he points out that the distinguishing names given by Pausanias must be of late origin.

probably Περιπόετα (Hesych. s.v.) is also to be interpreted by this conception. According to an ancient theogony, she, together with the Eunyoi and the Moirae, is the daughter of Zeus and Themis (Soph. El. Ed. Col. 42). A kindred figure is the Nemesis of Rhamps (Photo. s.v. Νεμέσια) (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Antigonus von Karystos, Berlin, 1881, p. 10), while in Smyrna, again, we find two Αρώδεις (CGS ii. 593 B, C; interpretatio F. T. Welcker, Griechische Götterlegende, Leipzig, 1857-63, iii. 34).

In Aphrodite was merged another goddess, the pre-Hellenic Aridane or Ariadne; the result is most clearly seen in Delos, where she acquired the name Hagne (BCH vii. [1883] 308), and in Amathus, where a festival in which the two sexes exchanged garments was celebrated in the grove of Aphrodite Aridane (Nilsson, p. 369). Then in Cyprus we find a goddess of Spring named Πηγές (K. Meiser, SSCH, 1910, p. 247), who appears again in Crete as Αθην (Hesych. s.v.), and in Pamphylia, where her priestesses are called τηρητοσ (UBG lii. 2521 ff.). Certain goddesses of Hecateus (s.vv. Ακατορός) and Αυξία (ibid.) which bring her into relation with the My-pole have likewise to do with this aspect of her character. In Amathus she is thought of as androgynous under the name of Αφροδίτη (Hesych. s.v.). In Phocis, similarly, we find the androgynous demon Megalopolis (ib. viii. viii. 2). It is usually supposed that the Aphrodite cult of this district was derived from the worship of Astarte, and that it spread thence over Greece (most recently Nilsson, p. 190; cf. also ERE ii. 157). It is thus to be supposed that the Astarte cult of the Greek motherland presents certain features which cannot be explained as importations. There is also the fact that androgynous forms are unknown as regards Astarte (W. Baedeker, Phaistos, 1896, p. 156, and the goddesses are similar to the Hellenic by the figure of Leucippe and the festival of Ariadne in Amatines. The epithet 'Αριοστρος, borne by the goddess in Cyprus (SSCH ii. 1910, p. 245), is certainly met with elsewhere only as a title of a mother goddess (W. Weinreich, Athen. Mitt. des Arch. Instituts, XXVI. [1912] 29, note 1), but the name Αφροδίτη (Soph. Ant. 800) suggests that it was peculiarly congruous with Greek sentiment. Moreover, E. Stutt, Die Griech. Eros-Theophorien, Halle 1911, p. 105) has noted that there are in Cyprus no Phoenician theophoric names formed with 'Astarte.' It is true that in the ancient Greek tradition likewise there are only 'comparative,' but no theophoric, names derived from these eves, and the goddess, thus called Αρώδεις (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, in G. Wenzel, Ernstes Orakel, Göttingen, 1890, p. 4) and Αυξία (Plut. Amat. 22, though a reference to marriage is also possible here).

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LOVE (Greek)

origin (see W. R. Smith, *Iot. Sem.*, London, 1894, p. 471) to the sacrifice of an *aor agalitta* to Aphrodite in Cyprus.1 The worship of Aphrodite was also influenced by foreign deities in other districts; on the Black Sea there was an *Osipr* of Scythian origin (Hesiod. *frags.* 39, 67), the lady of *Apatron* (H. Lattkecher, *Inscrit. Pont.笠Cir.,* Kriegsdruck, 1893-99, ii. 19).

The function of the goddess was in historical times narrowed down to that merely of the protector of love. It is only as such, with the exception already noticed, that she is recognized in the iconic epic, and it is therefore worthy of remark that her cult was introduced into Smyrna (Tac. Ann. iii. 63) and Ephesia (Michel, *Recueil*, 320 A 6, B25) by means of oracles. Even at a later time theophoric names formed from 'Aphrodite' rarely occur in Ionia proper (Sittig, p. 108). Her temples in that region were almost all devoted to the goddess of love. In this capacity, too, she absorbed Peitho, who had originally an independent cult (in Sikyon [Paus. ii. vii. 7]), but subsequently became sometimes an epithet (*IG* ii. 2, 236), sometimes an attendant, of Aphrodite (Weitzsäcker, in Roscher, iii. 175), as is aptly shown by the figure of Phoebus *Aphroditon* (Nisenson, *dell. star.* 1951) who usually appears as the goddess of female love, although the Aphrodite *Agapeos* of Boeotia (Phanocl. ap. Clem. Alex. *Prot.* ii. 38 [*PG* vii. 177]; Athen. xiii. 603 D; Steph. Byz, s. a. * Apotheos*) seems to have been regarded as a deity of affection and with her there is certainly true of the Aphrodite *Sxoria* of Phœacia (*Pluton. Mag.* 543, 49; in Crete the boys were called *skaitoi* [schol. to *Harp. Me. 990*]). As Aphrodite was brought into relation with the evening star in the myth of Phoebus (Phanocl. *Meg.* [Iren. xix. [1883] 416 ff.; Sappho and Simonides, Berlin, 1913, p. 33 f.), it is easy to see why maidens should mourn their love-pangs to the moon-goddess (schol. to *Theocr. ii. 92*; Hesych. s. v. *osipr*), as the love-deity, largely in the Erotic Fragments (6) the lover invokes the stars and the *seisipr* [[X]

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 Thespias, where he was worshipped as a stone fetish (Paus. ix. xxvii. 1), as also probably in Parion, in Laconian Leuktra (ib. iii. xxvi. 5), and in the sex-cult of the Lycomids (ib. ix. xxvii. 2; cf. Furtwangler, *Jahrb. des deut. archolog.* 1912, i. 116). In the case painting of the Mollendorf Hermes [Iren. xvi. [1883] 416 ff.; Sappho and Simonides, Berlin, 1913, p. 33 f.)] it is easy to see why maidens should mourn their love-pangs to the moon-goddess (schol. to *Theocr. ii. 92*; Hesych. s. v. *osipr*), as the love-deity, largely in the Erotic Fragments (6) the lover invokes the stars and the *seisipr* [[X]

4. Later developments.—In the sphere of common life the deities of love declined as the practice of hetairism gained currency. In this period the *Agapécs* became a characteristically hetairistic festivity. Among the *Aphrodisiacs* there are a few (Paus. i. xxx. 5, 3) and rare (Michel, *Recueil* 320 A 6, B25) examples. Even in the Erotic Fragments (6) the lover invokes the stars and the *seisipr* [[X]

The goddess, it is true, that there were among them numerous foreign (Syracuse) cults. The high favour enjoyed by Adonis also served to revive the worship of Aphrodite; the deities of love in general now reached their highest vogue, and it is in this period that we first meet with theophoric names derived from Aphrodite, though no doubt—with but few exceptions—in the lower ranks of society (Sittig, p. 108). Eros is represented beside the Charities, and to the right of them (Paus. vi. xxiv. 7), i.e. as their leader, like Hermes elsewhere. From his procreative aspect arose the cosmic character which he bears in Herodas, and among the Orpheids. In consequence of the obvious derivation of his name, however, he remained all along the god of sensual desire. His cult had only a narrow range. In Laconia and Crete sacrifices were offered to him before a battle (Jeph. xiii. 581 C), and the connexion between these and pederasty has been explained by E. Bothe (*Rhein. Mus.* xvi. [1907] 445). We are told also that in the *rude* he had an altar which was supposed to have been erected in the period of the *Pleiades* (Athen. xiii. 609 D; Plut. Sol. 1), but Eutxos (*Hipp.* 538) asserts that offerings were *never* made 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. Boehme, *Philol.* 1901, i. 6); and as regards the identification of the *seisipr* with the *regard* to which he was made, the goddess whose influence pervades the universe.

LITERATURE.—The most important works have been cited in the course of the article. The reader may also consult E. H. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Wiss. Zeitschr.* [1883] 416 ff.; Sappho and Simonides, Berlin, 1913, p. 33 f.)] it is easy to see why maidens should mourn their love-pangs to the moon-goddess (schol. to *Theocr. ii. 92*; Hesych. s. v. *osipr*), as the love-deity, largely in the Erotic Fragments (6) the lover invokes the stars and the *seisipr* [[X]

II. ETHICAL IDEAS.—1. TI Homeric age.—It remains to examine what ideas concerning the

1 The goddess *eisipr* had another name (H. Lattkecher, *Inscrit.* *Pont.笠Cir.,* Kriegsdruck, 1893-99, ii. 19).
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 vacillation in the popular morality in the momentous era. The charming pictures of domestic affection which are to be found in the Homeric poems, such as the parting of Hector and Andromache (H. vi. 570 ff.) or the meeting of Odysseus and Penelope (Od. xxvii. 52 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 young lovers singing together (D. xxii. 125), reflect a condition of society in which wedded love was highly prized. This was the natural outcome of the respect with which women were treated, and of the comparatively high degree of liberty which they enjoyed.

2. Post-Homeric development.—The causes which led to the disappearance of the Achaeian monarchies are imperfectly known to us (see art. KING [Greek and Romani]), and the evidence available does not enable us to determine the period of the changes which lowered women in public estimation by depriving them of their earlier freedom. But signs of their deprecation may be observed even in the utilitarian preepts of Hesiod regarding marriage (Hes. frg. 100 ff.), and the same tone pervades the invective of Semonides of Amorgos (frag. 7), whose pattern wife is the offspring of the busy bee and material increase the gathered store of her mate (frag. 5), while the same simile is employed by Ischomachus in describing to his wife the duties which he expects her to perform (Xen. Econ. vii. 32), and the whole of the training prescribed in Xenophon's dialogue (op. cit. vii.—x.), as well as casual allusions to domestic happiness, shows that the Attic ideal was satisfied by the loyalty of a careful and thrifty housewife (Lys. 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 legitimate issue and to have our property carefully preserved." (Ish. I. 122.)

3. Sappho.—It must not be supposed that in the meantime the passionate outpourings of the lover failed to find adequate expression in literature. In this respect the poems of Sappho occupy so peculiar a position that an attempt must be made to define it. Sappho, however, has no actual love in her name, and it is generally admitted that the story of her unquited love for Phainon and of her despairing leap from the Lycusian rock are fictions due, perhaps, to a misunderstanding of her own words (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Sappho and Simonides, Berlin, 1913, pp. 24—40). The grosser suspicions, such as those indicated by Senecon in his reference (Ep. Ixxxviii. 37) to the discussion of Didymus 'an Sappho politics leaf,' are probably to be supported by such internal evidence as frag. 52, and are contradicted no less by the soundest part of the tradition, which represents her as a wife and a mother (Suid. s.v. Zarpó: cf. Sappho, frag. 58), 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 affection inspired by the loss or separation of such peers to the poet in this century may be expressed in terms usually reserved for the rapturous emotions of sexual love. The solution, so far as the evidence permits us to form a definite conclusion, is to be sought in the character of a remarkable personage. If Sappho was the inspiring genius of a society of beautiful and high-bred maidens, who sought at her hands instruction in the poetical art (frag. 136), and with whom she lived on terms of intimate affection, there was no reason why she should court the attention of other (H. xxii. 125), reflect a condition of society in which wedded love was highly prized. This was the natural outcome of the respect with which women were treated, and of the comparatively high degree of liberty which they enjoyed.

4. Tragic and other poets.—The poetic treatment of love was usually confused, as, e.g., by Minnemans and Aeneas, to its sensual aspect, and it is clear from the history of the tragic stage that a serious purpose, even with the comic sym-
a famous fragment (frag. 533 \( \text{N.}^\ast \)) characterizes the love-goddess, here a personification of the passion itself, in the following words:

'Love is not love alone, but is called by many names; it is the sweetest courtly gift, it is a living fire, it is a vehement desire; it is lamentation; in love is all activity, all peace, all that prompts to violence.'

And over and over again stress is laid upon the irresistible power of Love: he is the mightiest of all the gods (Eur. frags. 260, 430; Menand. frag. 235, iii. 67 K., frag. 449, iii. 129 K.); and not one of them (Soph. Trach. 415), not even Zeus himself (Eur. frag. 68 45; Menand. frag. 290, iii. 69 K.), can withstand his attack.

'If he is not wise,' says Diogenes in the Trachiniae (411 L.), 'who stands forth to contend with Love, like a boxer at close quarters. It is not difficult to imagine the result of this assumption upon the attitude of the average Athenian citizen. The celebrated ἑπιθυμία of the Corinthian Aphrodite (cf. Pind. frag. 122 and Aristophanes' 'Acharn.').

The celebrated ἐπιθυμία of the Corinthian Aphrodite (cf. Pind. frag. 122 and Aristophanes' 'Acharn.') help to explain the absence of moral reproach directed against the notorious ἐρασις of Athens. Resistance to the onset of Love is no less reprehensible than it is futile (Eur. frag. 349), though excessive indulgence is as much to be deprecated as entire abstinence (Eur. frag. 428). Such self-control as was exhibited by Achilles in refraining, despite the violence of his passion, from accepting the kiss offered by a beautiful Persian boy (Xen. Mem. i. 2, frag. 41), was so rare that the historian felt it to be altogether marvellous.

5. Fidearlity.—The passage last quoted contains a sort of moral law, that love is the love of boys, which has come to be known as 'Greek love,' and has tarnished the whole fabric of Greek morality. There is no trace of this custom to be found in the Homeric poems; for the asceticism of the relations existing between Achilles and Patroclus is not, so far as we can tell, earlier than the Eschylean frag. 136 ("ἔγραφον Γερομον Γερομον Φραγματῶν", 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 (Inscriptions Grécæ insularum maris Ηάρης, ed. F. Hillel von Gaertringen, iii. [1901] 536 f.); by the relation between the καράδες and σῖμπς of Thucydides (3. 113); by the Spartan training (Plut. Lyg. xvi. f.; Fest. Var. Hist. iii. 12); and by the curious custom of the Cretans, according to which a lover carried off his favourite by a show of force. I was more or less seriously reprimanded by my supposed mentor (Strabo, viii. 493, 484). The inconstancy of the latter may be attributed to his long descent from a primitive period when continuous military service involved a scarcity of women (Dethie, in Rhod. Més. i. 438 ff.). Moreover, it is fair to admit that the results of such companionship were by no means invariably bad.

T. Googe 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 state was often grafted upon a savage stock. Devotion, enthusiastic, intense, ideal, was not infrequently the fruit of these attachments, the sensual origin of which was entirely forgotten.' (Greek Thinkers, Eng. tr., London, 1901-12, ii. 299).

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 maternal craving for sympathy and affection, left a gap to be filled. Widely spread as the evil undoubtedly was, there were merely—probably an increasing number—who were keenly alive to its disgrace. But sentiment varied among different communities, and, as compared with Athens,

Thbes and Elis were subject to an unequally notorious custom in this respect (Xen. Symp. viii. 34; Plat. symp. 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. v. 9, Symp. iv. 38), Socrates scarcely advanced beyond the prudential standpoint of the ordinary person. But his character, so completely vindicated by Aeschylus in the Symposium (215 A ff.), was free from any suspicion of vice and, though he sometimes ironically pretended to be enamoured 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. 2), yet he energetically repressed the erotic tendencies of his associates (Xen. Mem. i. 2, vii. 3, ii. 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 dialogues Symposium and Phaedrus, he expounded with matchless literary skill his doctrine respecting the true nature of love.

The argument in the Phaedrus (250 A) starts from the hypothesis of the immortality and pre-existence 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 counterparts, and their 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 strangers to the mysteries of wisdom, and are engrossed in their mortal surroundings. Thus souls from whose the glory of the images once beheld have faded by contact with earthly clogs, so far from being sanctified and inspired by the sight of beautiful forms, are stirred only with delective desire. But it is different with the lover who is also a philosopher, and his progress is described in the lecture of Diotima reported by Sokrat. in the Symposium. B. 200 f. Plato, in contemplating the beauty of the beloved object, is immediately reminded of absolute Beauty itself.

With his personal admiration for his beloved freed from the trammels of bodily letters, he sees even more keenly the beauty of that form of which the outward form is only the reflection. 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 τοί ὄρασις παθερετεία (Symm. 211 B), or τοί παθερετεία περὶ φιλοσοφίας (Phaedr. 249 A).

Plato's philosophy left its mark upon subsequent critical 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. N. vi. 4, 1157a 1 ff.). Whereas the Epicureans entirely rejected the impulse attended by frenzy and distraction (Epic.

1 J. Burnet has recently undertaken to show that the whole of the doctrine commonly attributed to him was actually propagated by Socrates (Greek Philosophy, l., Thales to Plato, London, 1914, p. 190). It is obviously impossible to discuss the question here.
LOVE (Jewish)

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frag. 483 [Usener], the Stoics followed closely in Plato's footsteps by recommending it to the "wise man" as an attempt to produce friendship with youths who displayed in their beauty a capacity for virtue (Diog. Laert. vii. 129; Stob. Ecl. ii. p. 115, 1 [Wachsmuth]; Cle. Tusc. iv. 39, etc.). Plato's, as might be expected, adopted the rational love in the supranatural and transcendent First Being (Porphyry, Vit. Plotin. xxxii.). On the other hand, Plotarch, whose dialogue entitled epaphreis aimed at reconciling conflicting views by a return to the common-sense point of view, while he was largely influenced by Platonist imagery, vindicated the claim of woman as the proper object of a divinely inspired passion (21, p. 756 E.B.). We even find Plato condemned altogether as unworthy of serious attention by such writers as Dionysius of Halicarnassus (De Admir. et Discov. in Demosth., p. 1027), Athenaeus (508 D), and Heracitus, 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 romantic love-story by far the most widespread subjects was undoubtedly 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, the love 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 overreaching of an unscrupulous parent or a rascally pandar by the cunning slave or parasite; and the ultimate reconciliation of all parties, leading to the marriage of the happy lovers. But pathos and sentiment were entirely alien to the cold atmosphere and artificial mechanism of these plays. A new tone—that of sympathy with the fortunes of the lovers—asserted itself for the first time in some of the masterpieces of Alexandrian literature. Whether this was merely the result of the diffusion of the Hellenic spirit outside the confines of the city communities, or the influence of the works which constituted the world, or more specifically, of closer acquaintance with popular Eastern tales such as that of Abrabastes and Panthera in Xenoph. (Cyrop. v. 3, vi. 1, 31 E., iv. 2-1), vii. i. 298 and Aesch. Pers. 1086, 1091; L.P. Malby, Greek Life and Thought, London, 1896, p. 254; E. Rohde, Der griechische Roman, p. 583 f.), it is impossible now to determine. The vigour of Alexandrian love-poetry receives its best illustration in the third book of Apollonius's Argonautica, where the growth of Medea's passion for Jason, the conflicting interests prompting her to struggle against it, and her final submission to the irresistible power are depicted with poetic power of a very high order. There is no doubt that Vergil made Apollonius his chief model when constructing the well-known episode of the lovers of Dido and Aeneas. Another example was the love-story of Acontius and Cydippe depicted in the fragments by Callimachus of the course of a digestion in the Aetia, the conclusion of which has recently been discovered in one of the Oxyrhynche Papyri (no. 1011 [vii. 1910, 15 ff.]). The various features which become common to the writers of these love-narratives are admirably summarized by a Roman poet (A. Conjet, La Poésie alexandrine sous les trois Ptolémées, Paris, 1882, pp. 140-160; J. P. Malhoti, op. cit. p. 256 f.), as follows: (1) the minute portrait of the personal beauty of the lovers: (2) the sudden introduction of the love-god at their first meeting; (3) the record of the misfortunes obstructing the fulfilment of their wishes; (4) the description of the pangs of thwarted love; and (5) 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. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the influence exerted by the art of Callimachus and Philetas upon Latin poets; no less than that of Catullus, Propertius, and Ovid; but mention should be made of the Menandres of Aristides, which had an extensive circulation in the Roman era (Ovid, Trist. ii. 415; Lucian, Am. i.). This was a collection of erotic epigrams together in the 2nd. B.C., whose general character may be inferred from Petronius, Apollonius's Metamorphoses, and Lucian's Asinnius. The work of Parthenius dedicated to Cornelius Gallus was different in both scope and purpose: it consisted of excerpts relating to the misfortunes of lovers and drawn from various historians and poets. The characteristic features of the romantic love-story enumerated above were closely followed by the later romance-writers (epaphreis, e.g. art. FICTION [Primitive]) (5), who were the direct inheritors of the Alexandrian tradition and became extremely popular in the Middle Ages (I. Bekker, Anecd. Graece, Berlin, 1814, p. 1082). The best of these novels was the Ethisques of Hector. The 16th. cent. was preceded by Xenophon, the author of the Epikus, and followed by Achilles Tatius (Lescygge and Citophon) and Chariton (Choraeus and Callithec). The Daphnis and Chloe of Longus was constructed on the same lines, but under the influence of the pastoral Idylls of Theocritus. To these names should be added the fictitious love-letters of Alcidphron and Aristaeus, which aimed at restoring the Attic flavour of the New Comedy.

7. LOVE (Jewish).—The dictionaries define love as 'a feeling of strong personal attachment, induced by that which delights or commands admiration,' the subdivisions of this sentiment comprise the impulses of attachment, due to intellectual inclination, or to 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 affection that springs from sympathetic sentiments, and in the works of the poets, the 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 love for God, while the particular Biblical conception of God's love for Israel is closely related to the idea of paternal affection.

1. Sexual love.—Love for woman as an irresistible impulse is most strongly represented in Canticles in the words:

"Love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as the grave: the flashes thereof are flashes of fire, a very flame of the Lord. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it: if a man would give all the substance of his house for love, he would utterly be compassed." (66)
demonic power of woman over man leads man 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 both was genuine for who can resist love—a passionate type of the hankering influence of the harem on 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 consistently prove from this story that it is impossible for any man to guard against the influence of woman, and use this fact as support for the theological doctrine that law is unchangeable; for even Solomon, who thought he was wise enough to be safe from having his heart turned the wrong way (Est 1:18), fell a victim to their influence (Ez, Rabbâ, ch. vi., Tanhâmid, Ez., ed. S. Baer, Wilna, 1885, p. 18).

With equal force sexual passion is described in the case of Amnon, raping his step-sister Tamar (2 S 13), while sexual passion, just as the latter without such relationship is degrading, is often referred to both in principle and in illustrative story. The case of Jacob, who was willing to work seven years in order to gain Rachel, and the remark that those seven years passed by like 'a few days' (Gen 29:20), as well as the hope of Leah that the birth of her third son would make Jacob love her (v.24), show that ideal matrimonial relations are to be governed by spiritual affection. This is also the case with Paul (1 Cor 7:36). A further stage to the relation of Jacob and Leah is that of Elkanah and Hannah (1 S 1), where the husband tries to console his wife, longing for the blessing of children, by saying, 'Am I not better to thee than ten sons?' David is spurred by the love of Michal to do great acts of valour (18:29)—a conception of life akin to that of the proverbial times. Even in the story of Esther the king's love for the queen, like that of Jacob, is degrading, in many ways showing characteristics of an Oriental despot, willing to give half of his kingdom away in order to gratify the whim of an odalisque, is presented as an attachment seizing the king with the force of a sudden passion. Such passion is referred to in the case of Jonathan, 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 21:10). The placing of duty above personal feeling underlines 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 Rabbinical apologists explain the law as a tribute of piety and hatred as being 'hated by God' (Sîfrâ, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1891, p. 113). At the same time Rabbinic ethics derive from this law a condemnation of polygamy as leading to domestic trouble (ib.). In a warning against sexual licence the author of Proverbs advises (5:9) devotion to 'the loving kind and the pleasant doe'; and the author of Ecclesiastes gives as a recipe for happiness the advice: 1

1 Love joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity [i.e., for that is thy portion in life] (5:22). It is significant that such advice was put in the mouth of King Solomon. In full harmony 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 24:4) says: "Thou shalt know that thy test is in peace" (V. Qim'on, 6:25)."

Closely related to this conception of love is the love of children, so often referred to in the OT, and already implied in the love of woman—i.e., the happiness derived from the possession of children (1 P 127:3-6 128:1, 1 P 17) and the misfortune of not having children, as in the case of Rachel, who would rather die than live without them (Gen 30:1), and in the case of Hannah (1 S 1:10). The love of Jacob for Joseph, because 'he was the son of his old age' (Gen 50:24), 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 master (Gen 40:22), are so naturally presented that they show the psychological continuity of human nature. The same feature of truly human life is seen in the story of Jacob and Esau, where the love of Jacob for Esau, the young man of domestic habits (25:28), is brought to light in the passage (v.8-10), where Jacob feels more affection for Jacob, the young man of domestic habits (25:28). Such affection does not rest in the blood, but is often stronger in persons attracted by congenital feelings. There is hardly in the whole world's literature a nobler expression of devotion than the words spoken by Ruth to Naomi (Ru 1:16), and the words of felicitations spoken to Naomi on the birth of Ruth's son, that Ruth's love for her is greater than that of seven sons (4:19), are felt by the reader of the book, and 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 stay in the house of his master than in the house of his master's master (Dt 15:19), as a case of the slave who would not be separated from his master (Joh 21:18).

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 was as the love of a brother' (1 P 18:4). False friends who fail in the hour of need are often referred to (Ex 24:3-6, 25:9-16, Hos 6:1, 9:2, La 1, Ps 106:14). The happiness that friendship brings in poverty is contrasted with abundance and hatred (1 P 15:7). In correct interpretation of this experience the Rabbi speaks of the natural friendship of the ostracized for each other, naming the proselytes, slaves and the meek (Talm. Poalâkim, 113 a). A specimen of the highest love the Rabbinic gives the case of David and Jonathan (1 S 20:18), and contrast it with that of Amnon and Tamar, showing that the first, because unselfish, lasted, while the second, based on carnal passion, could not last (Joh 16:10).

Love, as not limited to friends, but extended to all mankind, is a principle the priority of which Jewish and Christian theologians have been contesting with one another. On the Jewish side it was claimed that the command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself?' (Lv 19:18), is universal. As proof for this conception it was adduced that the commandment of love in the same chapter is extended to the stranger, 'for you were strangers in the land of Egypt' (v.31), and that, therefore, it expresses implicitly the idea of Hillel (q.v.)—a teacher of the 1st cent. B.C.—What is hateful unto thee do not unto thy neighbour: this is the whole Torah, and all the rest is for interpretation. As to the general case, it is claimed that in the same sense Rabbi Akiba, a teacher of the 2nd cent., said: "Love thy neighbour as thyself is a great principle in the Torah" (Sîfrâ, Qolhâkim, ch. 4; Perhashah, Midrashim, x. 5). Christians, on the other hand, claims that Jesus, in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:30-37), was the first to answer the question, Who is my neighbour?, in

1 See also De 10:19. 2 Or the fundamental principle.
the universalistic sense. 1 One might introduce the argument that the Rabbis interpret the commandment, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' as teaching a humane method of exaction, evidently implying that even the criminal remains our neighbour (16). The Hillel, however, for friend is also used in the social sense, as in the case of Hiran and David (1 K 5:1 [EV 5:1]).

True love is tested by the sincerity which will not hesitate to rebuke and which will accept rebuke (Pr 29:1), but, on the other hand, loving friendship will overlook faults (1 K 17:12). In the same sense the Talmud reports that Johanan ben Nuri praised his companion Rabbi Agiba for having loved him more each time that their teacher chastised him on the ground of a charge made by Johanan (Artikkah, 16b). For this reason controversy on religious questions between father and son, teacher and disciple, will promote their mutual love (Qiddushin, 36b). At the same time it is commanded to suppress hostile feelings. In Talmudic casuistry the question is asked, What precedes, if a man see at the same time his enemy's and his friend's ox or ass lying under his burden (Ex 23:5)? The answer is given that he must first break the burden in order to redress the subduing passion (Babba Ma'at, 32b). Love is also used in the plain social sense, as when it is said that 'breakfast removes jealousy and brings love' (ib. 107b).

The making of friends is true going and coming and the art of the wayfarer, who can turn his enemy into a friend (Abiboth N. Nathan, ch. 23). Just as true friendship is praised and recommended, so false friendship is condemned. The Rabbis warn man to keep at a distance from high officials, 'for they are as lovers, when they have no use for you, and will not assist you in the time of distress' (Abiboth, ii, 3). The utilitarian point of view in friendship is presented in the case of Canaan who—so the Talmud says—admonished his sons to love one another, but at the same time to love all roles (Pesikta, 113b). On the other hand, it is cited as an expression of true love, when Rabbi Judah han-Nasi, while the spiritual head of the Jewish community, repealed his own decision in a legal case when he heard that Rabbi Jose had decided differently.

4. Metaphorical uses. Love in the metaphorical sense is used very frequently in connexion with wisdom, especially in the introduction to Proverbs (4:75); see also the counterpart of loving folly or hating wisdom (1 K 8:58). As true wisdom is identical with the Torah, we find the love of the Torah (Ps 119:105, 106) and of God's commandments (vv. 67, 129) mentioned repeatedly in the Psalter, where, evidently, is the work of an early Pharisee who anticipates the ideal presented in the sayings of the Fathers:

'Turn it (the Torah) over and turn it over, for every thing is in it, speculate over it, grow old and grey with it, and never depart from it, for there is no higher conception of life than this (Abiboth, v, 29).

This conception is repeated in 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), the Rabbis say:

'Israel had indeed become God's people forty years previously, but Scripture wishes to say that to one who studies the Torah earnestly, it becomes new every day (Babhaith, 6:6). As an example of such devotion Joshua is quoted (Menahoth, 99b), to whom God said, not in the sense of a commandment, but in the sense of a blessing, that the Torah should not depart out of his mouth (Jos 1:8).

The love of instruction—in Hebrew synonymous with reproof (Pr 129) —wisdom (962), purity of heart (292), righteousness (1's 49), and kindness (Misc 89) are characteristic traits of the pious, just as to love 1


their opposites is characteristic of the wicked (1's 52'). The injunction of Micaiah (6') to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God is presented by a Rabbi of the 4th cen., as the sum-total of 'the 613 commandments of the Torah' (Abiboth, 24a). R. Abiba: 'Love thy neighbour as thyself, is used in the social sense, as in the case of Hiran and David (1 K 5:1 [EV 5:1]).

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4. Metaphorical uses. Love in the metaphorical sense is used very frequently in connexion with wisdom, especially in the introduction to Proverbs (4:75); see also the counterpart of loving folly or hating wisdom (1 K 8:58). As true wisdom is identical with the Torah, we find the love of the Torah (Ps 119:105, 106) and of God's commandments (vv. 67, 129) mentioned repeatedly in the Psalter, where, evidently, is the work of an early Pharisee who anticipates the ideal presented in the sayings of the Fathers:

'Turn it (the Torah) over and turn it over, for every thing is in it, speculate over it, grow old and grey with it, and never depart from it, for there is no higher conception of life than this (Abiboth, v, 29).

This conception is repeated in 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), the Rabbis say:

'Israel had indeed become God's people forty years previously, but Scripture wishes to say that to one who studies the Torah earnestly, it becomes new every day (Babhaith, 6:6). As an example of such devotion Joshua is quoted (Menahoth, 99b), to whom God said, not in the sense of a commandment, but in the sense of a blessing, that the Torah should not depart out of his mouth (Jos 1:8).

The love of instruction—in Hebrew synonymous with reproof (Pr 129) —wisdom (962), purity of heart (292), righteousness (1's 49), and kindness (Misc 89) are characteristic traits of the pious, just as to love 1


their opposites is characteristic of the wicked (1's 52'). The injunction of Micaiah (6') to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God is presented by a Rabbi of the 4th cen., as the sum-total of 'the 613 commandments of the Torah' (Abiboth, 24a). R. Abiba: 'Love thy neighbour as thyself, is used in the social sense, as in the case of Hiran and David (1 K 5:1 [EV 5:1]).
LOVE (Muhammadan)

repeatedly quoted as a token of God’s love, as in the
case of Solomon (2 Ch 12:29). In a satirical sense the
correctional value of suffering is referred to in a
Talmudic story.

R. Hiinnna calls on his friend R. Johanan who is ill, and
asks him whether he loves his sufferings. Johanan answers:
‘Neither the sufferings nor their reward’ (Berakoth, 5b).
The case of king Manasseh (2 Ch 33:22) is quoted as
proof that suffering ought to be received with love
(Sav. h. l., 10b).

As a fundamental doctrine R. Aqiba presents
the principle that God loves mankind, for He created
man in His image; He loved Israel, for He called them His children; and, furthermore, Israel is loved by God, for He gave them a most precious gift, His Torah (Abbaoth, iii. 14). R. Aqiba evidently wishes to grade God’s love as the love for Israel, the pious man’s love for God in particular, and of the law-observing Israelite as the best
beloved. God, according to Rabbinic ethics, loves
especially the humble and peaceful (Berakoth, 17a), and more generally him who is beloved by
his fellow-men (Abbaoth, 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 humble your eyes, for Abraham called himself “a dusty
sand and an uncertain clay” (Exod. xiii. 15).’ What
are we? (Ex xvi, 12), and David called himself: “I am a worm, and not esteemed” (Ps 22).’ (Midrash, 57a.)

God loves, says the Talmud in a different passage
(Perushim, 135b), him who is calm, temperate, and
humble, but hates him who is a hypocrite, who
does not offer testimony when he knows something
of the case, and who sees his neighbour commit a
wrong and testifies, although he is the sole witness
(gossip). Most probably in the sense of condemning
luxury in the building of synagogues R. Hisdla,
who lived in Babylonia in the 3rd cent., says,
commenting on Ps 87:

‘Who loves the gates, ornamented with the Habbak play on
words: sipun, “heap of stones,” and Sifdol more than all
synagogues and schools?’ (Berakoth, 56a).

It is inconsistent with this principle that the true
Israelite who is beloved of God is in the sense of
St. Paul (Ro 2:29) the spiritual Israelite, and therefore
the heathen who came to Hillel to be converted,
and desired to be assured that he might become
high priest, was satisfied when he heard that the
stranger comes with his hand and weds him
the same rights as the Israelites who are called
God’s children (Shabbath, 31b). Israel is beloved by
God, for the Sebhithah accompanies them wherever
they are exiled (b. Shabbath, 29a). An
imperceptible peculiarity is found in the statement
of R. Jose, who says: “God loves Israel so that
they need no mediator” (Yoma, 52a), probably an
antithesis to the statement in the Gospel of John
(3:14). Yet the Rabbinic theologians consider
also a miracle a proof of divine love (Haggahoth, 26b;
Tractath, 236).

The correlating term to God’s love for Israel is
Israel’s love for God. It is enjoined as a duty in
 Dt 6, and this section is the principal part of
daily morning and evening devotion, thus prac-
tically enjoining the doctrine of Jesus (Mt 22:37),
which makes this the principal commandment.
The injunction to love God is typical of the
Dentanocratic code (5:17) and often) and
of the Psalm, where the pious are called lovers of
God, of His salvation, or of His righteousness (5:11
312 306 951102b...). To those who love Him
God will do good (Ex 32, Dn 9, Neh 1 12, Mal
19), and therefore Abraham (Ex 11, 2 Ch 29) and
Solomon (1 K 3) are called lovers of God, and
Jeeshashaphat is reproved for loving God’s enemies
(2 Ch 19), whom the pious must hate (Ps 139:21).

An important theological discussion, leading
back to the early days of Christianity, is carried
on in the Talmud between R. Hiinnna and R.

Joshua, whether the pity of Job is to be found in
his love or in his text of God (32b, 27b). The
love of God is characterized in the Talmud by
man’s conduct, which sheds lustre on his religion
(Yoma, 56a). As Zion stands for Israel’s ideal,
the pious are those who love Zion (Ps 122) and
the wicked those who love strange gods, often
represented by the metaphor of the world, Israel
(1 s 57, Jer 25, Ecc 16, Hos 24). From
a practical point of view the Talmudists say that
who one marries his daughter to a Rabbi (Aboth,
111b), or one studies the Torah with no
expectation of gaining glory (Naftalih 52a), loves
God. A special sign of the love of God is submission
to His decrees, as in the case of Hanannah ben
Hezekiah and his school, who wrote down the
scroll of the facts’ (a chronicle of Israel’s mis-
fortunes) believing, with his example, and a
few others dating from the period immediately before
the Prophet’s migration, all the Qur’anic references
to divine love occur in those chapters which were
revealed at Medina. It is likely that his
settlement in a city where he could not fail to
be brought into contact with Christian ideas co-
operated with the happy change in his fortunes
and caused him to emphasize the milder aspects
of Allah in a corresponding degree. Of these refer-
ences, which are explicit (b, 296c), the
brief statements that God loves various classes of
men—e.g., the beneficent, 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 transgressors, the proud, and
the unjust, Mohammed denies the claim of the
Jews and Christians to be the children and, in
a peculiar sense, the beloved of Allah (v. 21).

Man’s love of God is mentioned in three passages:

sone men take idols which they love as much as they
love Allah, but the faithful love Allah more than
anything else (ii, 150); those who love God must
follow His Prophet, then God will love and forgive
them (iii. 29); if any of the faithful apostatize,
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 somewhat
arid and perfumery allusions in the Qur’an, but
there is no reason to suppose that they are genuine.

They belong to the mystical doctrine which de-
veloped under Christian influence in the 2nd cent.
of Islam, and which in the course of time estab-
lished 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 is the one who is without sin (Ibid. al-Kafi, Cairo, 1310 A.D., ii. 50. 12).

God said: "False are they who pretend to love Me, but when they steal or take what does not belong to them, who have that love to be alone with his beloved?"

"Lo! I am near to those whose love I have heard in their hearts, and I am the one who has knowledge of the meaning of all things." (Ib. ii. 60. 23.)

God said: "My servant draws nigh unto Me by works of deliberation, through whose innermost recesses there lurks a hidden deceit (al-bala'), I am the ear by which he hears and the eye by which he sees" (Ibid. al-Ghazali, Risala, Cairo, 1315 A.D., i. 20. 1; an account of several Sufi traditions).

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, or with other religious conceptions, or in a thorough-going pantheism, or occupies various points between those extremes. The subject is exhaustively treated by Ghazali in bk. vi. of his Ihya (Baliq, 1259 A.D., iv. 280-549). 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 popular and authoritative encyclopaedia of Muslim ethics.

Love (hubb) is the natural desire for that which gives pleasure: when that desire is intense, it is called passion (fitna). Each of the bodily senses takes pleasure in different objects. Sight, for instance, is the eye; hearing, the ear; taste, the mouth; and each has its own objects of pleasure which are imperceptible to the bodily senses. Ghazali enumerates five chief causes of love:

1. Solomon. God's desire to preserve his life or to make it as perfect as possible. Therefore, men hate death and seek wealth, children, etc. (2). Benevolence. Men love others and indirectly love the persons they love. (3). Dissatisfied love of good. Sometimes a man is loved for his own sake, 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 it. (5). Spiritual love of God. This then proceeds to demonstrate that all these motives have their ultimate source in God, who is the sole object of love, and love of good. Divine love necessarily includes love of the Prophet and the saints. The strongest and rarest motive, he says, is spiritual affinity. Man is called to an act of perfect love in different circumstances, according to the tradition, 'Form yourselves on the moral nature of God.' (Bukhahry ibn-chahlia Al-Ah) 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 ineffable mystery, which is revealed to theologians. It is indicated by the verse of the Qur'an where God says: "He breathed His spirit into man, by the divine command given 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, which constitutes its pleasure. The spiritual faculty—it is said by divines, c. h. composers—seeks to know the essence of all things. God is the highest object of knowledge; therefore knowledge of God is the highest pleasure of the soul. Furthermore, Ghazali states that such a man knows and contemplates; and his love increases in the same degree. Both sprang together in his heart when he had purged it of worldly desires and senseless impressions. What he loves for is perfect contemplation and perfect knowledge. The former, though it is not attainable in the world of phenomena, may be enjoyed in the beatific vision hereafter; but perfect knowledge of the Infinite Reality can never be reached either in this or the next. Consequently the gnostic's longing (shahat) is everlasting; even in the bliss of union with God he moves unconsciously towards an unrealizable perfection.

Having defined love as the soul's desire for what gives it pleasure, Ghazali points out that the term is metaphorical in its application to God, who wants nothing and regards nothing except obeisance as His essential attribute. When it is said that God loves certain men, the intended meaning may be expressed as follows: God raises the veil from their hearts; in other words, He conceals them and reveals them to draw nigh unto Him, and has eternally willed that they should draw nigh by means of works of devotion, which are the spiritual means of knowing God and, of the raising of the veil from their hearts, and of their attaining to the rank of the chosen. These are acts of favour, involving a change in the divine perfection, but inwardly transforming the person who is the object of their love. How shall a man know that God loves him? God answers this question by enumerating the signs which characterize the lovers of God, since their love is a divine gift to whomever He delights to love them. The true lover yearns to meet God and therefore desires death, or, if he be unwilling to die, it is because he feels that he is not yet ripe for the other world. The manifold good works of a lover are not for disposition cannot co-exist with perfect love, God loves recollection (shab) of God, and He loves the Qur'an, which is the Word of God, and the Prophet and His fellow Munafiqs all God's creatures, yet he has no joy but in solitary companionship with his beloved, knowing that the more he loves the world the greater will be his bliss in the world to come. Since long for paradise, and they shall enter it, but God will give them himself only to those not ever loving to be alone with his beloved." Lo! I am near to those whose love I have heard in their hearts, and I am the one who has knowledge of the meaning of all things."

In his concluding chapters Ghazali explains the meaning of two terms, one is ri'yd, which denotes love of the wretchedness and the fruition of mystical love. One is the joy of immediate contemplation of the divine beauty without regard to any possibility that the present experience may be transformed into some future time. Such persons flee from intercourse with mankind, and when they appear in the company of others they are really alone. God allows them to address Him familiarly and to use a freedom of speech that would be considered blasphemous in any one less in knowledge of the facts. Ghazali attributes this loving acquiescence in whatever God has ordained. The lover cheerfully accepts tribulation and suffering at the hands of men, because he sees that God is the only real agent, and that all good and evil is divinely decreed. Ghazali shows that prayer is not incompatibly with ri'yd. He also refutes those who see the doctrine of ri'yd as an argument in favour of asceticism.

In more advanced and pantheistic forms of Sufism the term 'love' becomes a symbol for the soul's desire to be absorbed in that of God, to achieve union with God. Especially do the Islamic mystical poets exalt all the resources of erotic imagery in order to describe the subtleties of a passion that is wholly pure and spiritual; though sometimes the same terms are used as an artistic device to be adopted as a mask for other sentiments or as an artistic device. The selflessness associated with the highest types of human love makes it an apt emblem of the ecstasy in which the mystic passes into that union of himself with a transcendent divinity and lives only in the eternal and universal.

The following lines by Hâljâj are often quoted:

'At me He whom I love, and He whom I love is I;
When thou seest me, thou seest Him,
And when thou seest Him, thou seest me both.' (K. Masjûd, Khatat, Paris, 1912, p. 134.)

As the true lover thinks only of his beloved, so the true mystic thinks of nothing but God. Such meditation, however, concentrated it may be, cannot in itself produce love, which is a divine gift rapture beyond the reach of learning; it is the inevitable effect of love, not its cause. By emancipated Sûfis the word 'love' is constantly employed to denote the essential spirit of all religion as contrasted with particular creeds and feelings of adoration, as distinguished from ritual ceremonies and forms of worship. Love is the harmonizing and unifying element that transcends sectarian differences.

The lover that is praised is, in fact, One, in this respect all religions are one religion' (Jâhâl ad-din Râ.; Ameed, ibid., tr. by E. H. Whiffold, p. 159.)

'None of the two and seventy sects with mine Agreement, nor any faith but Love divine.
Saint, sinner, true believer, infidel,
Al all aim at thee: with name and sign.' (Omar Khayyâm, ed. E. H. Whiffold, London, 1901, p. 287 (translated by R. A. Nicholson)).

Thus the value of religious systems, including Islam itself, is only relative, and depends on their power to inspire in the soul that the more he loves God in this world, if love of God stands in sharp antithesis to conventional religion, it is equally opposed to logic, philosophy, and every form of intellectual activity. Real knowledge does not come through the mind; it is a divine gift, and all the hearts of those whom God loves. Possessing "the light of certainty", the lover wants no evidence for...
his faith, and scorns the demonstrative arguments of the theologian.

LOVE (Roman) — Nothing is more significant of the practical character and the prosaic morality of the early Roman than his attitude towards love. In the earliest known period of Roman religion, the so-called 'religion of Numia,' we do not find a single trace of any deity connected with love. And in the life of 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 with the moral line. Immoral expression was checked by that extraordinary self-restraint which characterized a people who were instinctively conserving all their energies for future conflicts; and expression along moral lines was discouraged by that purely practical view of marriage merely 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 definite theory of love. In the course of Rome's development she was destined to receive a goddess who was eventually to represent in her world all that the Greeks included under the concept of Aphrodite. This goddess was known as Venus, and was, from about the year 260 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 'calendar of Numia.' On the other hand, the name Venus seems Latin, and it is certainly Italian and not Greek.1 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 arrived. All books on Roman religion, except a few of the most recent ones, are full of information about an Italian, a Latine, or a Venetian, not Roman Venus. It is our duty first to examine these statements.

1. The question of the Italic Venus. — In general the assertion is made that in very early times there was present throughout Italy the cult of a goddess who was called Venus. But a closer examination shows that many of the facts adduced to prove this statement are of very doubtful value. (1) It has been repeatedly said that this goddess of gardens was especially worshipped in Campania, and, in other words, she is the Venus so famous at Pompei, the Venus Pompeiana. But this is false for the Venus Pompeiana is the Venus whom the veterans of Sulla brought to Pompei when they settled there, the goddess of the Colonia Praetoria Cornelia, a combination of Veii, the Aphrodite and Felicitas (see below, § 3). Her cult, therefore, does not antedate the first cent. before Christ. (2) We hear of the worship among the Oscans of a goddess akin to Venus, a certain Herentas, and that the Oscans inscriptions two from Herculaneum [It. von Planta, Gram. dassisch-umbrischen Dialekthe, Strassburg, 1892-97, ii. 510], and one from Corinium [ib. ii. 546]. In one of these inscriptions Herentas has the cognomen herentini, i.e., the Aphrodite of Mount

Eryx in Sicily). This proves, therefore, that the goddess resembled Aphrodite; it tells nothing of Venus, so far as any early Italic cult is concerned.1 (3) We are in a similar position regarding Frutis, for whom we have two passages: Cassius Hemin, quoted by Solinus, ii. 14, who tells us that in the country of the Frutis (see below, §§ 2-4) there was a temple of Aphrodite, which he had brought from Sicily, to 'Mother Venus who is called Frutis' ; and Paulus, in the excerpt from Festus (p. 90), who says that the temple of Venus Frutis was called Frutinal. But these passages show only that an otherwise unknown goddess Frutis2 was identified with Aphrodite, and again nothing is gained for the old Italic Venus. (4) There are, however, traces of a very early Venus cult at Lavinium and Ardea. Strabo (p. 252) tells us that there was 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 Iseli there was a shrine of Venus, which served as a meeting-place for the Latin cities. These statements must be taken at their full value, in spite of the fact that suspicions readily suggest themselves. It is suspicious, for instance, of Festus, for example (XII ii. 61) and again (ii. 4) refer to a place in this region as Aphroditium — an unfortunate name for an old Latin cult. Following the ordinarily sound principle that on solemn occasions the Romans often made sacrifice at the temple of a mother-city of a Roman cult,3 it is possible to prove (Religion und Kultur der Romer, p. 259) that Ardea was the source of the Venus-cult in Rome, because in 217 B.C. the Decemviri (later Quindecimviri), who had charge of the Sibyl's books, were commanded the Romans to sacrifice to Venus at Ardea (Livy, XXII. i. 19). The Roman cult may well have come from Ardea, but this reference scarcely proves it, for the sacrifice was made under Greek auspices, and the connexion of Ardea and Rome in the Venus-legend was first suggested such an act, merely as one step in the metamorphosis of the Æneas-legend into a State dogma, which was taking place during the 3rd cent. B.C.

2. Traces in Rome of the early worship of Venus. — If a search for evidence that the Italic Venus is not very rewarding, an attempt to discover early traces in Rome itself is still less so. The three old cults of Venus ordinarly quoted are Venus Cloacina, Venus Libitina, and Venus Muricia, all of them very old, not Roman Venus. It is our duty first to examine these statements.

1 On the etymology of the name see Walde, p. 209.

1 On the word see especially A. Walde, Lat. etymologie, Werten, 1910, p. 151 f.
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 Libitina—a combination which never existed in the actual cult. It is easy to see two or three things which led to this: the presence eventually of a temple of Venus not far from the shrine of Venus Libitina; there is a gross error in the names of Aphrodite's temples with graves, and her cognomen Libitina; lastly, Venus's own cognomen Lucretia, or Libetina, which was readily confused with Libitina.1

(3) Venus Maruca. Maruca was an old Roman goddess, who was popularly confused with Aphrodite, in the classical, Etruscan, and Greek forms. In the Flavian and imperial periods she was kept alive by a combination (socelium) in the valley of the Circus Maximus on the Aventine side. The locality was known as a Venus-Worship, the goddess of the nymphaeum.2 Little thus remains of an old Venus-cult in Rome, except the temple near the shrine of Libitina, which need not be older than the 3rd cent. B.C. We have seen, therefore, that there are very few traces of a pre-Versilian Venus-worship, and still slimmer traces of specifically Roman worship. The existence of the Etruscan name Venus, by which Aphrodite was known at her introduction into Rome, compels us to presuppose some sort of an Etruscan 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 case of the Hellenic and Greek Eleusis and, in part, that of the Roman Minerva. Like Heracles and Castor-Pollux, she may have been originally a Greek deity, who moved up through Italy, and became nationalized into a Latin cult at Ardea, just as Hercules was at Tibur and Castor-Pollux at Tusculum. 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 beginning a Latinized form of Aphrodite or a Hellenic goddess with a similar name, is problematic. Aphrodite, one clue to her character is afforded us in the fact that, when the directly Greek Aphrodite came (and, of course, she came before the Eneas-legend), it was especially her function as a goddess of love which appealed to the Romans. This function, secondary in Greece, seems to have been primary in Rome.3

3. The coming of Aphrodite.—We do not know exactly when or how the Aphrodite-cult came into Rome; probably not before the middle of the 3rd century B.C. 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 beginning a Latinized form of Aphrodite or a Hellenic goddess with a similar name, is problematic. Aphrodite, one clue to her character is afforded us in the fact that, when the directly Greek Aphrodite came (and, of course, she came before the Eneas-legend), it was especially her function as a goddess of love which appealed to the Romans. This function, secondary in Greece, seems to have been primary in Rome.

1 On Libitina cf. Deo, R. v. 15; Plut. Rom. 22; Ascon. i. 40. 34; CIL VI. 10074, 10022.

2 On Merca cf. Varro, de Ling. Lat. v. 151; Livy, i. xxi. 5; Ptol. xvii. 14; Serv. ad Aen. viii. 650.

3 On Aphrodite as the garden-goddess cf. the cognomen 'Aphros (Hesych. s.v.); the garden at Paphos, inscrum (Strab. p. 683); the Urania of Eryx in Athens (Paus. v. 3 x); and the Aphrodite sciascolan at Samos (Paus. iii. 541; Athen. xiii. 572 F). On Venus as garden-goddess in Rome cf. Staubitz, p. 58, where Venus analena, 'vegetables'; Plant. Men. 37, 38; Flan. vii. 86; Val. Max. viii. 12; Pliny, viii. 129; Solin. i. 126. 114 B.C. a temple was erected to this same goddess (Ovid, Fasti, iv. 133 ff.; Ov. xv. 22) as an atonement for a prodigy which showed the anger of the goddess, in the case of the murder of a youth by three Vestal virgins. We do not know where this temple was (Servius, ad Aen. viii. 636, wrongly places it in the valley of the Circus Maximus, confusing it with Maruca). Thus by the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. Rome was equipped with two forms of the worship of the goddess of love—the Venus of Mount Eryx, representing licentious love, and the Venus Verticordia, domestic affection. Finally, during the last century of the Republic, Venus assumed three other forms, all of which, under the leadership of the dictator Sulla, who translated his name Felix into trahi poffjoros and devoted himself especially to the worship of Aphrodite, we have the rise of the cult of Venus Felix, a combination of Venus and Felix, and Venus Genetrix, the goddess of the imperial house, the dedication of which must have influenced Hadrian in the building of his magnificent temple of Venus and Roma (on the site of the present church of S. Francesco, Roma), in A.D. 125.

It is scarcely necessary to add that Amor, Cupid, etc., are merely the Latin translations of the names of Greek gods of love, and that they are confined in Rome entirely to poetry and art, and were never the recipients of an actual cult.

Thus we have seen that, so far as we are able to tell, Rome began life without any deities of love; that her first genuine goddess of love was the Great Mother; and that this temple is not to be confused with the Venus Hortorum Sallustianorum (CIL VI. 129), which R. Lanzoni thought he had located (Bull. arch. com. xvi. 1888) 3 ff.; cf. Huelien, Roma. Mitt. iv. (1899) 276 ff.)
LOVE (Semitic and Egyptian).

—1. Among the primitive Semites. — No written records or oral traditions have come down to us from that remote time when the forefathers of the several branches of the Semitic race dwelt together in the desert of Arabia. Our knowledge of that period is derived solely by the comparative method of research, which assumes that common elements in the life, thought, and language of the later Semites are an inheritance from their early ancestors. The love-songs, the hymns, the Egyptian, Hebrew, and Arabic folklore, and the Semitic Arabic poetry, which are closely related, afford valuable materials in the reconstruction of the winter rains and the drying up of the springs and the pasture. Then the tribes moved away to their distant homes, and the lovers were separated.

The poets tell us how they sought each other, and how, at the tent of the beloved had stood and found it deserted. They called to mind the happy hours that they had once spent there, and shed bitter tears, and cursed the stars. Things like Me'allafa'at begin with this theme, and they show rare beauty and pathos in their treatment.

Love of family and friends also finds frequent expression in the old Arab poetry, particularly in the laments, one of the most numerous and most beautiful products of the lyric art.

This passion, like all strong human emotions, was ascribed to the direct influence of a divinity. Possibly in the earliest times a special daemon presided over love in distinction from the powers that presided over reproduction and birth. Traces remain of an old Arabian god Wadd, i.e. 'love' or 'desire' (see J. Wellhausen, \textit{Heute arab. Religion}, Berlin, 1897, pp. 14-15; \textit{ERE} i. 626). Little is known about his character, but he may be a personification of love similar to other Semitic gods such as Gil, 'joy,' and Psi, 'happy.' His erotic character is evident from a verse of Nāhiyā preserved by Iblī Hibīb and cited by Wellhausen (p. 17):

\begin{quote}
Surewell Wadd, for sparing with women is no longer permitted, since religion is now taken seriously (i.e. since the introduction of Islam).
\end{quote}

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 'Ashtar, the giver of springs and the producer of life in all realms of the organic world. Under the varied forms that this divinity assumed in the Semitic lands she was everywhere the goddess of love. The love that she inspired was not merely sexual, but also maternal, paternal, fraternal, and social. In the ancient Arab poetry she is occasionally mentioned by the titles al-Lāt, 'the goddess,' and al-Uzza, 'the strong,' and the infrequency with which she appears is almost certainly due to Muslim substitution of Allah for al-Lāt. In other Semitic literatures she is constantly described and invoked as the wife of the storm-god, the awakenser of other divinities (see \textit{M. P. T. M.} i. 655, f. 1; \textit{ISHTAR}, vol. vii. p. 430).

This goddess was the chief divinity of the Semites in their primitive patriarchal stage of social organization. She was the analogue of the human matriarch, free in her love, the fat controller of her clan, and its leader in peace and in war.
her supremacy there was a potentiality of monotheism peculiar to the Semites; and, as is well known, a deep importance for the growth of the religion of Israel that its starting-point in primitive Semitic religion was not the delusion of nature, but the delusion of maternal love. In the cult of the mother-goddess there existed in the Prophets that God is most truly revealed in 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, Ashtar. (1) She might be degraded to the position of consort of one or more male gods. This was the step taken in Babylonia, Syria, Canaan, and most other parts of the Semitic world. It involved a surrender of the intellectual 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 conception of deity. (2) Ashtar might change her sex and become a man, thus relinquishing the maternal element in the conception of the tribal god. This is what happened in the branch of the Semitic race of the Time of the Judges in Palestine. In S. Arabia, Assyria, and Moab, Ashtar changed her sex and became the masculine 'Ashtur (Ashtar) who retained feminine characteristics (see 2 K. ii. 115; cf. also vii. 429). In Ammon and Edom she became Ashtoreth (Ashtoreth) and had apparently no feminine associate. Jehovah was originally a god of this sort. He was the father of His people, who united maternal characteristics with paternal, and who reigned without a consort. This is a phenomenon of great interest in the development of Hebrew monotheism. By it sexual dualism, the curse of other Semitic religions, was avoided, and at the same time maternal tenderness was retained as an essential 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 on the monuments, and partly from occasional references in contemporary literature, but mainly from collections of popular love-songs. The chief of these are the London MS, (Harris 500), which dates from about 1400 B.C.; the Turin MS, which dates from about 1200 B.C.; and the Paris fragment, which may be a copy of an original of the Middle Empire. These were first published by C. W. Goodwin, T.B.L. iii. (1874) 359, and G. Maspero, J.A. Sth ser., i. (1883) 5; and in a much more correct edition and translation by W. M. Müller, Die Liebesgeschen der alteren Egyptian. They contain true folk-poetry, free from the artificiulity and artificiality of the conventional Egyptian classes and the state. Thus these love literature is fresh, 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. Of the Egyptian, belonged to the Hamitic stock, which was closely related to the Semite; 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 the ancient Semites. In the earliest times they seem to have been organized matriarchally (see A. Erman, Life in Anc. Egypt, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 155), and at this time their marriage was a simple adoption of agriculture they passed over to a patriarchal organization and endogamous marriage. In order to retain their small farms in the family, marriage with a sister, or half-sister, became a common practice; the message of the Song of Solomon was that an endogamous marriage with a cousin on the father's side was usual (ib. p. 154). Hence in the poems the regular name for lover is 'brother,' or 'sister,' as in the Song of Songs the 'freshest among women' is called 'sister,' 'brother.'

In spite of the patriarchal endogamous organization of society, the ancient freedom of the matriarchal exogamous organization was still accorded the Egyptian women, as among the pre-monarchical Arameans. The liberty of the Egyptian women was without a parallel in the ancient world, and is rivaled by only a few of the most progressive modern communities. In every respect, legally and socially, they were on an equality with men. In sex references, the word of sexual licence was as great on the part of the women as on that of the men (e.g., Potipher's wife, Gen 39); at the same time an honest, equal love was attained between men and women that has not since been possible until modern times.

An interesting result of this independence was that women wooed men as often as men wooed women. In the love-poems the 'sister' speaks more frequently than the 'brother.' The maiden is sent out by her mother to catch wild fowl in nets, but she confesses that she has been so distracted by the sight of her beloved that she has caught nothing at all (Muller, Liebesgeschen, p. 22). She invites her beloved to walk with her in the park and in the Helipods, and to meet him with her hair decked with flowers and a flower fan in her hand (ib. 29); she invites him to hunt with her in the green marshes that are full of birds and flowers (ib. 20); she takes him bathing with her, and lets him see her charm through a dress of fine diaphanous linen (ib. 41). When he does not respond quickly enough to her advances, she piles him with wine until he becomes more yielding (ib. 39); and, when this means fails, she resorts to love philtres, but she knows that this is punishable by beating with rods (ib. 17). She asks him why he does not take her to cook for him, since she is so lonely without him (ib. 23). When she has won his love, she describes her transports of joy, and tells how she silences his every objection for loitering (ib. 14). She charges her beloved (Ashtar) for disturbing the meeting with her lover by its cooing (ib. 24). When he has left her, she walks in the park, and every flower tells of something about him (ib. 26). The fig offers its shelter to her as a trusty place (ib. 29), the pomegranate threatens to tell her secrets if she promises not to reveal what it has seen (ib. 46). Sometimes, as on other hands, the lover does not come when he is expected; then the maiden mourns for him, and she seeks to console herself by dating with another girl, and hopes that he may make the new love as nonsuitable as he has his love [ib. 17]. She is cast off by her 'brother', then she raises a bitter lament, and prays the gods to restore him to her (ib. 28).

The 'brother' also expresses his emotions, although less often than the 'sister.' Unlike the Semites, the Egyptians did not admire fatness, but preferred a slender, well-developed figure, their beauties had fair complexion, large dark eyes, whose expressiveness was enhanced by painting the edges of the lids with stibium, masses of jet black hair, red lips, white teeth, and quantities of jewellery, particularly earrings, garnets of flowers on the head and around the neck, and, above all, plenty of heavy perfume. The poems dwell more often on fleshly love (ib. 16, 44); her love fills him as honey mixes with water, or as a strong spice penetrates a perfume (ib. 16); he is ensured by her locks, as a wild goose is caught in a net, and he would expect her by love, and cannot be cured until she comes to him (ib. 18). When he goes on a pilgrimage to a temple, he is nothing better to ask of the gods than the meeting with her, and he begs each of them to give her his favourite flower to adorn her for his coming (ib. 18). He longs to see her, is sickened or bitten by her, if only he may be with her (ib. 19), her handmaid, that he may see her lovely form, her shimmering skin, that he may smell the perfume of her ring, that he may be ever on her hand (ib. 45). He swarms a river full of creatures and the sea full of fish while he cries when he sees her (ib. 42). Her kiss intoxicates him like beer (ib. 42).
In connexion with these poems a number of gods, such as Ptah, Sekhmet, Nefer-Atum, and Amon (ib. 18, 23), are invoked to favour one’s suit; but the proper divinity of love was not ‘the sky,’ which would be in keeping with the theme of the songs (Ex 21. 5), but ‘Hathor, the cow,’ and a variety of other local names, was the chief Egyptian goddess. She was conceived either as a celestial cow, whose belly formed the dome of the sky, or as a woman raised up from the embrace of her brother-husband, the earth-god Khnum. Under the form of Hathor, ‘abode of the sun,’ at Denderah she attained the greatest glory, and became one of the chief divinities of the empire. Here she was depicted as a benevolent-faced woman with the eye of a cow, or with a headdress consisting of the horns of a cow enclosing the solar disk (see ERE vii. 439). 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 Palestine in the earliest period found in her characteristics as mother and as cow the nearest counterpart to their own mother-goddess ‘Ashtar, and accordingly attributed to her all the erotic qualities of the latter, even in the early Egyptian forms of ‘Ashtart, and the two goddesses were regarded as identical both by the Asiatic Semites and by the Egyptians. The Canaanite ‘Ashtart was depicted with the attributes of Hathor, and Hathor with the attributes of Ashtart. During the XIXth dynasty ‘Ashtar received extensive worship in Egypt under her own name, or under the epithet of Kadesh (see ERE iii. 152, 154).

4. Among the Hebrews.—We know that love-poetry was sung, and that music was sung from such incidental allusions as Am 6. 15; 5. 23, &c., but specimens of these compositions have not been excluded from the books of the OT. Only the Song of Songs, thanks probably to an allegorical excess, has found a place in the sacred canon. This is to be regarded as a collection of folk-songs, similar to those found in modern Palestine, which were sung at weddings in the villages round about Jerusalem. As such it is an invaluable source of information in regard to the Hebrew conception of love. The collection as a whole dates from the Persian or Greek period, but its individual songs may have a much greater antiquity. Besides these primary sources, we have numenous incidental references to love in the other books of the Bible.

The earlier writings of the OT show that women enjoyed much of the freedom that existed among the primitive Arabs and the Egyptians. They dared to love and marry before they had been wedded (1 S 18. 18), and they were allowed to express their choice in marriage (Gn 24. 7). In the Song of Songs the woman is fully as ardent as the man.

The same passionate intensity that existed among the Semitic Semites was found also among the Hebrews. The Song of Songs bears a close resemblance to the love-poetry of the ancient Arabs and of the Egyptians. It describes the physical charms of the beloved with the same sensuous detail (e.g. 4. 7, 11, 8. 12), and it praises the joy of love with an ardour that is surpassed by no other literature ancient or modern (e.g. 1. 7, 2, 2. 7, 12. 15. 18. 5. 17). This erotic tendency led the early Israelites into all sorts of sexual excess, 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, but no limits were set to the licence of the men. Love led often to crimes of violence (Gn 34, 2 S 11. 13); but, on the other hand, it also produced beautiful instances of self-sacrificing devotion (Gn 24. 29, 29. Hos 3) and of persistent, though unrequited, love (Gn 29. 5). The OT shows also numerus cases of strong paternal love (Gn 25. 37, 2 S 12. 17-19), and the love of David and Jonathan stands out conspicuously as the most perfect friendship in all literature (1 S 19. 21, 29. 136).

With all these forms of love Jehovah, the God of Israel, was closely connected in the early Hebrew consciousness. There is strong evidence that He was originally the tribal god of the Kenites who dwelt at Mount Hor, and that He first became the God of Israel through the work of Moses. Among the Kenites He can have had no consort, for otherwise she would have been adopted by Israel at the same time when He was accepted; but in the old testaments consisting of the horns of a cow enclosing the solar disk (see ERE vii. 439). Since she was originally a sky-goddess, her function as love-goddess must be regarded as secondary, and as due to Semitic influence.

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forth the redeeming love of Jahweh in the deliverance from Egypt and in the gift of the land of Canaan became the keynote of the religion of Israel. From his people He demanded exclusive worship and a love for Him like His love for them. As early as the Song of Deborah His worshippers are called His ‘lovers’ (Jg 5:3). 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 Elohim 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 (EERE ii. 291). With ‘Ashtar’, Anath, and other goddesses the case was different. They could not be identified with Him, and He had no consort with whom they could be combined; consequently they remained His rivals with whom He waged war to the death.

In all the pre-Exilic literature Jahweh is never once said to inspire sexual love, although this was certainly one of His primitive functions, apparently because He regarded the work of His rivals as ‘Ashtar’. Everything connected with the sexual life and 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, as with other inconsistencies, Jahweh was still regarded as the giver of children.

In the Prophets from Hosea onwards the moral love of Jahweh that had appeared already in the Mosaic religion received fresh emphasis. In his love for his wife Hosea saw ‘the beginning of Jahweh’s speaking’ unto him (Hos 1:2). When she forsook him for her lovers and plunged into the depths of degradation, he found that he could not give her up, and, when the opportunity came to buy her as a slave and to take her back to his home, he eagerly embraced it (3:5). Through this experience of unselfish love in himself he received his vision of the love of Jahweh for Israel. Jahweh had taken Israel as His bride at the time of the Exodus and had loved her ever since with an unflagging fidelity; she had forsoaken Him for the Baalim of Canaan, yet He could not give her up. He must send her into exile to reform her, yet He would not send her, and, when He 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 is 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, ‘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 realization that He required love in the Israelite’s treatment of fellow-Israelites. This teaching was finally enshrined in Dt 10, and is finally summed up by the Holiness Code (e. 600 B.C.) in the words, ‘Thou shalt love thy neighbour (i.e. fellow-Israelite) as thyself’ (Lv 19:18). Even the alien residing in Israel was to be treated kindly (Dt 23:8, Lv 19:5), but the extension of such treatment to the foreigner was not yet imagined (Dt 14:21, 15:2, Lv 25:46). 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 5:17-21; 31:2). This higher ideal of marriage is nobly expressed in Ca 3:4: ‘Love is as strong as death, Jealousy is as insatiable 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 man give His Son for Him? Love to God 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 prophetical conception of the love of God for Israel, and clarified and intensified it by teaching that love was not merely an attribute, but the very essence of the divine nature. The Prophets said, ‘God has love’; Jesus taught, ‘God is love’ (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 became the signpost of expression of love to God, and by His new interpretation of ‘neighbour’ as meaning every fellow-man (Mk 12:29, Lk 10:29). He recognized that in Himself God’s love to man and man’s love to God and to man were perfectly manifested, and therefore He proclaimed Himself as the supreme revealer of God and the reconciler between God and man.

See, further, ‘Jewish’ section above.


LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

LOVE-FEAST.—See AGAPE.

LOYALTY.—I. Derivation and definition.—The connexion between the common meaning of this word and its derivation is obscure enough to suggest that a clearer appreciation of its meaning 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 (stem leg). 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 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 or national prudence, or it may be by voluntary allegiance. It stands, moreover, for the law of nature and the dictates of reason and conscience, more especially and imperfectly if these are conceived in terms of religion as manifestations of that authority which the ancient Hebraic of the last few centuries before our era meant this last, and, in so far as it evoked his sentiment of loyalty, it meant little else. To every man the object of his loyalty is loi, or ‘law,’ in the sense of our inquiry.—the authority
loyalty was neither of these. English adopts the French *loyal* to mean 'law-fulfilling' in the sense of the Sernaon of the *Morte Arthure*, and distinguishes it from 'lawful', or *legal*, which means allowable, and from 'law-abiding', which connotes submissiveness to the law, the passive quality of the orderly citizen. German translates by specializations of the word *einswerth* signifying something which is lawful, or legal, as Unterwurfsverpflichtung (fidelity in a subordinate) and Paterlandstreue (fidelity to the Fatherland); the quality, of course, exists in many diverse applications, and, though fidelity or fealty is not identical with loyalty, the one characteristic is apt to be accompanied by the other. Loyalty connotes a certain specialization of good faith and faithfulness towards the person, principle, ideal, or covenant in respect of which it is expressed; it lays stress on this obligation of specialized 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 and the noble desire to be a loyal man, to serve, to do what is accorded, to bear the burden of duty, to take 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 standard case of fealty in which a pledge of service is the very essence of the oath of allegiance to a king, by marriage vows between two persons, or by acclamation—and vote—in tribal assemblies, when law was promulgated and accepted there. The standard cases are the same, but in the development of thought the ideas differ. Loyalty specializes in respect of the object of service, fealty in respect of faith in the pledge. Of these the latter is the more necessary and virtuous character, and so it has been judged by the common sense of mankind, as the testimony of language shows. So 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 was expected of them; faith and obedience were their primal social virtues. The conception of religion, for instance, as consisting in a covenant with the god, was a distinct advance on its conception as a slave service by which man was to be governed, the last; faith and obedience were their primal social virtues. The conception of religion, for instance, as consisting in a covenant with the god, was a distinct advance on its conception as a slave service by which man was to be governed, the last; faith and obedience were their primal social virtues. The conception of religion, for instance, as consisting in a covenant with the god, was a distinct advance on its conception as a slave service by which man was to be governed, the last; faith and obedience were their primal social virtues. The conception of religion, for instance, as consisting in a covenant with the god, was a distinct advance on its conception as a slave service by which man was to be governed, the last; faith and obedience were their primal social virtues. 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3. Personal honour expressed in devotion to social ends.—The free development of loyalty 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 knightly 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 the Celtic hero lore. The champion of the Gaelic stories is essentially a free man, free of feudal and—except for the spirit that binds him—free of trite 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 many accomplishments, and in all social courtesies, including respect for women, children, and grey hairs. He emerges from his tutelage free, comradelike, and courteous, a strong individual. But this is not all. Not the least in his education is the contribution which he makes to the formation of his character by laying bonds or obligations (in the Gaelic gèid) on himself that he will or will not do certain things. The obligation never to make this assistance is akin. He is made to feel that the sin frequently occurs, and may supply occasion for the turning-point of the story. Others are of the nature of obligations to a king, a leader, or comrade, or to all the members of a band. King Arthur and his Round Table are to mind, or for those who knew 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 diffusion; other cases of voluntary allegiance, and so, as the feudal system was established throughout Europe, it availed itself instinctively of this free man's social virtue by the institution of the oath of fealty from the feudal subordinate to his over-lord. At this point loyalty evoked, as it were, and placed in front of authority maintained by each other and are fused. Fealty, however, is not exhausted in the compound. It remains as the quality of faith to the pledge once given, the central virtue of the self-respecting hero who cannot be false to his word. Carried to the point of fulfillmellt 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 ideal of the honourable man signifies fealty. Such a thing as fealty to his country is the backbone of the composite characteristic. If so, it is important that in the education of each person sufficient demand be made on the leading trait to evoke it strongly, and sufficient social opportunity given to direct it in 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 times.—Loyalty connotes attachment to some definite authority which has a right to be served. The growth of the feudal system in Europe was favorable to the special personal turn which its application took. The political problem was the organization of many small groups into one large inclusive group, or nation, especially for purposes of defence against some common foe. The moral strength of such a national organism consisted largely in the series of loyalties from man to man, each primary group being sufficiently small, and grouped round a leader sufficiently well known, to bring out men's normal instincts to follow their chief, to cleave to him truly, to give him allegiance, acclaim him lord, and be his men. This is loyalty of the most picturesque and primitive type, steeped, as part of his education but the least there is religious enthusiasm is akin. What the man was to the lord, the lord was to his over-lord, and so the national system was linked up by unit into larger units all under the supreme over-lordship of the king. The system of loyalties, as signified by this actual system of political allegiances, would in the perfect State have likewise been linked up, all loyalty centering in the king. When the kings of France succeeded in making all the under-feudatories take the oath of fealty, they established themselves as the centre beyond all doubt. Under absolute personal government the king stands for le loai; his will—bound more or less by his coronation oath—is the standard and subject-matter of service due; his under-lords are known as 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 modicum of high-toned loyalty. It is, however, certain that such a system would profit by encouragement given to so useful a quality. Thus the situation was favourable to much praise of loyalty as a virtue, in the upper classes and, for this and other better reasons, in the mouths of their dependents—poets and men of letters generally, lawyers and all who had to do with the executive government, whether on the national or on the local scale.

As feudalism declined, or was broken up, the source of authority gradually itself anew as duplex in form: (1) the king administering the realm in accordance with the law, and (2) Parliament, i.e. the executive of the king, wielding 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 exerted more or less by them and conceded less or more. As local magnates of one sort or another, they have in this country had a prolonged and honourable reign. In France they disappeared from view politically, as the aristocracy that once wielded so much power was done away with, did the pseudo-king or emperor in 1870. England is still in process of change as regards the sentiment of the rural masses towards the aristocratic classes; but certainly it is no longer necessary to consider loyalty as a characteristic of the people, or to study 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 le loai 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. Their feeling to him is rather that of fealty—not the maximum of fealty—than of loyalty: they support him so long as he continues to support that policy with which they continue to agree. Personal loyalties, of course, emerge, but they are not in the nature of the case. There is a very real loyalty, however, to 'the party' as a whole—either party—and to the leader of the party, also, more especially when he is an outstanding 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
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Parliament in any form as an object of loyalty. The king and the law emerge from the feudal system as claimants by moral right on the service of men. The sphere of service to which loyalty properly applies lies beyond and includes the sphere of duties and restrictions enforced under the tenure of a personal service for the king included, as of course, loyal obedience to the law; but loyalty, no doubt, was more consciously directed to the king and fused with a sentiment rising to passionate personal devotion. The Bourgeoisie in France and the landlords in England assumed themselves to be the kings by Divine right after the manner of the Roman emperors—in effect, claimed all loyalty, and from many obtained it, as due to the king. The revolt in England took its stand on the law as binding on the will of kings, and claimed restitution of the people's rights 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 endeavors, on each 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. King, Lords, and Commons making one Parliament; and the struggle by each to change that law, order, or decree the appropriation of the revenue to the uses of the Executive Government.
3. The king and his ministers, whose advice all his decrees are made, whom he appoints by the established custom of the constitution from the leaders of the political party which commands a majority in the House of Commons; the maintenance of this 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 law to the modern Englishman. As an object of loyalty it has advantages over some other examples of the 'Mixed State.' Not only is the British Constitution built as it is in order to preserve intact the ancient liberties of the people, but it has been built, bit after bit, by the very act of maintaining them. It is as, 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, whatever party is in power, constitute the political aristocracy, in the fine Platonic sense. If they are loyal citizens, they will be loyal in 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 steadily 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, whatever betide. This sentiment is effect-

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, given by a majority of their elected representatives in the House of Commons, it was inevitable that the Power of the Purse should be held independently by the House of Commons; and from this it followed, by the logic of events, that no ministry could remain in power that did not command the confidence of the Lower House.
these conditions may fail to be possible in whole or part; in that case the loyal temper still shows itself by putting the best face upon the matter and keeping silence.

It is in 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 this word is vital to his character—respect without limits—and in this, the last resort, is self-devotion unto death. The good soldier's loyalty, no doubt, is often fealty pure and simple, as, e.g., it certainly is when he has naturally no sentimental tie to the service in which he finds himself. Normally, however, we may take it to be a compound mixed in various proportions, into which enter loyal attachments to his sovereign, his country, his leader, his comrades, and the flag he follows, the last being a symbol of all these things and of his own self-respect as bound to stand or fall by them.

7. Problems arising from the complexity of the modern State.—Causal reference has been made above to non-political loyalty as between friends, lovers, kindred, and the members of a voluntary group or a natural social order. Clearly this is not the primary application of the word, but the tendency to use it in this, rather than in the more approved use, is increasing. This is due, no doubt, to that confusion of ideas as to the political object of loyalty consequent on the complexity of the modern State. Angry politicians are apt to use the word 'disloyal' rashly to discredit the opposite. Such difficulties in right balance of power in the State and the focus, consequently, of right loyalty. Thus claims have sometimes been made in the name of loyalty to right of attack on the lawfully constituted State, as, e.g., in the case of constitutional reform to which a minority strongly objects. This implies confusion of ideas between the State in some special sense—e.g., apart from the principle of development which it contains—and the State as it is, including its provision of a sovereign authority empowered by law and precedent to make changes in all things, including itself. A somewhat wilful confusion of ideas to the opposite effect is also possible both in respect to the political and policy of the ministry of the day, which is the real motive-force that sways the political pendulum, and disloyalty to the sovereign Parliament which happens to be led by that ministry, and the noble which takes responsibility for its doings. The complex character of the service of the State lends itself to such confusion of feeling in times of stress and change. Every attempt at large reform divides the citizens into two camps, each vowing loyalty to its own of the State in some particular. This is party loyalty, which is quite consistent, as the inner circles fully understand, with perfect loyalty to the actual State as by law established—that self-conserving, self-developing organization of Lords, and Commons with which we are all familiar. An attractive focus for the loyal sentiment of the simple or careless citizen, who makes no attempt to join issue in the political diaplectic, is provided by the political 'sense of the betterment in his uplifted place, holding his supreme veto to be used only on the side of the majority in the House of Commons, subject to the delaying powers of the House of Lords. The number of persons in Britain whose sole effective loyalty centres in attachment to the Crown is probably large; it counts doubtless for much also in the British colonies.

8. The focus of loyalty in republican nations.

In republican States this focus is supplied—so far as it is supplied at all—by a more vivid consciousness of the organized nation as a self-governing whole, the ark of whose covenant is the Constitution. The ideal of the republican is in this the pole-star of loyal sentiment is highly developed in France. The French mind has perhaps a natural genius for the concrete ideal, as indeed is perhaps implied by its turn of speech in favour of thought—eloquent thought—by means of generic terms that fire the imagination. In the United States of America loyal affection is rather to the composite nation in reference to all its interests, each more or less on its own—a wonderful 'Union' of diverse elements, run by a carefully planned political system 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. This much may be said in their defence. The good of the nation is, of course, in all cases the ultimate end of the political act, and the final object, therefore, of that sentiment which reveres as its proximate end the national interest in the classical sense.

9. The ideal of loyalty.—To be loyal is to be much more than law-abiding. Whether the object be a person to whom we owe duty or affection, the community of persons to which we belong, the institutions whose welfare we believe it to which we are pledged, or the law—human or divine—by which we ought to regulate our conduct, the loyal man is distinguished from the law-abiding man as one who serves with his whole heart and mind, making of himself a veritable organ of expression for the purpose, or the master, or the mandate, under which he serves. No voluntary sins of commission, omission, or ignorance does he permit himself. We realize him at his time of special effort in a passion of service, every faculty awake and urgent to achieve his end. And in the intervals of passivity his mind is clear and steady—stayed, as it were, on his whole nature as a rock. Self-training to this effect in any school a soldier must work like a leaven on character as a whole. Even under questionableness of conditions of service it goes far, as all experience of public service shows, to make a man. But it must be remembered that, without either a nice and sympathetic leadership, the loyal sentiment which is the motive of self-training is not adequately evoked.

History and literature abound in examples. Three lines of thought, independent of each other and contrasted, may be distinguished in their logical order here.

(a) The heroic romance of Western Europe, developing through the centuries from its classical sources in Classic, Celtic, and Norse or Germanic lore, deals largely in loyalties within the smaller social sphere, intimate, personal, and glorified by affection. Patriotic loyalty in this dawn of the civilized world has little to do with government, but is steeped in a vivid idealism; the race-life and the home-land are seen as of infinite value, objects in effect of religious faith, worthy of devotion through all suffering unto death. These are the primitive loyalties—to kindred, friendship, race, and land. Nor is the spirit which forms them dead; it does not die so long as a race either vaguely or clearly believes in itself as having a part of some kind in the fulfilment of human
thought, attains to the vision of the 'liberty of the sons of God' (Ro 8:21). Thus the eye of reason on the highest as on all lower planes is complete, final, true, relative to civil institutions, and for 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 Law. It is his conception of the individual soul in relation to the State that concerns us here. The ideal of the State, as he teaches, should be built up within the soul. Thus—wielding his thought to our inquiry—we may say that the soul of the loyal citizen is trained, or trained itself, to so act in accordance with the ideals realized in the constitution of the State. Thus he exceeds the law-abiding, and is the loyal, man. Further, it is implied in Plato's thought that 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 is obviously what the sincere modern statesman does, or thinks he is doing. It is a necessary part of his loyalty that he should spare no pains to do it. Moreover, in the modern self-governing State, every enfanchised citizen shares the part.

(c) Finally, we find in post-Exile Judaism the supreme 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 Divine Law, which they had come to hold, was the supreme priest held the office as chief ruler in the little theocratic State. But from the time that Ezra had read in the ears of the people all the words of the book of the law which he had brought from Babylon, "the Jew who was faithful and pious felt that the law was above the priesthood and that he was to obey it and understand it for himself. Externally the Jewish people had many masters after this; internally, in his own mind, each pious Jew spent all his loyal sentiment on the law of his God. This was no short commandment, but the whole law, dealing with conduct in all social relations and with ceremonial ordinances in the tabernacle detail. He who obeyed the law was, in quiet times—except taxation—to all intents and purposes a free man. The ideal of his State in its essentials was built up in the mind of the properly instructed Jew; if he profaning, he obeyed, and, rather grudgingly, willingly, or, if obeyed, with his whole heart, seeking to understand and to obey more perfectly. In that perfect inward obedience his freedom was real, though it was not his quest. The Psalms and the Prophets abound in expressions of this loyalist spirit applied to the Supreme Law:

1. Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes; And I will keep it unto the end, Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy law; Yea, I shall observe it with my whole heart' (Ps 119:9, 10).

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 latter-day Harisees prevailed, the great Master Teacher set over against it the traditions of loyalty observance, the fulfillment of the law by being the kind of person who expresses its purpose naturally in all his acts. 'I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil' (Mt 5:17).

'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 the God which is in thine hand' it is called in the decrees of the great king Antiochus (Ezr 7:9).

LITERATURE.—Little of note appears to have been written dealing directly with this subject. (1) It enters into the history of the development of the State, and serves as a serviceable motive-force in the medieval growth of the feudal system; see Cambridge Medieval History, i. [1913], ch. xiv. Foundations of Society (Origins of Feudalism), trs. Warre Cornish, Chalmers, London, 1901: Essays on Romance and Chivalry, do. 1910, containing reprints from Dean and Sir Walter Scott, are also interesting. (2) The primitive ideal of heroic character to which the political virtues of heroism correspond may be studied in Celaeno in Beowulf and in their later developments, and (3) under the influence of medieval chivalry, and (4) in recent years. Sufficient exemplification will be found in Fabelage Saga and Grettir the Strong, tr. E. Magnusson and W. Morris, Three Northern Love Stories, London, 1897; E. Hul, Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster, do. 1911; T. W. Rolleston, The High Deeds of Finn, do. 1910; T. Malory, Morte d'Arthur, ed. do., 1894, and its primitive prototype, the Welsh Morganllyd, tr. Lady Charlotte Guest, do. 1877.

S. BRYANT.

LOYOLA.—St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits (q.v.), was the youngest of the eight sons of Don Beltrán Yáñez de Oñez y Loyola. The name Lopez de Rioalde, by which Ignatius is often designated (so, e.g., in AS and in the British Museum Catalogue), is a simple allusion originally to the carelessness of a notary. He was born in the house, or casa, of Loyola near Azpeitia in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa. The year of his birth is disputed. Astrain [Hist. de la Con. Jesu, i. 180], the Jesuit authority, assigns it to 1491, but others have thought 1495 more probable (cf. Tacchi Venturi, in Civitá Cattolica, 21st July 1900). The name Ignatius, by which Loyola is now generally known, was that which he himself used in his own lifetime, and not the one (not, however, Iñigo, as Astrain prints it) which his invariable signature, but he then began to use sometimes Ignacio, sometimes Iñigo, and after 1542 Iñigo hardly occurs at all. It seems certain, though, early biographers intent on edification have glossed over the fact, that the future ascetic passed an unbridled youth, following the course which was then almost inevitable for all who adopted the career of arms (Astrain, i. 15–18). His first war which he saw in Pamphelus, 1521 was dangerously wounded by a cannon-ball, and in a long convalescence which followed he gave himself up to reading the lives of Christ and the Saints, with the result that, after many inward conflicts, he was able to make a complete change in his own way of living. As soon as he was able to travel, he journeyed to the monastery of Monserrat, made a very devout confession, and, after a sort of vigil of arms, divested himself of his knightly attire and went forth to beg his bread. He then took refuge for nearly a year in a cavern near Manresa. The life that he led in this retreat was one of terrible self-maceration, marked by tempestuous inward trials of which he has left a relatively full account in the auto-biography. It was during his stay at Manresa that he drew out at least the broad outlines of that manual of ascetical discipline so widely famed under the name of the Book of the Spiritual Exercises. There seems no reason to doubt its reality for this system of spiritual training as to exclude the influence of earlier ascetical writers like García de Cisneros of Monserrat (see J. M. Besse, in Revue des questions historiques, i. [Paris, 1897] 22–51) and especially Giovani Battista Cappelletto and Johannes Mundinus, Brothers of the Common Life; but, as Watrigant has shown, the combination of these materials into one instrument employed for a clearly recognized and uniformly consistent purpose is entirely the work of Ignatius,
and bears the imprint of his eminently practical mind.

It must always be remembered that the Spiritual Exercises is not a book intended merely for reading and reflection, but a manual of training to be put into practice in virtue of this instruction. A proper guide, with a work & a keenness's Institution of Christ, and it was always to be vain to expect literary graces in the Exercises as in a proposition of Enchil. After some preliminary considerations on the end of man, the Exercitant is directed, during a week or ten of days and always under the advice of a competent spiritual guide, to occupy his mind with the recollection of his past sins and of the punishment which they have deserved, and to cultivate a sense of shame and sorrow, bringing external adjuncts to bear to deepen the impression—e.g., by depriving himself of light, warmth, unnecessary food, and all intercourse with his fellows. After this preliminary discipline, he is introduced to the study of the life of Jesus Christ, who is set before him in two powerful and parables as a chiefitan appealing for volunteers to aid Him in the task of reconquering the world from the dominion of sin and the devil. It is easy to see that Loyola's thought had been powerfully influenced by his high ideals, a vivid conception of the struggle to rescue the soul of Spain from the yoke of the infidel. The meditations of this 'second week' of the Exercises are estimated to occupy another ten days. By this time it is assumed that the well-disciplined Exercitant will be directed to the point of resolving to leave all things and follow Christ if God should make it plain that He was calling him to a life of humiliation and self-sacrifice. A formal election of a state of life is introduced, accompanied by this stage two remaining 'weeks' of the Exercises are intended to confirm the choice so made. In the third week the Exercitant is bidden to use much bodily penance and to meditate upon the Passion of Christ; in the fourth he is directed to allow the body its need of rest and refreshment, while the mind is occupied with consoling thoughts derived from the consideration of the Resurrection of our Saviour and the remembrance of the joys of heaven.

It was natural that one who laid so much stress upon the study of our Lord's life upon earth should feel the need of coming as closely as possible into contact with the scenes of those events with which his mind was filled. Accordingly, in Feb. 1525 Ignatius made a pilgrimage to the places of the Passion. 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. Then 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 Ortnoy, 'Marche et les origines de la Compagnie de Jesus,' in Annotela Hollandiana, xxvii. [1908]:303–418). Still, he seems to have realized, at least vaguely, that to become an effective instrument for God 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 (1524–25), and thence proceeding to the Universities of Alcala, Logroño (1525–28). A personality like that of Loyola was bound to influence men wherever he went, and it is not altogether surprising that he fell under the suspicion of the Inquisition, on account of the disciples who gathered round him and who imitated in some measure his own austerity of life. At first he seems to have been careless of what men said of him, conscious of his own integrity; but later he found that these suspicions hampered his influence for good, and he went out of his way to court and even to insist upon a judicial inquiry. The proceedings before the Inquisition, so far as they have been preserved, are printed in the Scripta de Sancto Ignatio, i. 595–629. Partly on account of the hindrance that was put in the way of souls which these suspicions encumbered, partly, it would seem, in the hope of finding companions more in harmony with his ideals than any whom he had yet met (see Fouquereau, Histoires, i. 71.), Ignatius, in Feb. 1528, made his way to the University of Paris. There at the Collège de Montaigu and afterwards at that of Sainte-Barbe he pursued his studies for the priesthood. At Sainte-Barbe he must, at least occasionally, have encountered Calvin, who had studied there himself and still visited it in 1538. For his support Ignatius, owing in part to his unselfish generosity to his countrymen, had to depend upon alms, and during the beginning expeditions made in the violence 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 the strength to rescue the soul of Spain from the yoke of the infidel. The story of his conquest of Francis Xavier by the constant repetition of the words 'What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul.' The former recruit was the apostle of the missions in the Council of Trent. Laynez was also to be Loyola's successor as second General of the Society. But even in 1534, when on 15th Aug. these friends met together in the chapel of St. Denis at Montmirail, and at the mass of Le Fèvre, who was so far the only priest amongst them, took vows of poverty and chastity (Astrain, i. 79), there seems to have been as yet no clear design of founding a religious Order. The third vow, which they added to the other two, pledged them only to make the attempt to undertake apostolic work in the Holy Land; but if after a year's waiting, it was found impossible to obtain passage thither, in that case they were to place themselves immediately at the disposal of any work for which 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 mission to the Holy Land. The little band of companions waited the prescribed year, and meanwhile Ignatius himself was ordained priest at Venice (23th 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, Paul III., and, in spite of contradictions, they had a visit from the pope himself. It was at or about this time that the desirability of organization as a formally recognized religious society living under obedience seemed to take shape in their minds. It was characteristic of Ignatius that he was always attached to a particularrry, to his own 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 constitutions. But the various stages in the development of the Order, now followed rapidly. Already in 1537 the companions had found it necessary to give themselves a collective
name, and they agreed that, if interrogated, they should describe themselves as belonging to the 'Company of Jesus' (Astrain, i. 89). When they arrived in Paris, with Ignatius and a group of Spirituali- de, a religious institute (fratrum instituti) was founded, and approved in the bull Regimini militantis ecclesiae, 27th Sept. 1540. On 4th April 1541, Ignatius, in spite of his own reluctance, was elected superior, and from that date until 1556 and 1557, he was busily at work in Rome in compiling constitutions. The spread of the Society was extraordinary rapid, and, as the two volumes of his correspondence attests, the business 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 would advance 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 society was planned, and its constitution was drawn up, in numberless passages of the Constitutions, and which may be taken as the dominant conception of the whole Ignatian spirituality, was the desire and anxiety to carry on the work of asceticism and sanctification for the Church. 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 descendant, he was a man of the time, and he did not hesitate to take a man who was absolutely fearless and straightforward in all his relations with others. He was beatoed in 1699 and canonized in 1622.

LITERATURE.—The first place among the sources for the life of Ignatius, given to the so-called "Autobiography," dictated by the Saint to Luis González de Camara. A Latin version is printed in AS, 31st July, vii., but a more accurate version in the original, partly Spanish and partly Italian, has been provided in the Monumenta Ignatiana, Scripta de S. Ignatio (s. 31-59), which form part of the great collaboration of Monumenta Historiae Societatis Jesu (Madrid, 1894 ff.), edited by the Spanish Jesuit. In fact, the whole contents of the Monumenta Ignatiana, which include a critical ed., is an outline, of Loyola's own letters and official documents, are of first-rate importance. An Eng. tr. of the Autobiography (by E. M. Ellis) with notes by J. H. Kilpatrick under the title The Testimonies of Ignatius Loyola, London, 1900. See also J. Susta, "Ignatius von Loyola"s Selbstbiographie," in Mittheilungen des Inst. für ältere Geschichte in Spanien, xxv. (1905) 41-106. A vast number of papers and letters which bear upon the history of Ignatius and the formation of the Society may be found in the other volumes of the Monumenta Historiae Societatis Jesu. The biography of Ignatius by Pedro Ribadeneyra, which appeared originally in more than the General's lifetime, is also re-edited in AS, loc. cit. A young disciple of the saint, who knew him and lived with him, Ribadeneyra is an important authority. Translations of this life have been published in French and in many other languages. Of the 17th cent. biographies of Loyola by far the most valuable is that of D. Bartoli, who had important original materials at his command. The best available ed. is in French, with supplementary notes, by L. Michel (Histoire de S. Ignace de Loyola, 2 vols., Life, 1823. Other lives the best are G. Ceruti, Das Leben des heil. Ignace von Loyola, Innsbruck, 1419, Eng. tr., London, 1884; "Stewart Rose," Life of S. Ignatius Loyola, London, 1893; F. Thompson, "Life of S. Ignatius," do. 1910. An excellent short account of the life of Loyola, by H. Duhr, Paris, 1904, Eng. tr., London, 1890. But by far the most trustworthy picture of the life of Ignatius and of Loyola in the whole of modern works is to be found in A. Astrain, Historia y vida de la Compania de Jesus, i. Madrid, 1897, this volume being entirely devoted to the period of the life and activities of Ignatius. It may be supplemented by F. Pouquet, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, 4 vols., Paris, 1910, and for those of Italy by P. Tacchi Venturi, Storia della Compagnia di Gesu in Italia, i. Rome, 1889. See also J. Creissell, San Ignacio en Barcelona, Barcelona, 1906.

The works which were studied the life of Loyola from an anti-Franco or Protestant standpoint seem to have been taken to this trouble to acquaint themselves accurately even with the facts of his life. In this connection, perhaps, E. Goethin, Ignatius von Loyola und die Gelehrtenwelt, Halle, 1895, but on this see also Annette Brillant, sv. [1896] 494-484. Even more fascinating is H. Muller, Lebensgeschichte der Companie de Jesus, Paris, 1856, on which cf. The Month, xcv. [1859] 516-526. Some scholars write that the life of Ignatius is the first of its kind, and that he never mentions the Stoics or the Servite Schools, although sometimes alluding to their doctrines, "quod quadum tempus" (l. 371; cf. 698, 1893, ii. 167-176). He dedicated the work very hostile in tone, of the ex-Jesuit M. M. Mir, Historia intera documentata de la Compania de Jesus, Madrid, 1813. Other points of criticism are dealt with in the same work, on which cf. Fabella, Freiburg i. B., 1904; H. Stoeckel, Forschungen zur Lebensordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. Jahrhundert, Munich, 1910 ff.

The only works of St. Ignatius besides his letters are the Spiritual Exercises and the Constitutions of the Society. A facsimile of the "autograph" of the Spanish original of the Exercitaciones Espirituales was published in Rome in 1898; innumerable other editions, including several English translations, have been published in every language. The most illuminating discussion of the genesis of the Exercitaciones is in J. H. R. Wattrigant, Le Genese des Exercices de S. Ignace, Anvers, 1897. As to the Constitutions, a facsimile of the original Spanish text has appeared, Constituciones de la Compania de Jesus, reproduction fototipica, Rome, 1898, with valuable illustrative material. HERBERT THURSTON.
to Memmius, the patron of Catullus, who was praetor in 55 B.C., and at that time an opponent of Cesar. He addresses Memmius as an equal; the Lucertii belong to a genus distinguished in the early annals of Rome, and the cognomen Carus is said to be attested by an inscription. The author's purpose in writing a philosophical treatise in verse is clearly explained (l. 54 ff., esp. 108-115, 922-956). It is genuinely scientific—10 to gain our honest consent to any propositions concerning the atomic theory (bk's i. and ii.) and its applications to the relations of mind and body (bk. iii.), the wraths or images when the poet adumbrates the popular belief in the future life (bk. iv.), the origin of our world, of civilization, and of language (bk. v.), and the phenomena of sky or earth which are supposed to come from the vengeance of the gods, such as thunder, tempests, earthquakes, and volcanoes (bk. vi.). It asserts that the system which he advocates is unpopular (iv. 18 ff.), and fears that Memmius will some day fall away (l. 102 ff.). He therefore provides an antidote. Poetry is the honey at the edge of the cup which shall make palatable the nauseating taste of truth. It is no less obvious that the sympathy evoked in the reader, the effect upon his imagination, is bound up with the poet's soaring frenzy ("furor ardens"); Staturis,Sit. i. II. 52. It is ill-adapted for hexameter verse, but the mental power and perseverance displayed in so arduous an undertaking call for unstinted admiration. The difficulties of his task spur the poet on, and to overcome them so far as may be is at once his merit and his delight. His grasp of his subject with all its perplexities and problems bespeaks a logical mind, and he is eminently successful in discovering and marshalling whole groups of particular facts which lead up to the great system. (l. 150-214, 265-328, ii. 332-380, 581-690), in the use of analogies, and in vividly picturing the consequences of hypotheses (l. 215-254, 985 ff., 988-995). It has been conjectured that the poet followed the larger epitome of Epicurean doctrine mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (x. 39 f., 73 [Gissani, i. 10]). Whether this is so or his choice and arrangement of topics are dictated by his own immediate purpose must remain an open question. In any case the ideas in the discipline of collision. See some study of the master's writings (iii. 10) afford a reasonable certainty that he introduced no innovations in substance, although the exposition, with its flights of imagination, its flashes of feeling, and its insight, is far from what is customary to those parts of the system only where Lucretius fills a gap in the scanty outlines left by Epicurus himself or gives a fuller treatment of particular doctrines (see 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 of his 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 at work in the microcosm. The existence of empty space (vacuum or void) is then proved from the impossibility of otherwise accounting for motion, which all the facts of experience confirm. The opposite view, that the world is a plenum, is next refuted mainly by the consideration that condensation and expansion no less than motion imply the existence of a vacuum. Next, the existence of any tertium quid other than body and empty space is denied. All other nameable things, even time itself, must be regarded as the qualities (whether essential properties or transient accidents) of these two forms of reality. Body is then divided into simple and composite, according as it is or is not composed with void. The composite are what we call things (res genita), the simple bodies are atoms (materici, corpora genitatica, semina rerum, principia, elementa, or simply corpora). To postulate the existence of atoms is to deny the infinite divisibility of matter and has been again Lucretius employs his favourite negative procedure, following out the consequences of infinite divisibility to absolute annihilation, which he has proved impossible. Infinite divisibility would be incompatible with the natural laws (fide natura) 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 imutable and indestructible (since heat, cold, and moisture, the destroyers of the composite things about us, cannot enter where no void exists). Each atom is a distinct individual ("solida pollentia simpliciitate"); it is perfectly elastic; it has minimal parts of which they have no independent existence: hence it has size, shape, and weight, but no secondary qualities, no colour or temperature, no sound, flavour, or smell, no sentence, the different qualities of composite things being in the very nature of things, the shapes, which, though very great, is not infinite. After refuting the divergent views of Heraclitus, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras (l. 635-920), Lucretius proves by a variety of arguments that both matter and space are general principles (i. 150-214, 985 ff., 988-995). It has been conjectured that the poet followed the larger epitome of Epicurean doctrine mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (x. 39 f., 73 [Gissani, i. 10]). Whether this is so or his choice and arrangement of topics are dictated by his own immediate purpose must remain an open question. In any case the ideas in the discipline of collision. See some study of the master's writings (iii. 10) afford a reasonable certainty that he introduced no innovations in substance, although the exposition, with its flights of imagination, its flashes of feeling, and its insight, is far from what is customary to those parts of the system only where Lucretius fills a gap in the scanty outlines left by Epicurus himself or gives a fuller treatment of particular doctrines (see Epicureans).

3. Cinemun or swerving.—Atoms are in constant motion. They move through space (1) by their own inherent motion, and (2) in consequence of collisions. See some study of the master's writings (iii. 10) afford a reasonable certainty that he introduced no innovations in substance, although the exposition, with its flights of imagination, its flashes of feeling, and its insight, is far from what is customary to those parts of the system only where Lucretius fills a gap in the scanty outlines left by Epicurus himself or gives a fuller treatment of particular doctrines (see Epicureans).

The first motion of atoms, always through empty space, is in one direction, the idea being that all things tend to the centre of the universe and the assumption of antipodes which it involves. He subsequently deduces from infinite space and infinite matter an infinite number of worlds, which come into being, grow to maturity, and ultimately perish (ii. 1023-1174).

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 Gissani's admirable illustration (i. 111 ff.): as a swarm of insects moves slowly through the air in one direction, the individual insects of which it is composed are executing all manner of far more rapid movements, some of them in divergent or even opposite directions. The first motion of atoms, always through empty space, is in one direction, the idea being that all things tend to the centre of the universe and the assumption of antipodes which it involves. He subsequently deduces from infinite space and infinite matter an infinite number of worlds, which come into being, grow to maturity, and ultimately perish (ii. 1023-1174).
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 spontaneity of each living creature goes forward whither the will leads, the something which struggles and resists when we move involuntarily under compulsion (ii. 216-233). Our spontaneous movements originate in sole atoms, and their existence at all can be explained only by assuming a certain indeterminism or contingency in the movements of such sole atoms. Thus the mind does not feel an internal necessity in all its actions, nor is all motion linked together in a needling 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. Gury deduces from the coniunen universal contingency in the Epicurean scheme of nature, T. Comperz and Esener incline to regard it as no more than a consistent determinism in opposition to Stoic fatalism (Iussani, i. 125-167).

4. Isonomy.—The atomic motions which go on now as they have always been and always will be. What they have produced they will again produce; for, the sum of matter being constant, there can be no complete change of conditions and no change in the order of nature. The universe is a chain of which the parts 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. 1105-1110), but are so evenly balanced that, if we look to that whole universe, the result is equilibrium, as in an indecisive battle (ii. 593-590, v. 350-415). This principle of equal distribution is best known from Cicero, de Nat. Doct. i. xix. 50, but undoubtedly it was familiar to Lucretius. Combined with the infinity of atoms of every shape, it guarantees that fixity and perpetuation of species to which he so often appeals as a fact. That in an infinite universe the possible is also the real is the premise underlying some of the astronomical portions of the poem (cf. v. 526-533).

5. Psychology.—The poet undertakes to prove that the soul is as much an actual part of a man as the hand or foot, and has therefore to refute the theory last represented by Aristo- tocrnas (iii. 139-132) 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 (anima, ment) and vital principle (anima, viva), 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 aggregate formed of the very finest atoms of (1) wind, (2) heat, (3) air, and (4) a nameless something in which sensation begins. The preponderance of one or other element in the single substance compounded of here, the same as the body, are the variety of the emotional states 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. 94-116), and this is enforced by twenty-eight arguments against the immortality of the soul (iii. 417-529), whence it follows that man's fear of death is unreasonable. The impassioned discourse on death in which these conclusions are driven home (iii. 831-1094), 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 film (coro) are continually parting from the surface of things and streaming off in all directions, but we see them only when and where we turn our eyes to them. An image pushes before it the air in the same way as the eye. This air sweeps through the pupil 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 which are seen (iv. 239-258). 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 superinduces upon what the senses really perceive. The sense of sight is an instrument.

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 always been and always will be. What they have produced they will again produce; for, the sum of matter being constant, there can be no complete change of conditions and no change in the order of nature. The universe is a chain of which the parts 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. 1105-1110), but are so evenly balanced that, if we look to that whole universe, the result is equilibrium, as in an indecisive battle (ii. 593-590, v. 350-415). This principle of equal distribution is best known from Cicero, de Nat. Doct. i. xix. 50, but undoubtedly it was familiar to Lucretius. Combined with the infinity of atoms of every shape, it guarantees that fixity and perpetuation of species to which he so often appeals as a fact. That in an infinite universe the possible is also the real is the premise underlying some of the astronomical portions of the poem (cf. v. 526-533).

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. 1025-1174). The details are filled up in bk. v. The world is not eternal, as some philosophers hold. Lucretius starts by proving that it is mortal, i.e. had a beginning and will have an end (v. 91-109, 235-415). It must be dissoluble, for it is neither impenetrable like the atom nor intangible like space, nor, like the sum of realities, can it be shown to have nothing outside it into which it could pass and out of which destructive forces may come. Our world began with a chaotic jumble of discordant atoms. By the escape of the lighter atoms from the heavier this vast jumbled mass grew together at the top over air, air over the other two elements, water and earth, the sea being nothing but the moisture squeezed out as the earth condensed. In the infancy of the earth and of the world, vegetation began with herbs and bushes and then tall trees shot up; animal life followed, first birds, then quadrupeds, last of all man, all sprung from the earth—not from the sea—and nourished by Mother Earth. The existing species are a survival of a far greater number which the earth first tried to
produce. The monstrous births perished because they could not grow up and continue their kind. Many species must have died out, 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—centaurs, chimæras, mermaid—could not be impossible. At no time, however, can it be established (v. 987-942). This account mainly follows Democritus, but in the prævalent monsters the influence of Empedocles is discernible.

7. Anthropology.—Civilized society is the product of a long course of development. The sketch of man's gradual advancement 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 hairier 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 feet were the beasts, from whose fury they suffered. Civilization began with the use of hats 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 the division of labour; the friction of branches. Further improvements led to the building of cities, the allotment of lands, and the discovery of gold. With the origin of political life is linked the origin of religion. Another step in the long scale was the introduction 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, the art of dress, and the art of art. When a knowledge of all the useful crafts had thus been attained, progress was complete.

8. Religion.—The popular faith, with its whole apparatus of prayers, vows, offerings, and divination, had been rejected not only by Epicurus, but by almost all philosophers since the feud between poetry and philosophy began with Xenophanes and Heraclitus. Epicurus is bitterly hostile; his indignation at the evil wrought by religion glows throughout the poem as fiercely as in the famous description of the sacrifice of Iphigenia (I. 80-101). But it is not merely popular superstition that he condemns; he is equally opposed to the philosophic monotheism or pantheism of Plato and the Stoics, and to the theism whatever be the term put by the theologian 'natural theology.' The negative propositions which he maintains are all-important. (1) There is no purpose in nature; the argument from design is discredited in advance; adaptation is the product of experience.

*Nil idea quoniam naturam in corpore ut uti possamus; sed quod naturam, id procer usum* (v. 534 f.). The bodily organs were not given in order to be used. On the contrary, the eye preceded seeing, and man had a tongue before he could speak. Thus the activity of the senses is explained on mechanical principles without assuming final causes, and a similar explanation holds for all other activities, nourishment by food, and growth, walking and locomotion generally, sleep and dreams. Hence (2) there is no divine providence. The course of nature is not sustained by a divine power working for the good of mankind. The flaws in the world (v. 107-138, 'tanta stat praedita culpa') at once and for ever (v. 245-251, 'sunt tantae') are the result of such defects (v. 232 f.). Hence, too, (3) the world is not divine. So far is it from being conscious and intelligent that it is the most fitting example of what we mean by insensible and inanimate (v. 110-145). (4) The world was not created by the gods. What could induce them to take such trouble inconsistent with their majesty? Or, supposing them willing to create; whence came their notion of preconception (propeco) of man before he existed (v. 181-186)? On the contrary, the world and all that is therein was gradually formed by mere natural causes through the fortuitous concourse of some part of an infinity of atoms in some part of infinite space (ii. 991 f.).

But negative criticism is not all. On the positive side the existence of gods is proved by the agreement of all nations, although the names and legends vary with their uses (ii. 990 f.) must not be neglected. The gods are blessed and immortal. They are nothing of mankind, bestow no favours, take no vengeance (ii. 646-652). Their abodes, which in fineness of structure correspond to the impenetrable nature of the divine body, too delicate for our sense to perceive, are in the internunia (a word not used by the poet), or hid inter spaces between the worlds. They touch nothing that is tangible for us, since that cannot touch which cannot admit of being touched in turn (v. 148-152). There is a significant reference (iii. 819-823) to the conditions under which alone immortality is possible, namely the absence of destructive forces or their being kept at bay, or being held in equilibrium by conserving forces (see v. 1075 ff.). At any rate, by proclaiming the true doctrine, Epicurus goes on to explain how the false arose. The belief in gods arose from the images seen by the mind in waking hours and still more in sleep. The shapes thus become naturalized to the sight by force of habit. As these shapes were ever present, and as their sight appeared so great, men deemed them to be immortal and blessed, and placed their abodes in the heavens because the unexplained and the wonderous of the world. 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 brought by storms and earthquakes (v. 1161-1240). Epicurus more than once exults at the overthrow of this delusion (i. 62-69, ii. 1099-1104, iii. 14-30). On the other hand, it is obvious that he has gone too far in his concessions to anthropomorphism. The criticism which he successfully applies to the incongruous creations of legend, centaurs, and chimæras would, on his own grounds, be just as valid against the blessed immortals. The superhuman beings whom him from whom the Socratic divinities purified, refined, and rationalized.

9. Ethics.—In a poem professedly dealing with physics we hardly expect to find a systematic treatment of ethics, yet there are enough short notices or digressions in which the subject appears (ii. 16-61, 172 ff., iii. 14-16, 459 ff., 975-1029, v. 9-51, vi. 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 held aloof from the body and that the mind, exempt from cares and fears, feel its own true joy (ii. 16-19). Whoever has been born must want to continue in life so long as fond pleasure shall keep him (v. 177 f.). Gratification of desires which, though natural, are not necessary affords no true happiness. The tortures of conscience make a hell upon earth. Tantalus and Sisyphus and the like are types of men tormented in this life by various lusts and passions. The range of remorse are emphasized here as well as in the Iliad (165-181). Moreover, the wrong-doer has hitherto eluded gods and men, he cannot keep his secret for ever (v. 1156 f.). Epicurus is exalted as the saviour who, seeing the miserable condition of mankind, partly from ignorance, and partly from mistaken fear of the gods and of death, proclaimed those truths which
alone can bring salvation; that death is nothing to us, that the gods do not interfere with the course of natural events, that there is no divine or temporary concourse of atoms, and man himself a still more ephemeral combination in that world. These are the doctrines which, he thinks, will redeem mankind. But, while master and disciple and apologist are agreed in making the acceptance of these propositions, there is a marked difference in the spirit of their teaching. Starting with the proposition 'There is no joy but calm,' Epicurus deduces his ideal of a simple, almost ascetic life of intellectual and spiritual enlightenment, a life of the most congenial friends. By a life thus regulated according to circumstances he sought to attain the maximum of pleasure. Lucretius, too, advocates an austere hedonism; the pleasure which is the universal law and condition of existence is not indulgence, but peace and a pure heart (v. 18). From all who would live worthily he demands fortitude, renunciation, and answering loyalty to truth. No ancient writer was more profoundly impressed with the mystery of existence, and the ills that death is heir to. He assailed 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 Lucretianism in ancient thought.


R. D. HICKS

LUG.—See CELTS, FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Celtic).

LULLISTS.—Among the figures of the 13th cent. none is more picturesque, none more representative of the great forces, spiritual and mental, of the age than Raymond Lull, 'The Illuminated Doctor,' logician, philosopher, scientist, poet, missionary, and martyr. He was born at Palma, in Majorca, in 1215, when the first spiritual enthusiasm against the heresies was dying away. During his boyhood the spiritual Franciscans were making desperate, but vain, efforts to maintain the simplicity of the original vow of poverty which had been the joy of their founder. Human nature was, however, immutable, so that an Order should possess property. Another deviation from the singleness of mind of St. Francis was, happily, inevitable also. During his life a brother was not allowed to possess a book, and learning scattered as the wind. Lull's inspiration cannot be permanently content without the writing of the truths of the universe.

Thus we find in the lives of Roger Bacon and Raymond Lull, members of Franciscan Orders of the next generation, an enthusiasm for learning linked with an enthusiasm for Christ as intense as that of Brother Giles and Sister Clare. These are the figures who were the forerunners of the epochal achievements of the great Palace of Science, blackened by the suspicion of the narrow-minded orthodox, strenuously maintaining the nobility of the offering of science, knowledge, and thought at the foot of the Cross, and who were forced to believe that Christ who stood at the parting of the ways of Scholasticism, still recognizing and using its words and its processes, but adding the facts and inferences of a knowing science of Nature. Their lives were enlarged by the electric Lullism of the command: 'Thus shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.'

Lull was seneschal of the household of James II. of Majorca, and till the age of thirty he lived the ordinary life of a libertine noble. Suddenly the seclusion was aroused, and in his chamber, as he was writing love poems, he beheld the vision of Christ on the Cross, and heard Him say, 'Oh Raymond, follow me henceforth.' Then came the agony of conviction and the determination to forsake the world and follow Christ entirely. Two years at once filled his life—to gain martyrdom, and to convert to Christianity the Saracens around. He would use no carnal weapons; he would go to the Holy Father and charm the kind of his desire to devolve upon them to endow colleges for the learning of the languages of the unbelievers. For himself he would write a book so irrefragable as to ensure the conversion of Saracen, Jew, and heretic to the Catholic faith. A sermon on the remuneration of St. Francis of Asissi completed his resolution; he left wife and children with sufficient for the necessities of life, sold all else, and went forth in coastwise attire to the new life. He kept a cell for himself in the convent of Mount Rambal. In the thirty years he sought to fit himself for his work. By the advice of his friends he chose this solitary study in preference to the University of Paris, the centre of the intellectual life of Europe. He learned Arabic from a Saracen whom he bought as a slave, and narrowly escaped being murdered when this inured Muslim realized the object of his study. The crown of his long preparation came when eight days of profound meditation were succeeded by an illumination which filled his whole being with a direct divine inspiration. Under this impulse he wrote the Ars Magna, the first of the great works associated with his name. By its methods he felt sure that the truths of Christianity could be so unerringly and powerfully stated as to make them impossible to refuse acceptance of them. Nothing is more striking in the subsequent history of the philosopher and his followers than the absolute conviction, which they all shared, of the direct divine origin of the mode of reasoning here initiated. The assertion is crystallized in the title 'The Illuminated Doctor' by which he is always known among succeeding generations of Lullists. The woodcuts adorning the great folios in which Salzinger has issued his work allude to the divine beam of light shining down upon him. Enthusiastic disciples confidently appeal to the logical power of the processes as more than possible to unaided human intellect. The unbiased judgment of our own day fails to discover the same immense value or power.

It may be briefly characterized as a neo-logical method by which all possible subjects may be subjected to all manner of questions, and thus a complete category of statements may be obtained. The apparatus in its most original form comprises concentric circles divided into compartments denoted by letters of the alphabet. The circle system of concentric circles divided into compartments denoted by letters of the alphabet is subdivided into three different circles of different kinds, and the names of the three lead to special kinds of conclusions. Thus we have in one nine subjects: God, Angel, Heaven, Man, the Imaginative, the Sensible, the Negative, the Elementary, the Instrumental. In another we have nine predicates: Goodness, Magnitude, Duration, Power, Wisdom, Will, Virtue, Truth, Glory. In another we
have nine questions? Whether? What? Whence? Who? How large? Of what kind? Where? Where? How? One of these circles is fixed, the others rotate, and we thus obtain a complete series of configurations, first of lines and then of statements. 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, trunks, branches, twigs, each labelled with some term contriving from the universal apparatus. In every case the general idea is the coiling of every possible statement on all subjects. The method, invented by the philosopher's Christian apologist, was speedily found to be as applicable to other subjects, and among the numerous works assigned to Lull are many in which the Aris is applied to Medicin, 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 Tunis, 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 islands, Cyprus, and Armenia were early claimed as fields of death and, though it 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 mathematics, physics, and rhetoric found its foundation by his own king in 1276, of a college for Arabic at Miramar in Majorca, but it was not until the Council of Vienne, in 1311, that papal authority was given for schools for Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Chaldee in the Roman Curia, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca, and so on, and thus to realize that in Lull's enthusiasm we have the germ of the Hebrew professorships at our English Universities, as well as the broader ideals of missionary education which he and Roger Bacon alike impressed upon the Church. The same instinct which sent Lull to talk to Saracens in Arable led him to overlook 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 a new dignity to national speech and a new impetus to the development of the common and popular. The great religious romance Blanquerna was written in Catalan; his ecstatic hymn entitled Hours of the Virgin, with many others of his works, in Catalan alone.

Round Raymond Lull there has gathered a mystic halo of romance and unorthodoxy through his incursions into the world of alchemy. His Franciscan supporters are eager to free him from this charge, which has repeatedly brought him within danger of the censures of the Church. It is stated to have been learnt from Arnauld of Villeneuve the secret of the philosopher's stone. There is a tradition, exceedingly doubtful but not entirely discreditied, of a visit to England to make gold for Edward 3r in return for his help against the Moors. Certain it is that a number of works on alchemy are assigned to his name which were obviously not written by him. It is proved that on Lull has been fixed the discredit of certain works on magic by the school of his immediate followers, a ragged crowd of converted Jews, which were condemned by Pope Gregory xi. But we must remember that alchemy was the beginning of natural science, that the early alchemists were religious men who commenced their works in the name of the Trinity, and that the man who believed that he had discovered a universal transmuter of the elements of thought might not unnaturally aim at a universal transmuter of the elements of reality, and that he did not expect impossibilities from it. We can well believe that he wrote as well as thought on the subject. Indeed, Roger Bacon (de Speculandis Scientiis, bk. ii.) refers to the fact of such writing.

The last period of Lull's life revealed a love within the Church against which he fought unceasingly. Round the name of Averroes (Ibn Rushd; see AVERROES, AVERROISM), the Arab interpreter of Aristotl, had been gathering the thoughts and theories of Muslim, Jewish, and Scholastic successors, diverging gradually into the banishment of the Deity beyond the reach of prayer or care for the individual, the denial of individual immortality, and ultimately even asserting the identity of the soul of all men. Averroism thus, while using the name of a single devout Muslim, was really the composite deposit of a century or more of less sceptical thought; through Maimonides (q.e.) and Michael Scot it gained the ear of section of Scholasticism and won over many valiant men. In the University of Paris, the intellectual focus of the world, in attempting to save its orthodoxy it asserted that what might be true in faith might also be false in philosophy. This was the special heresy against which Lull and his followers, the authorities at Paris eagerly sought his assistance in combating the heresy which threatened to capture the whole University. The contest was also keen that Lull himself was obliged repeatedly to obtain certificates of orthodoxy, and thus to realize that in Lull's enthusiasm we have the germ of the Hebrew professorships at our English Universities, as well as the broader ideals of missionary education which he and Roger Bacon alike impressed upon the Church. The same instinct which sent Lull to talk to Saracens in Arable led him to overlook 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 a new dignity to national speech and a new impetus to the development of the common and popular. The great religious romance Blanquerna was written in Catalan; his ecstatic hymn entitled Hours of the Virgin, with many others of his works, in Catalan alone.

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When nearly eighty years of age, Lull set off on another missionary journey to Africa; his fervent exhortation roused the fury of the Muslim mob, and he was stoned 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 hails of the populace. 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 265 treatises as undoubtedly, besides 93 others more or less probably assigned to his name. Perroquet (1697) 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 Ketzer Lulls 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 Thomists and Scotists. The aim of the Lulls was simply that of seeking the proof of doctrines of the faith, to fight 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 finally 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. The Dominican Fray Ascutor (in Aragon (1529-30), initiated the campaign by an accusation of
LUMBINI

heresy in 500 passages taken from Lull's works. Historians assert that Eynemie was a disbeliever in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which was the special enthusiasm of the University of Paris and was warmly advocated by Lullists, and that this was the seed plot of Eynemie's opposition to the Inquisition. The Inquisition asserted that 293 Lullist errors had been condemned by Gregory XI. in 1376. This bull has never been found, though the papal archives have again and again been searched, and N. de Pac (1519) and L. Wadding (1657), the analysts of the Franciscans, have made out their case that Eynemie invented it, or forged it, or confused it deliberately or accidentally with the condemnation of the works of Raymond of Tarrega, already referred to (most conveniently accessible in An. June, vii. 618-623). Eynemie was degraded and subsequently sent by King John of Aragon into exile; Lullism was declared sane and wholesome in 1386 by the Inquisitor Emergundus at Barcelona.

In 1493 Ferdinand the Catholic founded the University of Majorca, with a 'studium generale' for the study of Lull's method. Naturally it is the native island of the founder that has been most devoted to the propagation of his philosophy and has longed for the rising son. But its fortunes have varied elsewhere. In the University of Paris at times students were officially warned against its study, but about the year 1515 it attained great glory there under the inspiring teaching of Richard de Lavagna. Its success was again and again assailed as unorthodox, and as earnestly defended. A favourable sentence was obtained from the Council of Trent and from the Inquisition at Madrid. But its fees procured the financial work of Lull's school. They were finally removed from the Index in 1594. The hold of Lullism on the University of Palma continued into the 18th century. In 1635 Urban VIII. ordered that its scholars during their last two years of study should daily hear lectures on the Ars. In 1673 Maria Anna of Austria issued an edict assigning precedence to Lullists even over scholars senior to themselves. Objections, insufficient to prevent Lull's books from being considered forbidden, have obstructed his canonization, though the process reconceiving the miracles at his tomb was presented by the bishop of Majorca in 1612. The principal charges were due to unguarded utterances that seem to ignore the necessity of a prior subject and to bring into play within the powers of human reason. Others considered the processes of the Ars mere word-working. Later apologists like Perrouet confess that scholastics made it their boast that by this method they could speak on any subject, to any length, at a moment's notice, and Perrouet laments the undeserved obloquy which such charlatans have brought on their master (Fie, p. 118 f.). The specimens given of the method explain why it has now passed away. Perrouet and Wadding are expounded by Perrouet as samples. We find a careful analysis of the subjects and predicators of each verse, and an exhaustive statement of their combination - the whole producing a somewhat commonplace expository commentary. Lull has become the national saint of the Balearic Isles. Here the enthusiasm never died, but the philosophic method gradually merged itself in an enthusiasm for the memory of the saint and a national pride in collecting and publishing the imaginative works on which Lull's fame will finally rest. The Lullists of to-day are a number of patriotic and cultured men who are proud of their national literature and its great exponent.


LUMBINI.—A pleasance, or small wood, mentioned in Pali records as the birthplace of the Buddha. It is now occupied by the shrine of Rummimde in Nepal, approximately in 23° 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 Tiliar. The references to it so far traced in the N. Indian Pali books are only three. One is in an old ballad, containing the prophecy of the aged Asita about the infant Buddha, this Asita story being the Buddhist counterpart of the Christian story of Simeon. The ballad is certainly one of the very oldest extant Buddhist documents, and must be earlier than the 4th century B.C. It is included in the anthology called the Sutta Nipata, and it states at verse 683 that the child was born in the village of Lumbini (Lumbinycye gamé). The other two references are in the Katha Vatthu, composed in the 3rd century B.C., by Tissan son of Mogali. In that work (ed. A. C. Taylor for PTS, London, 1894-97, pp. 97 and 559) it is stated that 'the Exalted One' was born at Lumbini (Lumbinitth jato).

Our next information is the inscription found on a pillar in Dec. 1806. The pillar had been known for years to be standing at the foot of the small hill on which the tiny shrine is situated, but the fact that the graffiti on the exposed part of it were medieval and unimportant, combined with the difficulties resulting from its being in foreign territory, caused it to be neglected until 1896. When it was then uncovered, the top of an inscription was discovered three feet beneath the soil. The inscription is in a dialect which the present writer would call Kosali—a dialect so nearly allied to the literary Pali of the canon that other scholars prefer to call it Pali. The translation is as follows:—

'the beloved of the inhabitants of King Prasada (that is, Aodha), who have come in person and paid reverence; and to celebrate the fact that the Buddha, the Sakyas sage, was born here, has laid a stone horse (f) made and put up on a stone pillar; and because the Honourable One was born here has resented the tax of one-eighth on Lumbini village (that is, parish).'

There are slight differences in the translations by various other scholars, but not as to the double insistence on the fact that the Buddha was born at the spot where the pillar was erected. The letters are beautifully clear, each being nearly an inch in height. When they are examined by a copy of them in 1900, though they had then been three years exposed to the light, they seemed almost as if freshly cut. In the dim light of the cell above, containing the shrine, can be discerned a base-relief representing the birth-scene. But the Brahman who claims the right to the petty income arising from the pence of the peasantries refuses any proper examination of it. So far as a cursory inspection permits of a decision, it seems to be much later than the temple poems.

A legend in the Divyapadeśa² purports to give

1 See V. A. Smith, in JRAIS, 1902, p. 143.
the conversation between Aśoka and his guide Upagupta, as he ascended the great northern hill. This version of the story is not mentioned in the inscription. Perhaps the tradition that Upagupta, very possibly another name of the author of the Kāthaka Patthāṇa, accompanied him is historical. The work in question is in Buddhist Sanskrit; and, therefore, Upagupta is undated, the text being five centuries later than Aśoka, 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 Kāñchipuram or Amarāvati. 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 halfway between Kapilavatthu, her husband's home, and Devadaha, her father's home. This is quite probable; but, on the other hand, it may have been suggested by the meagre facts recorded in the ancient books. Whether the Buddhist Sanskrit writers nor the Pāli commentators could have understood the long-haried 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 original name through so many centuries of neglect and desertion. Watters says that 'according to some accounts' it had been named Lumbini after a great Koliyan lady who had dedicated the spot to the Buddha. The name 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. We know that both Sīkiyas and Koliyas found difficulty in pronouncing the trilled r. Perhaps this was true of all Kosala. The inscription at Lumbini, for instance, has lōja for re; and Lumbini itself is often written in Pāli MSS with a dotted L, which, may represent an untrilled r. Thus Kumunidī stands for Lumbini Devī, the goddess of Lumbini. But that goddess was not really a goddess at all, nor even Lumbini, but only the mother of the Buddha. We have no evidence as to when or how the transformation took place. And in face of the stubborn opposition of the Nepālese Government, and of the Brahman who has taken possession of the shrine, there is very little hope of any further excavation at the site to throw light on this question, or to explain the diversity of views of Chinese writers as to what they saw at the spot.  

LITERATURE.—See the sources cited in the article, and cf. also SEE RÁJAYÁTÍ. T. W. Rhys Davids.

LUNACY.—See INSANITY.

LUSHAI.—The Lushais are a composite community, consisting of those groups which were absorbed and reduced to more or less complete unity by the skill and sagacity of the Thangurs, chiefs of the Lushai clan in the last century. They practise jhumming, a form of cultivation which involves constant moves from one site to another. In this fashion they live a roving life for some at least of their peculiar characteristics.

Each village is a separate State ruled by its own chief, who usually belongs to the Sainu clan, whose talent for government has made them the masters of most of the area now known as the Lushai Hills. The sons, as they reached maturity, were provided with a wife and followers, and were sent forth to found new villages. The youngest son was the heir apparent. Public assembly was held in the village administration, and each village possesses, in addition to the council of elders, officers to settle where the jhumis are to be made, a village crier, a blacksmith, and a wise man, or pathian. But the Lushai village consists of members of different clans and tribes brought under the unifying influence of their subordination to the Thangur chiefs. Their religion, therefore, exhibits traces of a mixed origin; there are features in it which recall some of the more notable characteristics of the systems of their congeners, east as well as in the more distant north, all of whom speak cognate dialects.

The Creator is a spirit called Pathian, beneficent, but with little concern in the affairs of men. Subordinate to Pathian is a spirit Khunavang, 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 miveguntu, the watchers of men. Each man has two souls, thāran, the one wise and the other foolish. One miveguntu is good and the other evil. The khaivu are demons inhabiting water and land, are all bad, and are the causes of bad results. The bhāsi are 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, sakhia, for whom a special chant is addressed by the pathian (who must be a member of the clan), and identity of chants and ritual is a sure proof of membership of the clan.

The rites performed for the purpose of address to some definite spirit may be separated from the rites which seem to be efficacious without the intervention or mediacy of any definite spiritual being. The sakhia chants recorded by Shakespeare are accompanied by sacrifices of a sow. The sacrifices to khaivu, 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 marriage. Dreams afford an indication of the necessity for the performance of one of these rites. Temporary talismans, closely akin to those so common in the Naga area, are part of the necessary liturgy. The ritual for appeasing the khaivu of the woods and waters is not dissimilar, but some of the most efficacious rites are the patent of certain clans, they being brought on 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 of the heart, liver, and entrails. Sangum is the birth-rite addressed to khaivu, while others are seemingly of almost automatic efficacy. In the second category of rites are those which are performed to bring luck to a straying soul (for more than one of their souls) to produce children, to afford protection against sickness, to secure good hunting and to ascertain the luck of the intended chase, to benefit the crops, to obtain power over the spirits of the field. It has been seen that the whole of this work is done with the idea of securing 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. Most of the rites are accompanied by a regulation requiring that the social group concerned, be it a household or a whole village, shall abstain from all but the most
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 pusthörm and the members of special class. Any one can acquire by purchase the hla songs or charms which form the stock-in-trade of the pusthörm, whose success must depend largely on luck and on short memories of his failures.

The first man, Papiawla, 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 thänghýxhauth, i.e. those who have performed the series of live 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 needs their plea that, had they lived, they too might have performed the due ritual and so been free to enter with the thänghýxhauth into Pielrain, where all is pleasant. Those whom Pawla wounds go to Mitti kha. Their wounds swell painfully for three years, and for a like period the scar remains. Then after they die again, are born as butterflies, and then die again, to reappear as dew on the ground; as dew they enter the loins of a man, and are born as human children. In addition to the personal advantages of the thänghýxhauth rites, the wife of a common man is a special privilege of his wife. with his wife, there is no return to reincarnation, and he may wear certain special clothes, build a verandah at the back of his house, enjoy a window in his house, and put an additional shelf near his bed.

The Loconic people to-day are slothful, and believe firmly in witchcraft, nor very long ago, to test the efficacy of the belief that the victim of witchcraft would surely recover if he could but taste the liver of the wizard, they killed three whole families who wore thought to be bewitching an aged chieftainess, cut the livers of the wizards out, and carried them back, only to find that the old lady had died in their absence. Naturally le koon xamel 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 (zuri) and commune with Khunavang, from whom they acquire information as to the future sacrifice in the family. The process of divination employed on these occasions requires the use of an egg and a shallow basket of rice, in which appears (the footprint of the animal to be sacrificed). Possession by the spirit of a wild animal (Blaverung) is contagious and hereditary, and takes the form of passing from the hostess to another woman, who speaks with the voice of the original hostess. The belief of the men of power to assume the form of a tiger is common.


T. C. HODSON.

LUSTRATION.—See PURIFICATION.

LUTHER. —I. Life.—The career of Martin Luther naturally divides into three periods—the first, of preparation (1483-1517); the second, of protest (1517-21); the third, of construction (1521-45).

He was born at Eisleben in Saxony on 10th Nov. 1483. His birthplace was only the temporary home of his parents. They had come thither from Moeln, the real home of the family, several years before the birth of Martin, an elder son, had share in the paternal estate, and was, therefore, in strained circumstances, until, by his daily labour in the copper mines, and by economy and thrift, he became proprietor of mines and furnaces, and an influential member of the community. Both as a child in his home and in his early school days, Luther struggled with poverty meant. As he advanced, his father was at last able to provide him with the means for a liberal education. Both his father, John Luther, and his mother, Margaretha Ziegler of Eisenach, were deeply religious, and subjected him to a discipline, continued in the schools to which he was first sent, that was legalistic rather than evangelical. His childhood was spent at Mansfield. His elementary training was received chiefly at Eisenach, through his religious relatives, and his University course at Erfurt, an institution which, at his entrance in 1501, was over 100 years old, and the most numerous attended of the German Universities. Intended by his father for the legal profession, he devoted his first years at Erfurt to classical literature and philosophy. While he read with absorbing interest the Latin classics, and derived from them the benefit of a wider horizon and a deeper acquaintance with human nature, it is a great exaggeration to affirm that students, who were the subject of some recent satire, who had done, that they made him more of a humanist than a theologian; for he read them with a critical eye, and reacted against the excessive devotion to the purely formal that dominated the humanists of his time. His teachers in philosophy were many rationalists, who introduced him to Occam, Bied, 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 as to which he had little taste. His dissatisfaction with 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 bolt of lightning or by assassination can scarcely be determined—and by his own narrow escape in the storm that is said to have destroyed his friend. In obedience to a vow made in the moment of peril, he turned his back upon the world two weeks later, and entered the cloister of the Augustinian hermits at Erfurt (17th July 1505).

Purity of life, deep moral earnestness, devotion to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and ability as preachers distinguished the Saxan Augustinian; but it is incorrect to infer from their name any special approach to the austere and ascetic aspect of sin and grace. With all the intensity of his nature the young novice devoted himself to the scrupulous observance of every detail of the requirements of the Order, and rose rapidly in the esteem of his bretheren and superiors. He found calling spiritual advisers in an aged monk whose name has not been preserved, and especially in John Staufitz, his Vicar General. Some of his modern critics accuse him of morbid conscientiousness and useless 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 certainty with respect to his relations to God. It matters little that, as has been recently urged, in some of his earlier discourses, composed while he was still a monk, as, e.g., in the lately discovered lectures on the Book of Romans, some of his statements can be found foreshadowing his future position. For it is no uncommon circumstance for writers advancing towards a conclusion, amid many vacillations, not fully to grasp the meaning of their own words. In 1527 he was conducted to the
priesthood, and his father, with a large remite of prayers for his benefit, in the 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 as they had granted without any dispensation could be given, and that what they esteemed a appeal from God might be nothing more than a delusion of Satan. Selected by Staupitz in Nov. 1508 as instructor in Philosophy in the University of Wittenberg, founded only six years earlier, Luther was delighted, when, four months later, as a Bachelor of Theology, it was his privi-lege to lecture also on the Holy Scriptures. 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 fumes of the latter Renaissance. 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 there he saw and heard, the name and authority which had upon him was greatly weakened. The story of his experience on Pilate's Staircase rests solely on the testimony published after his death by his son Paul. Rapid promotion followed, as a testamential record to the advancement which the new Doctor of Theology at the age of twenty-nine (1512), he accepted it as a special call “to explain the Scriptures to all the world,” and broke the traditional modes of 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 nominalists, Oecum and Gerson, he had turned to Augustine, and from Augustine more and more to Paul. The mystical writer, John Tauler, and the author of the Summa Theologiae, had a decided formative influence. His time, how- ever, was largely absorbed by administrative duties. In 1515 he was appointed Vicar, with the oversight of eleven monasteries. It was in the midst of these duties that he became involved in the controversy concerning indulgences (q.v.). The doctrine of indulgences was rooted in the denial of the completeness of the satisfaction for sins made by Christ. This satisfaction, it was thought, 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 and within 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 satisfactions could be made only 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, where satisfactions could be rendered for sins unrepented of at death. Relief from such satisfactions would be found, however, in the fund of the super- luous merits of the saints acquired by their works of supererogation—a fund upon which the Church, through its power, could grant indulgence by the payment of an equivalent. Hereofere, no more had been claimed for a letter of indulgence than an abbreviation of the pains of purgatory for those who had already departed. As the granting of a letter of indulgence brought revenue, abuses constantly grew. It was the most convenient and effective way of raising funds for Church purposes, with percentage allotted to the agents who collected them. The luxurious habits of Leo X. and especially the completion of St. Peter’s church at Rome rendered this expedient very serviceable at this time. Albrecht of Branden- burg, Archbishop and Margrave, had contracted to collect fees from this source, with the stipula- tion that he retain one half. He commissioned as one of his agents John Tetzel, a Dominican monk and emotional preacher, who, by his appeals to the terror of his hearts, 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 course of the career of Tetzel. For more than a year Luther, entirely ignorant of the connexion which both Albrecht and the pope himself had with Tetzel’s transaction of the indulgence, was at a distance; but, as Tetzel drew nearer Wittenberg, the revelations made to Luther as a spiritual guide in the confessional compelled him first to appeal repeatedly to his ecclesiastical superiors, and, finally, when the answers were such as were to be expected and which would neither nullify the very root 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 Müllitz at Altenburg (Jan. 1519), followed by the Leipzig Disputation (beginning 23rd June), 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 since then. The latter, he had previously declared, in the maintenance of the fallibility of Councils, and the censure of the Council of Constance for condemning Hus. The aid offered from the camps of humanism and Luther not only declined, but repelled, as he wished to make it clear that his protest rested upon entirely different grounds from theirs. The year 1520 is noted for three monumental treatises, two polemical, one irenic and constructive. Of the former, the first was his famous Appeal to the Christian Nobility, which might appropriately bear the title, ‘The Responsibility and Duty of the Laity in Spiritual Affairs,’ and the second, ‘The Babylonian Captivity,’ a 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 most prominent modern critics:—

*One cannot help asking how the preachers who delighted to shatter as with a sledge-hammer all that had hitherto been held sacred and venerable, could also touch so tenderly the chord of divine love.* (Jansenius, Gesch. des deutschen Volkes, Eng. tr., iii. 239.)

The bull of excommunication promulgated by the pope on 156 June 1520 did not reach Witten-berg until four months later, and was formally turned by Luther before the student of the
University (10th Dec. 1520). On 16th and 17th April 1521 Luther appeared before the Emperor, Charles V., at the Diet of Worms, and declared that no reluctant political involvements enabled 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 to the Wartburg, overlooking Eisenach, where he remained in retirement until the following spring.

The isolation of those ten months afforded opportunity to review his work at a distance from the sources of which had received his spiritual nourishment: 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 NT was translated from the second edition of the Greek Testament of Erasmus, within three months from the time when it was begun. The translation was brought with him when he returned to Wittenberg from his exile (6th March 1522), and appeared the succeeding September. The translation of the OT was a much more difficult undertaking, in which he had the assistance of Melanchthon, Aurogallus, Roerer, Foerster, and others, and was published in parts, until in 1532 the entire Bible appeared complete, followed by a second edition two years later.

On his return to Wittenberg the character of his labours was much changed. He had at once to meet with decision the radical reaction against Rome, which had resorted in some cases to revolutionary means to precipitate measures. Three days after his return he began a series of eight sermons, preaching daily, into which he threw all his energy to check their excesses and, against them, to define the principles for which he had been arrested. The reaction in districts no longer under the dominion of the old Church now became necessary, to prevent them from being misled by the confusion that had been introduced, and in order, by a re-organization, to build them upon solid evangelical foundations. Henceforth, while the 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 churches, 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 a means of making the people prepare for the re-organization of schools, and 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 for use in public worship. He also prepared preachers, besides his lectures to his choristers 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 is his marriage with Catherine von Bora (1525); the Marburg colloquy with Zwingli (Oct. 1529); his second period of isolation, at the castle of Coburg, during the Diet of Augsburg (1530); his conferences in 1535 with representatives of the English Church, which had an important influence on the English Reformation and its literary monuments: the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 with Bucer and other representatives of the Reformed Church, and the Schmalkald Articles of 1537. Probably the point that has occasioned most heated discussion has been his relation to the Hymn of Philip of Hesse in 1510 (see W. W. Kellogg, 'Der Pfeiffersche Landsdichter Philipp von Hessen', Marburg, 1894).

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. Intensity, concentration, earnestness, directness, and action are constantly present. Beneath his efforts there is always some important practical end. His school was too many-sided to allow of learning. He availed himself of the weapons of humanism, so far as he could use them, without being in any sense a humanist. He had lectured for years on philosophy, only to repudiate both the Greeks and the scholastics. His writings abounded in numerous historical allusions, without suggesting that he ever could be rated as a historical investigator. It is rather his experience as a Christian that is ever leading him the more deeply into the study of the Holy Scripture, to find therein the solution of the problems of human life.

As a professor he was neither a scientific exegete nor a systematic theologian. He cut loose from all scholastic formalism and methods. While he could not entirely escape from the influence of medievalism, he was in constant antagonism to its authority. Even in the class-room he was a great preacher, stimulating the thought and life of his pupils, instead of retailing stereotyped definitions. His lectures were almost entirely confined to particular books of the Bible, which he expounded with great freedom of manner.

As an author, he is in his form rather than his matter that he reflects the present moment. Eminently conservative and slow-moving when once he has reached it he writes in an intense glow of feeling; words crowd one upon the other with great rapidity of thought, and with wealth of illustration often of the most homely character. He never has difficulty in making his meaning intelligible. He can write with equal ease as a scholar or for the plainest of the people. He loves paradoxes. He concentrates his attention so intensely on the particular form of the subject before him as to make it impossible for him to make any possible correct inferences or misrepresentations. The whole, real Luther can be read only by placing side by side his declarations under varying circumstances, and against opponents that widely differ. Few writers, therefore, can be so readily perverted by partisans. His language is not infrequently rough, and his allusions such as were in keeping with the rude age in which he lived.

He was master of the art of translation. Not verbal exactness constituted the chief aim of the very shade of meaning of the original in the language of the simplest people of a later age, was his aim. His German Bible is a modern book, which at last fixed the form and became the standard of modern German. His by-published versions of Scripture, or free renderings of the old Latin hymns of the Church. His sermons are most frequently expositions of long passages of Scripture, and grow naturally out of the text, as applied to contemporary circumstances and conditions; and he generally reflect that with which his attention at the time was chiefly occupied. They have come to us mostly as taken down in shorthand by some of his hearers, and not in finished form from his own pen.

His contributions to the re-organization of the Church are embodied not only in documents that bear his name, but also in those of his co-laborers, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and others, who applied the principles which he laid down, and acted with his constant co-operation and advice. He was the advocate of liberal culture, the study of the Greek and Latin classics, the education of women, and free public libraries. So far was he from precipitate and revolutionary methods of reform that he proceeded with the greatest caution, and had been fixed and approved by long usage, until a break with the past was no longer avoidable, but, when the critical moment came, always acting with promptness and decision. His aim was not
even a restoration of Scriptural models, but the continuance of whatever 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 faith of the gospel was the condition of all attempts at which he esteemed the very valuable only as the servant of faith; hence the faith was never to be adjusted to the supposed expediencies of union.

As a theologian, his chief effort, on the negative side, was to free theology from its bondage to philosophy, and to return to the simplicity of Scripture. He was dissatisfied with technical theological terms, because of their inadequacy, even when the elements of truth which they 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, and his fundamental end with the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Christology 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 considered in relation to Christ. With Augustine, he taught the organic union of all men in Adam, and the organic union of all sins in original sin. Original sin is emphasized rather than the corrupt state resulting from the Fall than as the act itself which proceeds—a state of spiritual death, from which man can neither of himself escape nor contribute towards his deliverance. The Incarnation presupposes man's sin. God became man in order, by His sufferings and death, to provide redemption. In the personal union, as the result of incarnation, the integrity of both natures 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 (kenosis [g.r.]) is not of the divine nature, but of the divine person in His human nature. Hence humiliation is not synonymous with incarnation, 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 predetermined 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 enjoyed, are appropriates by faith; but this faith is God's gift. Man cannot believe in Christ, or come to Him, by his own reason or strength. It is the office of the Holy Spirit alone to bring man to Christ and to man to call, enlighten, and regenerate. If man is saved, it is entirely by the work of the Holy Spirit in applying redemption through Christ; if he is lost, it is entirely by his own persistent resistance of the offers of divine grace. There are no degrees in justification; it is perfect and united. But whenever we add the faith that apprehends it, since the righteousness which it imparts is 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.
LUTHERANISM


Probably with only one exception in all history, no one has been so much praised or so bitterly and insulted as Martin Luther. The discussion of his life and deeds is constantly renewed with all the interest of almost contemporaneous occurrences. His voluminous works, many of them reaching us through the notes of others instead of from the pen of the author himself, form a long series of memories and commentaries of friends who jotted down from memory fragments of his conversations in the bosom of his family, his most confidential letters to his most intimate associates, humorous and satirical as well as serious, are all that can be possible for students of successive generations. Researches in archives heretofore closed and in libraries where they have lain unnoticed are bringing to light MSS of decided historical importance. Thus, in the last year of last century, his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, for which scholars have long been looking, were found in so public a place as the Berlin Library, shortly after a student's notes of the same lectures had been discovered in the Vatican, and only by a little over ten years the discovery of lectures on the Psalms, belonging also to his formative period. New biographies from both friends and opponents, as well as from those who profess to apply with rigid impartiality the higher laws of history and criticism, succeed each other with a frequency that is remarkable when it is remembered that he has been dead for over three centuries and a half, showing clearly that the last word has not been said on many questions that are still awaiting an answer without a thorough study of his own presentations.

LITERATURE.—(a) of the more recent Roman Catholic critics of Luther and his work, the following may be mentioned: J. Janseen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes von dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, 8 vols., Freiburg im Br., 1879-84, Eng. tr., 10 vols., London, 1890-1911; H. S. Denifle, Luther und Lutherwelt, 2 vols., Mains, 1908; H. Grisar, Luther, 3 vols., Freiburg im Br., 1911-12.


(c) The collected works of Luther have been comprised in several editions of varying excellence and completeness: the more Wittenberg (1529-55); the Jena (1626-58); the Altenburg (1851-64); the Leipzig (1739-49); J. W. Hay, the English edition; 1882-85, with 2 supplements; London, 1887-90. A thoroughly revised print: the Erlangen (beginning in 1850); the Weimar, the fullest and edited with greatest critical accuracy, under the patronage of the German Emperor. It was begun in 1858, and is still far from completion. For details concerning these editions see P.K.E., art. 'Luther.' A very convenient edition of select works, edited with critical care and with introductions, is that of G. Bornkalo, G. Kawerau, J. Kostin, M. Rade, and E. Schubert, in 14 vols. and a supplementary vol., 3rd ed., Berlin, 1900. Of greater scientific value is O. Clemen, Luther's Werke im Kritischen Gesamtband, 4 vols., Bonn, 1925-26.

(d) Of the list of biographies begins with that of Melanchthon, published the year after Luther's death, in the introduction to the second Latin volume of the Wittenberg edition of Luther's works. Mention may be made of the following: M. Meurer, Leipzig, 1843, 1857; J. Kostin, ed. G. Kawerau, Berlin, 1893; T. Koehler, Regensurg, 1911; M. Rade, Neustadt, 1897; H. Haasth, Berlin, 1904; and the English biographies of C. B. Smith, New York, 1898; H. Jacobs, New York, 1911; T. C. Lindsay, Edinburgh, 1908, and esp. in his History of the Reformation, 1, do. 1907; H. Preserved Smith, London, 1911; A. C. Mclaglen, do. 1911. A very condensed, but most excellent and suggestive, classification of biographers and other writers on Luther, according to schools, is the work of

1 Critically edited and published, with historical introductions, by J. Ficker, Luther's Vorlesungen über den Römerversuch, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1904.
or Church body. Where the doctrines of the Confessions are held and confessed, even though the Confessions themselves be not subscribed, or even known, by the Church, yet the doctrine taught by the Church is thereby 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 understood, the test is not met. A real Confession of Faith is not so much a law as the joyful declaration of Christian freemen of the liberty that they have attained in Christ, and of the limits within which liberty is to be found and exercised (cf. art. CONFESSIONS, vol. iii. p. 845).

What are known historically as the Lutheran Confessions are not attempts to summarize the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, as are various other Confessions in Christendom that are, in reality, systems of doctrine. The confessional development of Lutheranism has proceeded on the principle that Holy Scripture is its own interpreter, and needs no formal explanation by Church authority, unless the meaning of Scripture be involved in serious controversies that greatly agitate the Church and call for the careful guarding of the purity of the gospel from those who would pervert it. The Church, therefore, frequently involved that body of Scriptural interpretation and exposition which preceded the controversy and which preceded controversy points have been treated. Hence the Augsburg Confession closes with the words: 'If anything further be desired, we are ready, God willing, to present fuller 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. CATECHISMS [Lutheran], vol. iii. p. 253 ff.), both written by Luther in 1529, are handbooks of elementary religious instruction rather than theological documents. The four theological Confessions, the Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the 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 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 1542, in the interests 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 fixed between the two types of the Confession. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531) is a ful and learned defence, also written by Melanchthon, and formed the basis for the Formula of Concord (1537), prepared by Luther, with a long Appendix by Melanchthon, mark a stage in the controversy with Rome when the differences were no longer reconcilable. The Formula of Concord (1577) gives a decision concerning the Lutheran Confessions had treated those which had assailed them from without (see, further, art. CONFESSIONS, § 13).

Differences between Luther and Melanchthon were intensified among their followers. These differences, due primarily to differences of temperament, training, and religious experience, caused no personal rupture between them. Melanchthon, gentle, timid, and sensitive, loved the retirement and occupations of the study, and shrank from conflict. Far more of a humanist than Luther, he was swept by the force of events, and, much to his regret, from classical studies into the current of theological discussions. He had passed through no such inner spiritual conflicts as faced Luther. Accordingly, he excelled in the sphere of the formal rather than of the material. No one could give such accurate and graceful literary expression to Luther's thoughts. But, when Luther's influence was removed, he was not only vacillating, but dominated by two principles, viz. a much higher regard than Luther for patristic authority, and a greater concern for the external peace and the impressiveness of the Church's government. He was not willing to make concessions which might impair Church politics, which compromised his position, and brought into prominence his great contrast with Luther in this particular. Notwithstanding his sharp arrangement of scholastic methods in the first edition of his Catechism, he had manifested a bent towards the principles which he had repudiated, placed undue importance upon the philosophy of Aristotle, and became the founder of Lutheran scholasticism. The perpetuation of these two types of thought has caused not only differences in regard to the attitude of their adherents to individual Confessions, but also a stricter or laxer standard of Confessional subscription. The Formula of Concord is a formal repudiation of Melanchthonism in its divergence from Luther.

Of the two principles of Protestantism, 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 Former Articles of the Augsburg Confession and 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 or receptacle in which the truth is stored. For it is said that the gospel itself was proclaimed orally before it was committed to writing, and was no less the power of God unto salvation where thus preached, or where taught by those who had heard it from the first ear-witnesses, than when read on the printed page. Nor can the Scriptures be correctly apprehended except as in regeneration a new spiritual sense is imparted.

When even the most able and learned men upon earth read or hear the Gospel of the Son of God, and the promise of eternal salvation, they cannot, from their own powers, perceive, apprehend, understand or believe and regard it true, but the more diligence and earnestness they employ to comprehend with their reason those spiritual things, the less they understand or believe, and before they become acquainted with the care andadresse of the Holy Ghost, they regard this only as foolishness or fiction, 1 Cor. 2. 14 (Formula of Concord, pt. ii. ch. III § 9,Eng. tr., H. E.Jacobs, Book of Concord, p. 563).

The true interpretation of Scripture is to be found only as the relation of each part to Christ as the centre is correctly apprehended, and this is possible only by the regenerative process.

While protesting against all ecclesiastical authority that arrays itself against Holy Scripture, Lutheranism lays great stress upon the continuous witness to the truth of the gospel, given through
the Holy Spirit, as this truth is applied and developed from age to age in believing personalities. Such believers, according to its teaching, constitute the inner spiritual organism of the Church. In this respect its doctrine is in contrast with that of Judaism. Here the one in which much lay so much importance upon the decisions 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 through whom the Word and Sacraments are given.

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 can be manifested, regenerate, sanctify, 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 realizing itself entirely in practice, but has also often interjected adjustments of theory and policy foreign to both its spirit and its teaching. As in the time of the Reformation, so at all times since, there have been those whose intense consciousness of the doctrine has shown that the raising, or whose greater freedom of that of a Reformation, tendency. Indulgence, Unionism, Mysticism, and Rationalism have had their learned advocates among those claiming the Lutheran name, and who organize themselves 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 remove a surplus after the needs of a mere physical existence have been met, where within the limits of this surplus is that portion of it which constitutes expenditure upon luxuries. What exactly is to be termed luxury depends, to a large extent on the situation and conditions of community, and, in a somewhat lesser degree, upon its standard of life.

Once a tribe managed to procure a sufficient food supply to maintain itself, any increase rendered possible an unpicturesque consumption of the excess in the form of fees, tributes, or fines, was passed in or of these circumstances a rule form of luxury would have been evolved. Thus a primitive type of luxury must have come into existence in prehistoric 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 living demon of luxury appears to have shown itself in relation to religious observances, and, closely connected with this, there was the pomp of the royal family, where, as in Egypt, it claimed divine authority. But the example of the supreme ruler extended sooner or 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 the use of costly perfumes), of buildings and monuments (such as the Pyramids), or of dwellings and their furnishings (as, 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 (450-480 B.C.) and in the time of Vindex (429 B.C.) that sumptuous expenditure became a charm to practice, but it has also often interjected adjustments of theory and policy foreign to both its spirit and its teaching. As in the time of the Reformation, so at all times since, there have been those whose intense consciousness of the doctrine has shown that the raising, or whose greater freedom of that of a Reformation, tendency. Indulgence, Unionism, Mysticism, and Rationalism have had their learned advocates among those claiming the Lutheran name, and who organize themselves just as the Christian Church has much within it for which Christianity is not responsible.


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days, when three were permitted. In 1652 a further act was passed against outrageous and excessive forms of expenditure, which was a much more detailed sumptuary law. The Inof the precious metals to Europe after the discovery of America, followed by the extension of foreign trade, increased the stock of several classes of goods which purchases of a luxurious and costly nature became relatively less expensive. The improved organization of industry facilitated production, so that Adam Smith was able to point out the fact that the most conspicuous example of the accumulation exceeded that of many an African king, the absolute master of the lives and liberties of ten thousand naked savages (Wealth of Nations, bk. i. ch. i.). Sumptuary legislation in England may be said to have ended with the Tudors. Mercantilism, in its encouragement of manufactures, tended to permit the production of luxuries for exportation. The growth of foreign trade enabled seafaring nations to participate in it and in the re-exporting of rare and costly goods. Accordingly, though there remained a sturdy body of opinion against luxuries generally, and more especially against those luxuries brought from foreign countries, sumptuary legislation ceased to be observed in England. In 1661 Scots Parliament prohibited the importation of a long list of foreign commodities which were held to be 'superfluous.' The industrial revolution followed by the acceptance of the doctrine of laissez-faire (pace); made the State less disposed to interfere with private expenditure unless upon moral or social grounds, as, for instance, in the regulation of wines and spirits. In the 18th cent. the principle of the taxation of luxuries came to be more and more recognized, partly on the ground of restraining the consumer from a species of consumption which was hurtful to himself (e.g., taxation of spirits), partly as raising revenue from what were admitted to be superfluities, and thereby collecting revenue from classes who would not pay taxes otherwise (e.g., tea and sugar taxes). A few taxes may be regarded as having a sumptuary element, such as the tax on armorial bearings or those on male servants and on motor cars.

The immediate cause of the existence of luxury.—Social observers 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 always, luxury is recognized as a 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, which 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 recognized partly on the ground of the desires which are called luxuries. This, however, is not strictly accurate. In a great number of occupations the worker who is able to satisfy the former wants only would not be efficient. Therefore one must extend the meaning of the term 'necessary' so as to include in it all those things which are required for efficiency (e.g., what is consumed beyond that point may well be described as consisting of luxuries. It follows that the term 'luxury' must be understood in relation to time, place, and the general circumstances. It is easy to determine whether any specific commodity is a luxury to a given individual in regard to whom the necessary data are known; the problem becomes much more difficult in the case of a whole community. Certain forms of expenditure were a natural result of the efficiency, and there can usually be classed under the head of luxuriously outlay; certain others, again, are usually incurred with the object of distorting the expenditure, and where such can be isolated, they tend to be costly. In the last resort, all that is possible is to note with care 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 retail and 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 becomes capital is also come as likely as the head of consumption; it becomes an instrument for further production. Thus that part of the surplus which is used as capital is more fruitful as regards production than the other portion which, in the phraseology of J. S. Mill (Principles of Political Economy, Lond., 1886, bk. i. 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 to increase the 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 discriminating frugality. Even in periods of national and individual prosperity there were always moralists who pleaded for the simple life, and it is by the degree of support which either class of precepts 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 a symptom of the expenditure which is required for full efficiency. As society progresses and as further resources become available, it becomes possible for a community to increase their enjoyment 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 division between luxuries and the necessities for efficiency is drawn at a much higher point than in another community which is less fortunately 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 insidious danger—namely, that consumption which was begun as conducive to 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 save a portion of the profit which he has realized from its sale. Such savings would be available for new production.
LYCANTHROPY


W. R. SCOTT.

LYCANTHROPY.—The word 'lycanthropy' is used in two senses. (1) It may indicate merely a form of madness in which the patient imagines that he is an animal, especially a wolf, and acts as such. This disease was common in antiquity, and especially in the Middle Ages, doubtless as a result of the wide spread belief that transformation into animal form was possible (§ 3). (2) It indicates the popular belief that on occasion a human being can actually transform himself, or be transformed, into a wolf or some other animal. In this form he may transform himself, but, if wounded while in the wolf form, it is found that a corresponding wound exists on the human body from which the transformation has taken place. When wounded or killed, the werewolf's human form is restored. While the wolf transformation is that which is or was 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 fiercest and most dreaded animals whose shapes were ascribed to the wolf transformation has been most usual in all parts of Europe and in N. Asia from early times, but in the North of Europe the bear form is also general, and in modern Greece the bear. In Abyssinia and E. Africa the hyena form is taken in other parts of Africa the hyena, leopard, lion, and sometimes the shark, crocodile, or even the elephant. In India and other parts of Western Asia the tiger form is usual; in Borneo and Siam the tiger or leopard; in China and Japan the tiger, fox, etc. In N. America the wolf form is most usual; in S. America the jaguar. But, while in regions where such wild animals have become extinct the old tales are still told, new other less harmful animal forms are believed to be taken by werewolves or werewomen, e.g., those of a cat, hare, etc.—and in these animal shapes considerable mischief is supposed to be done, while the idea of the wound being continuous in the animal and human shapes ('repercussion', see § 5) also prevails.

1. Lycanthropy is derived from Adonis, 'wolf;' and lycos, 'man,' the gr. term being λυκόσαυρος (cf. λυκόσαραξ, 'man-wolf'). The common English name is 'werewolf,' lit. 'man-wolf.' The genitive, lycos, 'wolf,' is not used. Herowering, norman noun in causer (cf. o. or fr. 'fur, lat. vier, and cf. 'welgild'). The French name for werewolf is loup-garou. In this case parent has been thought to be a corruption of wer-animal, but this is uncertain. Old French romances contain the forms worsel, wvaros, vvaros, vvar/os, vvaros. Baudrillard for lycos-galos (loup-garou) chose the form vvaros, which is absurdly incorrect. The Slavic name are O. Ch. Slav, vikolodol, Slovenian vikolak, Bulgarian vikolak, Polish vikolak, White Rus. vikolak, Rus. volen, b taxis, etc. The Serbian vikolak, however, means 'vampire,' hence, probably, modern gr. ἱπποπάνθη, ἵπποπάνθης, which occasionally occurs with occasionally the意味 'wolf.' The Slavic form means literally 'wolf-haired,' or 'wolf-skinned.'

It is interesting to note that the term has never been regarded with superstitions awe. An old belief in Europe is to the effect that, if a wolf sees a man before being seen by him, the man is deprived of sight or hearing. This is the modern (f.) of lycos, HN viii. 2; Verg., Aen. ix. 53; Tiber. Id. liv. 22; J. C, Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore, Cambridge, 1910, p. 10; J. Landau de Sadi-Cobelle, Lyon, 1854 (in a note to p. 36, say that there is continuous the eye of a wierdman or traitor to man, by which the breath is stopped, and consequently the death. In Europe, folklore the wolf is usually created a devil of the devil, the wolf shape of Ahriman; see 0. OEHRAK, NAWATEN: EINE SAMMLUNG . . . Fabeln und Legenden, I., Berlin, 1907, 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, or clay or are believed to possess this power, as well as that of transforming others; it is also ascribed to the gods, spirits, demons, and ghosts of the dead, 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—keep the thief who pretends to be a wolf says that he has awned three times he will become a wolf. Circe changed men to wolves, etc., by means of drugs. The superstition is also found embodied 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 other versions of the myth Zeus came disguised as a labourer, and the sons of Lycaon slew a child and mixed its flesh with the sacrificial food set before the guest. Zeus then changed them to wolves, or slew them and transformed their father. These myths probably arose from werewolf stories current in Arcadia, a district where wolves abounded. The stories look

In one it was said that at the yearly sacrifice on Mt. Lycaeus he who at the sacrificial feast ate the flesh of the human victim mixed with that of animal victims became a wolf for ten years—a fate which is said to have befallen Demeter, who afterwards became a victor in the Olympic games. If he abstained during that period from human flesh, he regained his human form. In another version lots were drawn by the members of a certain family, and he on whom the lot fell was led to a lake, where he stripped and, hanging his clothes on an oak, plunged in and swam across. Emerging on the other side, he became a wolf and bred with wolves for nine years. In this case also, if he did not eat human flesh he regained his own form at the end of that time.

Perhaps such stories, based on an existing werewolf belief, may have been connected with the ritual of the cult of the wolf-god, if the priests wore a wolf-skin and ate part of a human victim. This ritual was connected with a worship of the cult of Apollo Saranus on Mt. Soracte, where the god of worshippers, the Hippo Sarani, or 'wolves of Saranus,' apparently wore skins of wolves and acted as wolves. Possibly the cult was totemic in origin, and the Hippo were members of a wolf clan.

In modern Greece the old belief in lycanthropy still exists, either as such or in other forms. The name ἱπποπάνθη is applied to Thessaly and Epirus to those who fall into a trance or entangle, while their souls enter wolves and raven for blood, or who in a state of somnambulism bite and tear man and beast. Stories exist of the ἱπποπάνθη being wounded, while next day a man is found with a similar wound, and a long, but this is rare. Stories of the ἱπποπάνθη being a vampire in Greece. In Southern Greece the name ἱπποπάνθης is applied to men known in other parts as Kasama who, more usually, Kalidakti.
LYCANTHROPY

zari. The Kalikkantzari are beings of monstrous
form, like thirty, and carry no off
women, and sometimes make a meal of their
prey.1 Lawson considers that the Kalikkantzari
represent the ancient Centaurs, whom he regards as
a Pelasgic tribe of Centauri credited by the Ancient
Greeks, with some connects. Some also exists between them and the number of
the Dionysia who represented the satyrs and Sileni.
They appear and are feared from Christmas to
Epiphany—the period of the Kalends when such
mummering took place. In some cases, the Kalikkantzari are equivalent to werewolves,
and are regarded as men transformed into mon-
strous shapes, or seized with recurrent bestial
madness at this period. This is attributed, e.g., to
the mountaineers of E. Enloe. This madness may be
congenital—e.g., children born from Christians
and Twelfth Night are supposed to have a taste
for human flesh. Lawson regards this as a modi-
fication of the original Kalikkantzari belief caused
by the werewolf superstition or by actual form
of insanity.2 The name λαυκκαντζαρσ is given to
the Kalikkantzari in Messenia and Crete, and in
Macedonia they are called λεικον. To escape these
beings the house must be carefully closed at all
openings. A brave man may bind them with a
straw rope. Various apotropaic and propitiatory
rites are also in use to keep off these dreaded beings,
who are ‘a species of werewolves, akin to the
Wild Boar and the Vrykolakas.’3 Wicked Turk-
generally work to drive wild boars before death, and
rush their heads on the land on all fours, attacking
wayfarers or trying to get into houses. After
forty days such a being goes to the mountains, remain-
ing there as a wild beast, but still wearing on its
fours the ring which the man were on his hand (cf.
the Abyssinian bade, below).4 The Bulgarians have
a similar belief, but with them the transformation of the Turk takes place after death.5 In
Albania the bologat is a dead Turk with huge horns,
wandering in his shroud, devouring what he finds,
and strangling men.6 Here the vampire supersti-
tion is approached (§ 4). In the Cycloades witches
are thought to turn into birds at will. They are
called epyxan, and are akin to the Harpies.7
The Romans also knew of lycanthropy, and
called those who changed their form versipelles,
turn-skins.8 Vergil describes how by magic
herbs Morris became a wolf, and Propertius speaks
of spells which have the same effect.6 But the most
detailed account that is found in Petronius.
Necros tells how his soldier friend stripped off his clothes
and addressed himself to the stars. Then he ‘crescimmenvix vestinund,8 and all a once became a wolf, which ran bowling
into the woods. Necros next heard from a widow whom
he visited that a wolf had been worrying her cattle, and had been wounded in the neck. On his return home he found his friend
bleeding at the neck, and knew then that he was a versipelle.9
This is a typical and early version of the werewolf story.

In more modern times the superstition survives
in Italy. Straparola tells how Portunio received from
a wolf the power of changing to wolf form, and
the superstition is also referred to by Basile.
At the present day in Naples the wolf, who is a
man cursed by Christmas night, is known by having long nails, and runs on all
fours, but retains the human form, and tries to
bite. If blood is drawn from him, his madness

1 G. F. Abbott, Macedonian Folklore, Cambridge, 1908, pp.
2 Lawsan, pp. 288, 554.
3 Abbott, pp. 73-1, 163; Ross, FL x. 174 ff.; Good, p. 107 ff.
7 Phys. VIII. 11, 82, 256.
10 Perrot, Sec. 61.

cases. This is a case of lycanthropy in its medical sense.1 More akin to the true werewolf super-
tition is the general belief that witches can turn
into black cats and do much harm, especially to
children. In one case a woman caught such a cat
and clipped its hair, whereupon it turned into the
witch.2

Among the Scuaites lycanthropy was not un-
known, but recorded instances of the belief are
few. Among the Seafar in Hadramaut part of the
tribe could change into ravening werewolves in
time of drought, or during seasons of illness.

The Arabs also regarded some men as having the
nature of a hyena, and said that, if a thousand
men were shut up with one of these and a hyena
came, it would go at once to him.4

The belief analogous to the true werewolf illustrated by a story
given by Giraldus Cambrensis.

An Irish priest was met by a wolf in Meath and desired to
see and come his dyke wolf. They were natives of Ossory,
whose people had been cursed for their wickedness by St.
Natalis, and were compelled to take two by two a wolf-shape
for seven years, regarded as ‘turnskins.’5

A citation in the Book of Beldenise (1490) says that the ‘descendants of the wolf’ in Ossory had
the power of changing themselves and going forth
to devour people. St. Patrick is also said to have
caused 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.6

These may be explanatory legends about older
totem-clan, late accursed of lycanthropy—
an already current superstition—when totemism
was requiring an explanation, as is the case of the wolf-clan in Arcadia. 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, and used their
tooth as amulets. Lycanthropy ran in
families, and here also it may point to an older
totem clan. Laighneach Feachad and his family could
take a wolf-shape at will and kill the herbs, and
Laighneach was called Fialach because he was the
first of them to go as a wolf.7

In Irish and Welsh Marchen transformation to wolf-form of children
by a stepmother or of a husband by a wife is not
uncommon.8 Giraldus already refers to the belief
that hags in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland change to hares and suck cattle for their milk,
but, with St. Augustine, regards this supposed
change as a delusion of the senses.9 This belief
is thus contemporary with that in lycanthropy,
but long survived it. Later Celtic, Welsh, Manx,
Scots—usually turn into hares or cats, less often into dogs, weasels, ravens, por-
poises, whales, etc., for the purpose of doing mis-
chief. In Donegal the change is said to be effected
by a hair rope made of a stallion’s mane and
the recital of charms. In some cases the trans-
formation is confined to certain families. Such
witch animals can be shot only with a silver bullet.
When followed up, the woman has resumed her
true form and is found to have a corresponding
wound. A miller in Cork who saw a number of

1 PL v. [1371].
3 W. R. Smith, Rel. Sem., p. 58.
5 Lawson, pp. 288, 554.
6 St. Ivo, Des. d. 1717; FL v. [1814] 25610.
cats attacking his fowl threw 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 the wold-skin was a witch. Haras are usually thought to be unlucky, and are suspected of being witches in disguise. The ancient Welsh laws already speak of their magical character, regarding them as companions of witches, who often assumed their shape. 1

The Slavic werewolf belief is referred to under DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Slavie), vol. iv., p. 624. Possibly the Neuri, mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 105), were a Slavic people (cf. E. H. Minns, Scythians and Huns, London, 1835, p. 102.). 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. 2 Hertz notes the sinister character of the belief through its connexion with that in Russia and the Ukraine, the names for both being interchangeably.

The Serbians think that the vukodlak have annual gatherings, when they hang their wolf-skins on trees. Should such a skin be taken and burnt, the devil who resides within will find no place to lay his, and so the wolf will he driven out. 3

If the skin is nailed across a threshold by a witch in a house where a wedding is taking place, all who step over it will become wolves. In three years' time, if the witch covers them with skins with the hair turned to her face, they return in their human form. Another version of this is a Polish belief. In White Russia the werewolf is sometimes a man transformed by the devil, and, contrary to the usual belief, he is harmless, but is driven to wander from place to place. 4

In Finnish folklore a girl at a merry-making carried 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 at all men and killed as many as he could. He had come to see his home once more, but must resume his wolf-form immediately, which he did. 5 In another case a peasant, released from his wolf-skin, returned home to find his wife married again. He cried, "Why am I no longer a wolf that I might punish this woman?" Immediately he was re-transformed, and killed his wife. The neighbours hailed him and slew the wolf, when the body was seen to be that of a man. 6

Olaus Magnus says that at Christmas many werewolves appear and try to enter houses to drink in the cellars. Between Livonia, Samogitia, and Livonia is the wall of an old castle whither thousands of werewolves come to try their skill at leaping. The unsuccessful one is beaten by one of the captives 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 Livonian werewolves collected at Christmas, and crossed a river which had the power of changing them to wolves, like the lake in Arcadia. They resumed their human shape at the end of twelve days. In Livonia a servant whose power as a werewolf was disputed went to the cellar and soon after appeared as a wolf. The dogs bit one out of its eyes, and next day the man appeared with one eye.

Lycanthropy

The poet Ari has a curious tale of two 'skin-changers,' Dubaduck and Storwell. The former took the form of a bull, the latter of a bear. They fought, and next day were found in bed badly bruised.

Modern collections of Scandinavian and German mythology tell us many werewolf tales.

In one Swedish tale a cogteller was transformed by a Vargamor or Wolf Cross (Troll-wife), because he had not crossed himself when he went to mass. Three years after he appeared at his house, and recovered his true form when his wife gave him food.1 In a Danish tale a man, when in his wife's company, noticed that the time of the accustomed change was near. He had his strike with her upon anything which came to her. Soon after a wolf attacked her; she struck at it, and the wolf bit a piece of the arm and disappeared. Presently the man came carrying the piece, and explained that now he was free from the curse. The woman took a razor and neighbours got him with a strap and became a wolf.2 In another woman told her husband to throw his hat at any wolf beast which came. When she saw a dog as a wolf among the hay-makers, a boy stabbed her with a pitchfork. The wolf changed back to the woman, who was found to be dead.3 A Dutch story tells how a man shot with an arrow a wolf which was attacking a girl, and that the arrow stuck in the wound. Next day he heard that a strange serving-man was dying from an arrow sticking in his side. He went to see him, and found his own arrow, whereupon the man confessed that he was a werewolf.4 In a Spanish tale a shepherd received a wolf-skin from the devil, by which he became a wolf at night. If the skin was burned, he was sufferer as if his own skin were burned, but would not freed from this curse.5 In the sequel the master succeeded in releasing him in this way.6

In many modern tales and also in medieval witchcraft collections transformation of the witch was usually into a cat, dog, hare, or duck (the bird of Freya, great mother of the witches), and these, when wounded, became woman with a similar wound in her body. Spina says that such cat-women ate the brains of the witch, and rubbed themselves with the flesh of a newly-born child which had been offered to Satan.? In England and Scotland werewolf stories are scanty, but there are traces of the superstition in each country. The word werewolf in the sense of 'rober' 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 gawweroulfe, werewolf. In England, when change their form at the change of the moon. William of Malmesbury also alludes to the superstition.

A well-known Old English poem, translated from a 12th-century French poem, is that of Willorn and the Werewolfe, in which the king of Sicily's son, his stepmother the rein of the king's child, whom his uncle wishes to murder, and how the wolf cared for the boy, his further adventures, and the eventual re-transformation of the wolf to his human form.8 Drayton, in his Menevne (i. 104), tells of a man who found that by gathering certain herbs at a certain hour with appropriate spells, and eating it, he would become a wolf, and that a human could commit no murder, nor weigh on the devil. When he attacked an ass in which was a man so transformed, the latter assumed his rightful shape and drove away the lycanthrope.

If tales of werewolves are scanty, there are innumerable tales and traditions of witches changing to hares, cats, dogs, and the like in order to do harm. No charge is more common in the 16th and 17th century, witch trials, and frequently the belief is found, as in the case of the werewolf, that such a vor-animal can be hurt only by a silver bullet. In some instances wounding causes the witch to assume her true shape, when she is found with a cross-reminiscent wound.9

In France the earliest literary version of the belief is found in the Leu du Bisclouvet de Marie de France (13th cent.). A knight went from time to time to the forest, where he found the horde 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 he held to his human wisdom, and he would be bound by the king's command, his clothes and consequently his own form were restored to him, but not before he had revenged himself on his unfaithful wife.

This story is found in other literary versions—e.g., the Roman de Renart of the Clerk of Troies (14th cent.), in the Leu de Melon (ed. F. Michel, Paris, 1832), in the story of Arthur (see below), and elsewhere. These are all literary versions of the folk-tale.10 The legend of St. Roman in medieval Brittany told how he had taken the form of a werewolf and had eaten children.

Gervase of Tilbury, in his Hist Imperialis, tells of a certain Pontie de Capitolo, who out of despair became a werewolf in Auvergne, ate children, and wounded old people. A carver blasted 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 Freny, those who lay with the devil, at the cross-roads, at midnight, become 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. In the end, they take human form again and the spell which attached them to Satan is broken.11 In Brittany, towards the end of the 18th century, sorcerers were supposed to take the form of wolves or clothe themselves with a wolf's skin when going to the Sabbath.12 In many parts of France every fétuèr 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 and hunt,13 and is afterwards found in bed with the hairy ones. Who has a part with the devil, at the cross-roads, at midnight, by fétuèr. The belief is found in modern times. In these stories, the malevolent magic establishment 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 oven had been self to begin to leap about, crying, 'I burn, I burn.'14

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.15

Cervantes, in his Persiles y Sigismunda (ch. 5), relates how an enchantress made advances to Rulillo, who repelled her. She turned into a wolf. He stuck his knife into her breast, and as she fell her human form came back to her.

Passing now to Asia, clear evidence of the belief is found in Armenia. Sinful women are sometimes terrored by a spirit to don a wolf-skin and become wolves for seven years. Soon the wolf nature 1

1 For Arthur and Gorlan seen PL xv. [1904] 506. Gorlan seen changed to a wolf by being struck with the thine end of a sapling which grew up on the night of his birth. For the folk-tale see 'Prince Wolf'—a Danish version—FæLIII. [1889] 2251, and a Norse version in Dace, no. 36. In both the husband remains a wolf or bear through the wife breaking a tabus, and has originally been transformed by a stepmother.


3 A. Bosquet, La Normandie romantique et miracleuse, Paris, 1915, ch. 12; Herta, p. 108.

4 Bourguet, p. 247.

5 F. B. de Spina, Quarto de Strigibus, c. 769, in Mullerius Quadrantis Madogarum, Frankfurt, 1859; Grimm, p. 1897; Herder, 71; Tsorry, 1814.

6 Ed. F. Madden, London, 1832, Roxburghe Club.


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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 flaked. If the skin is flaked over, then the woman suffers fearful agony and vanishes in smoke.\(^1\) 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 said to be adopted. Already in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa the monomaniac is said to be consecrated to the man-tiger.\(^2\) In most instances the Hindus attribute the power of shape-shifting to the aboriginal tribes. Numerous stories are prevalent among men with the power of becoming wer-tigers—e.g., among the Khonds (with whom, by the aid of a god, one of a man's four souls becomes a meliya tiger), the Lushais, Kukis, etc.\(^3\)

Dalton describes how a Kol, tried for murder, maintained that his victim was a wer-tiger, which he had followed to the man's house after it had killed his wife. The relatives of the victim had admitted that they had suspected him of such power and had handed him over to the prisoner, who slew him.

Sometimes the eating of a root is believed to produce the change.\(^4\) Occasionally the witch assumes the form of a flogger and carries off children. Witches also ride about on tigers or in the water on crocodiles, dishevelled, with glaring eyes, and bare blood-red teeth. 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 and devour in their turn, or to sit on the heads of tigers and direct them to their prey, calling out in a human voice so as to attract the invury.\(^5\)

In Indonesia the tiger-spirit is very commonly believed in among the Malays, Dayaks, 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, whence a tiger has presently emerged, or in human form vomiting feathers of fowls eaten when in their tiger form. A wer-tiger was said to have gold-plating in its teeth, as the man who assumed tiger form had. The Lavs of Burma are also regarded as wer-tigers. While the wer-tiger is generally very dangerous, in Java it is believed to guard plantations and gardens, and to make the 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.\(^6\)

A gruesome Malay story of a Semang who became a tiger (Si Ribah, "He of the hairy face"—a euphemism), and sucked blood rather than ate 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 deep draughts of blood. One girl he first played with as a cat with a mouse, and all night he tossed the bodies about and tore them, disappearing at dawn. Another story tells how the transformation was seen taking place. A bird saw her Korinchi husband returning home as a tiger, whereupon he shot at the entrance ladder. "It palpitated and changed, and the face of the husband came up through the face of the beast." Later this wer-tiger was caught in a trap, but escaped, when it was tracked to the house. There the man was said to be sick, and soon after he and his son disappeared. The story was reported to the District officer, and such a transformation is "to the native mind a fact, not a mere belief."\(^7\)

The tiger familiar spirit is also possessed by certain men, and after their death they are transformed into tigers, or the medicine-man subject to him an actual tiger which is immortal (Benna of Johore).\(^8\) 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.\(^9\) A curious Malay belief concerns the half in which tigers possessed of human souls are penned. Periodical attacks of fierceness come on them, when they break bounds and go after their prey. Passing through one door, they become men, and on returning through 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.\(^\ast\) The transformation into tiger form is effected in different ways: by sympathetic magic—e.g., donning a serong (yellow with black stripes) and repeating charms—by offerings to evil spirits, by charms, or by a mysterious poison which is supposed to affect the soul; or the power is conceived as hereditary. Among the Senangs the medicine-man lights incense and invokes a spirit. Presently far 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 time 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.\(^5\) Various beliefs are held regarding the transformation among the Malays—the whole body takes part in it, or merely the soul substance, the body remaining at home.

Among the wild Malays of the Patani States there is a belief in bodli, or mischief, which remains by a body after death and devours the semangot or, sometimes, the liver of passers-by. Birds and beasts also have bodli or, in the case of tigers, leopards, and jangle-cats, pgrum or begrob; 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.\(^1\)

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 Klemantans, one group of whom claim the crocodile as a relative. One man found his skin become rough, his feet 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.\(^2\)

In China there are various wer-animals—tiger, wolf, dog, fox, etc. The change is usually a bodily one, but an ethereal human double may pass into an animal either before or after death. There are many literary notices of such transformations. An early instance is mentioned in a document of the 2nd cent. B.C., in which, after the crisis of an illness, a man changed to a rat above the top rung of the entrance ladder. Towards midnight the head of the husband came up through the face of the beast. Then this wer-tiger was caught in a trap, but escaped, when it was tracked to the house. There the man was said to be sick, and

2. SEE A. 1900.) 414.
and actual belief in the power of shape-shifting. Sometimes the transformation is ascribed to a community of spirits, and is effected by magical means. In other cases the cause may be the divine displeasure because of the neglect of 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-skin is used. Stories of transformation by wearing a tiger-skin are said to 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 tiger.

Other cases of this kind are of frequent occurrence. Wer-tigers and wer-tigresses are sometimes favourably disposed and give presents. This is especially the case with wer-tigresses on behalf of those who excite their love.

The wolf transformation is also known.

An old woman finds her body being covered with hair and a tail, and she calls, "Black Wolf," and escapes, though sometimes she returns to see her family. In another instance a man weds a woman who is really a wolf, as also her parents, and her whole family is devoured by her. In a 4th cent. wolf all wolves are said to be transformed to men after the five-hundredth year of their age.

Other wer-animals are also known—e.g., the dog, though here, as in the case of the fox, perhaps it is the animal that takes human form. In one instance men who are beaten become dogs; and a dog-man who was stabbed changed to a dog when coming home.

In China the fox superstition is a kind of inverted werewolf belief, especially in N. China. The wer-foxes dwell in the debatable land between earth and Hades, and can take human form at will—most frequently that of a rambunctious 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 the body of a corpse by insinuating into himself the soul-substance. Wer-foxes can eat either good or ill to men, but are grateful to those who are kind to them. Foxes in male form live with women, in female form with men; in either case a more perfect state is possible, resembling that caused by the medieval incubi and succubi. 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. The tiger ghost is also believed in.

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. 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 beaters, as in the similar Indian belief.

The wer-fox superstition is found in Japan, but was not introduced there until the 11th century. There are different stories of these foxes. The Ninko fox, Nogitsune, can take any form, or become invisible, but its reflexion in water is always that of a fox. The Ninko 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 men, or live in their houses, bringing luck if well treated, but they are dangerous if ill-treated. Some Samurai families are believed to own foxes, which steal for them or torment their enemies. Foxes to whom some kindness has been shown, either in their own or in human form, reward the doer of it with money, etc., part of which turns to grass. Often the house in which the fox lives is illusory and cannot be found again (see Fairy, vol. v, p. 679). Men possessed by foxes ran about yelling and eating only what foxes eat, but the possessing goblin-fox may be exorcised.

The same belief exists among the Ainus, and with them the fox has both good and evil powers, and can cause death and cannibalism, as well as human superstition. The Ainus take the form of 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 beaten by any one, they tell this to their parents next day.

The Berbers witness that they have seen girls, when born, change into cresses, who throw themselves on a man until they are strangled. Among the Abyssinians there is mad 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 black-smiths, found mainly among the Falashas and Abyssinian aborigines, who appear as men or animals, and eat on dead bodies, or kill and eat living men. Other 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 beaten by any one, they tell this to their parents next day.

The Eskimos and some American Indian tribes also possess the fox spirit, as well as the wolf spirit.

The wer-animal superstition is found in Africa in conjunction with a variety of savage beasts. All over N. Africa it is believed that the jinn can take animal forms—wolf, jackal, lion, serpent, scorpion. This is also true of the ghala, the cat-woman, who appears 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 beaten by any one, they tell this to their parents next day.

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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 eaten, or in illness. The victim becomes more or less 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 possesses the patient. Sometimes the victim tries to get into the forest, where it 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.1

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 eaper like hyenas, eat horrible food, and commit the crimes that the wer-hyena is supposed to do. 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, for one who was shot was seen to enter the hut of a wizard, who died soon after. The man who shot him soon followed him to the grave.2 Generally among the black races the usual animals, besides the hyena, are the leopards, and usually men or women who are the leopards are called hyenas, and are believed to enter the bodies of these animals by night.3 In the Sudan the hyena shape is supposed to be assumed at an ant's nest. The Aweomba wizards receive power to become wild beasts from spirits called vibanda.4 The Wanyamwezi of E. Africa think that sorcerers can transform themselves into animals in order to injure their enemies.5 In E. Central Africa witches kill men, and in the form of hyenas try to get at the graves of their victims in order to eat their flesh.6 The Akikuyu tell of a man, who, after his marriage, went to the wilds and lived like a hyena on dead bodies. Returning home, he ate his child. His brothers killed him, but the woman's second husband also became a hyena and ate her and his child.7 In British Central Africa the bewitcher (ufiti) can turn himself into a hyena, leopard, crocodile, etc. He then digs up dead bodies and eats them. Sometimes the witch takes the place of a creature kills people, some method of appeasing it is adopted. The wer-hyena is thought by the Makanga to have a wife at night who opens the door of the kraal to admit him and then runs off with him to feast. In one case, when a goat was carried off, tracks of a hyena and of human feet were seen together.8 Among the Tumbaka of Central Africa certain women wander about smeared with white clay, and are believed to have the power of changing into lions.9 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.10 In Loanda the belief existed that the chief could change himself to a lion, kill some one, and then resume his own form.2

The Baso believe that a man's spirit can leave his body and enter into an animal. They called isha anu, 'to turn animal,' and it is done by means of a drug. If the animal is killed, the man dies; if wounded, his body is covered with boils.3 Wilson says of sorcerers in Guinea that they can turn into leopards and change their enemies into elephants, in which form they kill them.4 In Senegal a sorcerer who changes to an evil animal is kept off by means of salt; or, when transformed, he leaves his skin behind him. If it is turned, it suffers, and comes to beg that the grins of salt be removed.5 In W. Africa generally the power of certain persons to change into leopards or to send their souls into leopards, which are then guided by the human possessor to kill such persons as are obnoxious to them, is very commonly believed in. The person so changed is called weneye, and cannot be killed.6 Many persons actually believe that they have thus metamorphosed themselves and gone harm. Others believe the belief itself is harmful. One of them who was shot was seen to enter the hut of a wizard, who died soon after. The man who shot him soon followed him to the grave.7 Generally among the black races the usual animals, besides the hyena, are the leopards, and usually men or women who are the leopards are called hyenas, and are believed to enter the bodies of these animals by night.8 In the Sudan the hyena shape is supposed to be assumed at an ant's nest. The Aweomba wizards receive power to become wild beasts from spirits called vibanda.4 The Wanyamwezi of E. Africa think that sorcerers can transform themselves into animals in order to injure their enemies.5 In E. Central Africa witches kill men, and in the form of hyenas try to get at the graves of their victims in order to eat their flesh.6 The Akikuyu tell of a man, who, after his marriage, went to the wilds and lived like a hyena on dead bodies. Returning home, he ate his child. His brothers killed him, but the woman's second husband also became a hyena and ate her and his child.7 In British Central Africa the bewitcher (ufiti) can turn himself into a hyena, leopard, crocodile, etc. He then digs up dead bodies and eats them. Sometimes the witch takes the place of a creature kills people, some method of appeasing it is adopted. The wer-hyena is thought by the Makanga to have a wife at night who opens the door of the kraal to admit him and then runs off with him to feast. In one case, when a goat was carried off, tracks of a hyena and of human feet were seen together.8 Among the Tumbaka of Central Africa certain women wander about smeared with white clay, and are believed to have the power of changing into lions.9 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

4 H. W. Sheane, JAF xxxvi, (1900) 155.
6 Macdonald, i. 197.

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both living and dead, with power to change to an animal—hyena, lion, serpent, or alligator—and to do harm to men or cattle.1 Among the Baronga, a secret society exists the members of which send out their spirit-bodies or go out bodily at night to devour human flesh. They leave their shadow, or the appearance of themselves, behind, but this is in reality the animal with which the person has been chosen to identify himself. If this appearance is stabbed, a hyena rushes howling from the hut, and the real man falls through the roof with a similar wound. Such persons enter huts, take the true self of the occupant, and eat him. Only his shadow is left, and 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 hysteric subjects.2 The Basuto also believe in wer-animals, mahlithomunes, men who turn temporarily into animals and kill and eat human beings. They have the tradition of the introduction of this terror 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.3

The Hottentots 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 Hottentot and a Bushman travelling saw some horses. But the Bushman browsed a lion and killed one, as he knew her to possess this power. Hair appeared on her neck, her nails became claws, her features altered, and she bounded off as a lion, the two in turn climbing a tree until she reassumed her human form.4

The Bushmen believed that sorcerers could assume the form of jackals, etc., and, conversely, that the lion could take human form.5

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.6 The village is to be credited with the power of changing to a black wolf, dog, cat, owl, or bat at night. To stop this, the human or animal skin must be found and salted. This assumes a real change of skin.7

With all the N. American Indian tribes it was believed that wizards and witches could take the form of wolves, bears, bears, owls, bats, or snakes—a belief which was probably strengthened by the wizardry the skins of animals and initiating them.8

The Nishinma had a legend of a medicine-man who was seized with a spasm and went on all fours. His nails grew long and his hair on him, hair covered his body, and he became a bear. This transformation lasted until the spasm passed.9

A belief similar to that of the Chinese fox superstition exists, as with the Narraganset, and the Thaxcalans believed in a wer-dog. The Musquakies have curious tales about trees which appear as human beings, carrying each of 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.’10

Lilatian
tells of wizards who, having taken the form of birds and been wounded, are found to have identical wounds, while the magical bullets with which the birds were 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.1

In a Chipewa 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. The brother one day heard a child’s voice crying: ‘I am turned into a wolf, followed by a bow. Then he saw the boy half turned into a wolf. As he watched, the change became complete, and with the words, ‘I am a wolf,’ the werewolf disappeared.2

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 a spell was derived from the fact that they could take animal forms. In Yucatan sorcerers claimed to have such powers, and one in dying confessed to a priest that he had often transformed himself.3

Among the Tonkinese in what is now Mexico, if a sorcerer sees a bear, he will beg an Indian not to shoot it, as it is he, or, if an owl sereches, he will say, ‘It is I who am calling.’ 4

The European belief in the transformation of witches into wolves was carried to America.4

Following the belief into S. America, we find that the Abipone keebet, or priest, was believed to turn himself into an invisible tiger which could not be killed. When he had transformed himself and began to roar like a tiger, the onlookers fled, believing that the change was actually taking place.6

The people of Guiana believe in the kenauna, a being who can send forth his spirit to injure or cause wasting diseases, or personally enter 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 with a small bird which is much feared as a kenaunir-bird; this is shot and every scrap of it carefully burned, so that there may be one enemy the less. Certain peaimen are thought to have the power of sending their spirit into an animal. The wer-jaguar is believed in by many of the tribes.

A Tucuman story tells how a man saw his brother take three grains of soil, spread a jaguar-skin on the ground, and dance round it, when he became a jaguar. Much horrified, he later obtained the skin and burned it. Returning home, he found his brother dying, but was asked by him to procure a piece of the skin. He did so, and the dying man threw it over his shoulders, and became a jaguar, which fled into the forest. In this case beliefs merely re-founded from the wer-animal. In a Paraguayan story the man becomes a man-eating jaguar by falling prone, and is transformed by reversing the process.

Once he was wounded by a youth, who followed him up and killed him in his den, which was filled with human bones. In another tale from the Paraguayan Chaco two men who visited a village when the men were absent dreamt when they heard from the women that they would soon return. When the men returned, they said that the visitors were cowards and came to deceive and destroy them, and they had seen the marks

1 H. BRER1W [1890], p. 111.
4 C. Lomnitz, Unknown Mexico, New York, 1901, p. 225.
5 S. A. Drake, New England Legends, Boston, 1884, p. 250.
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of their claws near the village. They were then pursued and killed.1

Among the Melanesians in Banks Islands the nearest analogy to the werewolf is the Tanamamu, 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 woman threw a stone and hit something. Next day the woman was found to have a mouth on her arm caused by the stone which hit her soul.2 In Lepers' Island wizards transform themselves into blow-flies and cause sickness to their victim, or into a shark and eat enemies. And two may beget the form of sharks, owls, and eagles.3 A story from this island illustrates the belief.

Tarkeke devoured men by turning into a fish, or entering a fish or a kind of mimic image of a fish. His son found this image and got into it, when he went out to sea. Tarkeke then went after the boy and punished him.4

In the examples quoted it is interesting to note in how many ways the change is thought to be effected. In many instances—Scandinavian, German, Slavic, French, Chinese, and the Teneumans of S. America—it is by donning an animal skin or girdle (see GREDÉ), presumably after removing the clothing, as this is a necessary preliminary in other methods. Eating a drug or root or rubbing the body with a salve or oil is found in ancient Italy, the Netherlands, England, Indonesia (where also a poison infecting the soul is thought to be the cause of the change), and in Africa, and in many cases tried judicially in Europe. Charms, spells, and other magical methods also effected the change in Celtic Britain, Chinese, Indonesian, 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 (Russian), or by spirits (Australians), or the change might be caused in a man by a witch. It might represent the effect of a divine or saintly punishment or other curse (ancient Greece, China, Cells of Ireland, Normandy); or it might be the result of eating human flesh (ancient Greece), or of making use of some particular action—swimming (ancient Greece, Perigord), falling prone (Paraguay), yawning (ancient Greece); or it might be the natural gift of a seventh son (Portugal), or of one born on Christmas night (Naples) or between Christmas and Twelfth-night (Greece).

In some cases the power is ascribed to a special tribe or to a people living in a special district—Arcadians, Korinchi Malays, aboriginal tribes in China, Selar of Jadramaut. This has perhaps an explanation 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 (Sengambia, Cilaor, Negroes of America), he suffers terribly and may die, as in the case of the lumbago in Celebes (below, p. 218 f.). On the other hand, this may release him from being a werewolf, as in the case of other men under enchantment who lose their beast nature when the skin is burned. Conversely, the seal or mermaid wife recovers it when she shaves her skin.5

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 lacks heels or the furrow of the upper lip, or is marked by twisted feet or by peculiar actions.1

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 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 pitchfork. The emission 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 captivinal name and reproaching him were also effective.2 In one story cited above the wife shaves her apron at her husband and so restores him. In Cambodia the werewolf is deprived of his power if struck with a hook on the shoulder.3

2. Lycanthropy as a theological doctrine.—Throughout the Middle Ages, but more emphatically in the 16th and 17th centuries, theologians turned their attention to lycanthropy as a branch of sorcery. They held that the help of Satan sorcerers could transform themselves into noxious animals, particularly wolves, for purposes inimical to others. Innumerable theologians expressed these views, and many treatises were written on the subject, while it was freely discussed in general works on the evils of sorcery. Of these theologians J. Bodin is one of the best examples; in his De Magorum Démonomania (Frankfort, 1603) he maintains the reality and certainty of the transformation. 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—e.g., where a wolf is wounded and a human being is found with a similar wound soon after. The severest measures were therefore taken against lycanthropes, especially on the part of the inquisition, and this authoritative announcement of the reality of the transformation added to the popular terror. People easily imagined the truth of the charges brought against those charged with them, or came forward as witnesses of the alleged facts. Indeed, the prisoners themselves often maintained their truth, showing that insanity and hallucinations had much to do with the peculiar heinous aspect of the crime is seen in this: H. Boguet, a judge who tried many cases and who wrote many works against sorcery, drew up a code in 1601 in which he stated that, while sorcerers should be first strangled and then burned, the loup-garou should be burned alive.4 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 changed into cats and fled into houses to suck the blood of children.5 Reports of many trials of reputed lycanthropes are still extant, and afford sad evidence of human credulity.

1 Grimm, pp. 1077, 1657; de Groed, iv. 167, 170; Thorpe, ii. 103.

2 Thorpe, i. 120; O. Hovorka and H. W. von der Osten, Die Leuchtenverfolger, Stuttgart, 1909-10, i. 49 6; Hertz, p. 61.

3 See ERF III. 1585.

4 See the case in J. Girault, Histoire de la magie en France, Paris, 1813, p. 392.

5 Bourquelot, p. 216.
In 1521 Pierre Burqot and Michel Verdon were tried by the parish priest and the Mayor of the town of Besançon. The former alleged that years before, when his cattle had strayed, a black herald had brought them together; after he had sold them to a merchant, he got him to return them to his master, the devil. Later Verdom taught him at the Sabbath how to become a werewolf by rubbing himself with a certain ointment. Then he went himself with four paws and his body covered with hair, while he was able to run like the wind. Verdon also transformed himself in the same way. The ointment had been obtained from his demon master. In the form of wolves they killed several children, sucked their blood, and ate part of their flesh, finding it excellent. Burqot also said that he had sexual relations with wolves. Both men were burned alive at Besançon.3

In the same year before a court, three sorcerers were accused 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 three women dressed by their wife. These lycanthropes are represented in a painting in the chapel of the Dominicans.2 A curious case is that of Gilles Garnier, a hermit of Lyons, who, finding his solitude irksome, had taken a female companion. They had several children and lived in great misery. In 1572 a wolf terrorized the district, and the bodies of several children were found half devoured. A boy was attacked by the wolf, but his cries attracted attention. Garnier was found near the body, and at his trial before the Parlement of Dôle he avowed that he was the wolf, that he had sold himself to the devil, and had obtained the power of transformation by the use of an ointment. He had killed and eaten the children, the woman also sharing in the ghastly meal. He also was burned alive.4

In Auvergne in 1588 the wife of a gentleman was burned as a wolf. Her husband had asked a hunter to bring him some game. The hunter was attacked by a wolf, and cut off one of its paws. On his return to the chateau he drove the paws into a fire. It was seen to be the hand of a woman with a ring on the finger which 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 that she was the wolf, she was condemned.4

Henri Boguet, grand judge of the ecclesiastical court of St. Chilian (1605-1610), was most active against sorcerers, and, according to Voltaire, boasted of having put to death more than 600 lycanthropes. His Discours extérieur des sorciers (Lyons, 1602) contains many instances of alleged lycanthropy, with the confession of those accused. He believed firmly in the possibility of 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 state of feeling at the time, that on 3rd Dec. 1573 the Parlement of Franche-Comté gave a ruling for the pursuit of loups-garous.5

Towards the end of the 16th cent. Pierre Stand was executed at Bâle, in the diocese of Cologne, on his own confession of having lived with a succuba, who gave him a girdle by which he could become 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 daughters-in-law.6

The beginning of the 17th cent. was marked by numerous epidemics of lycanthropy, and hundreds of executions took place. In 1603 Jean Grenier, a boy of 14, alleged before the judge of Roche-Chalans that he was a werewolf, as a result of a demonical gift, and that he had eaten nine children. He also accused his father of being a werewolf and possessing a wolf's skin, and another man, Pierre Is Thilloures, of having his skin and ointment. The conduct of the boy in court showed that he was insane, and he was detained in a convent. Nevertheless the charge was continued against the two men. The youth was visited in his convent by De Lancre in 1610, who found that he could run on all fours with ease, and that his method of eating was disgusting. He still persisted in his delusion of being a werewolf. In 1604 at Lausanne five persons were burned as werewolves. A peasant of Crusat had curbed his child and, as a result, five sorceresses in the form of wolves had carried him off to the devil's abode. The sorceresses gave then cut him in a cauldron, and made an ointment of his flesh.8

These will suffice as examples of the trials and executions for alleged lycanthropy which were so numerous at that period. The most noteworthy fact in the whole sordid business is that some of the writers on the subject show the most extraordinary credulity regarding the cases. Petrus Maruornius, in his De Sortificatis, manifested that he had seen the change of men into wolves in Savoy.1 Bourdin, procureur général of the king, assured Bodin that there had been sent from Belgium the proofs, signed by judge and witnesses, regarding a wolf who was pierced with an arrow. Soon after a man was found in bed with the arrow in a wound, and, when it was drawn out, it was recognized for his own by the person who had shot the wolf.2 Other cases are related in which a man, strongly suspected of being a werewolf, was found in bed with several wounds, and they were at once believed to be the marks of the devil in question.3 While the whole was generally attributed to diabolic influence, there were different ways of accounting for it: some writers thought that there was a real transformation,4 or that the devil clothed the men with an actual wolf'skin s or with one condensed out of air,4 Others, however, thought that the devil was begotten by fancy or by means of ungents on him or on the onlookers, so that they imagined that the man or woman was an animal, while he or she was similarly deluded.5 Others, again, suggested that the devil caused the person to imagine himself a wolf, and that he actually did the deeds of which he dreamed.6 This is akin to the theory of St. Augustine, who refused to believe that the demons could actually change man's corporal substance. In sleep or trance, 'fantasms' went from him and might appear to others in corporeal, animal form, while to the unconscious man himself it might then appear that he was in such a form and acting in accordance.7 The effect of such drugs as opium and hallucinations of riding through the air and of transformation, such as witches confessed to, and this may have been the food given by women to others in Italy so that they believed themselves beasts of burden. Such a drug might be responsible for lycanthropic hallucinations. Still others, more rational, regarded lycanthropes as lunatics who imagined themselves wolves. The fact 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 existence of a much mental condition in which the patient imagined himself to be an animal—a form of melancholia with delirium—was clearly recognized by some. The popular belief in werewolves was not accepted by scientific writers in antiquity. Herodotus (iv. 104) would not be persuaded of the alleged transformation of the 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. Medieval writers regarded lycanthropy as a form of mental derangement. Of these, Marcellus of Sidra wrote a poem in which he treats lycanthropy in this fashion. The poem has not survived, but a prose version, abridged, by Ætius exists.

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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 kill men. He gives this opinion because he saw a man who was so transformed that he was known—pale face, tearless eyes, dry tongue, burning thirst, etc. He also suggests various remedies for this disease, which he believes is a form of sudden physical illness. According to him, those who believed themselves wolves were really troubled in their minds by the devil, so that in sleep they imagined that they had actually perpetrated the actions of which they accused themselves. He also cites the passage of Marcellus just referred to. Je de Nynault, a doctor who wrote on lycanthropy, thought that the lycanthropes were deluded by the devil, or that he actually gave them stains, liquids, or powders, by which their sense impressions were affected. There were, however, natural lycanthropes, persons afflicted with folie louvier. He denies any actual transformation, such as was insisted on by Bodin.

The possibility of persons, more or less imbecile, living in a state in which they were not, and even forming among wild animals, such as wolves, was also suggested by some later writers. Modern alienists take the view that lycanthropy was a form of insanity. Now such melancholia with delirium is rare, because this belief hardly survives in Europe. Sporadic cases, however, are still known; in one instance the patient imagined that he was a wolf, and ate raw meat. Some of the instances cited in the previous sections may be best explained as cases of insanity of the type described. Of the Greek pseudeides and the human Kallikantzari, the Malay instances of men with boii, several Chinese examples, the Japanese belief in fox-possession, the Ainu belief in possession by various animals, the Byzantian belief in a rapina, by a tigre, the Nishtham men possessed by a bear, as well as various European instances. In all these the imprisonment of the possessing animal is noticeable, and the additional accounts of the growth of hair, claws, etc., may be interpreted as a product of an abnormal growth of hair or nails in cases of such insanity (cf. Nebuchadrezzar) or of hypertrichosis in general. The instances of medicine-men pretending to become animals, and of the witnesses actually believing that they saw hair and claws growing on them, are perhaps exploitations of this diseased condition.

Further examples of possession from all stages of culture are worth citing.

4. De Nynault, ch. 1. For other writers who took the view that madness was the cause of lycanthropy see Bouquet, p. 184. See also, G. P. de Lassalle, La vie et les doctes des auteur de lycanthrope, who wandered among the tombs, as lycanthropes, who also had that habit (Essai sur les miracles, in journey, Paris, 1828, x. 89) (29). De Nynault, Jardine, vol. 1, p. 110.

According to Marcellus, those afflicted by the lupine or canine madness go out at night in January, imitating wolves or dogs, and kill men. He gives this opinion because he saw a man who was so transformed that he was known—pale face, tearless eyes, dry tongue, burning thirst, etc. He also suggests various remedies for this disease, which he believes is a form of sudden physical illness. According to him, those who believed themselves wolves were really troubled in their minds by the devil, so that in sleep they imagined that they had actually perpetrated the actions of which they accused themselves. He also cites the passage of Marcellus just referred to. Je de Nynault, a doctor who wrote on lycanthropy, thought that the lycanthropes were deluded by the devil, or that he actually gave them stains, liquids, or powders, by which their sense impressions were affected. There were, however, natural lycanthropes, persons afflicted with folie louvier. He denies any actual transformation, such as was insisted on by Bodin.

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about, hiding, and also bowing like a dog. In another instance, treated by Morel in the asylum at Marville, the patient had the delusion that he was a wolf, and ate raw meat.

It is obvious that in facts like these lies one explanation of the origin of lycanthropy. The unfortunate victims of melancholia with such delusions, imitating in their frenzy the cries and actions of various animals, must have suggested, both in primitive and in later times, certain aspects of the shape-shifting dogmen, 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 actually seen 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 Abyssinians. The frightful prevalence of this mania during the later Middle Ages and in the eighteenth and nineteenth 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 terrorism to which so many were reduced by the widespread demonology, with its sinister shapes of fear and horror as well as its peculiarly vile conceptions of both cruelty and sensuality. Nor is it impossible that half-insane persons, suffering constantly from hunger, may have killed and eaten human victoms, whether under the delusion that they were wolves or not.

Necrophagy is not unknown in the annals of mental science, and no crime was more commonly attributed both to werewolves and to witches at the same period. But the belief 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 consented themselves with a wolf-skin in order to terrify their victims more completely. Among savages, sorcerers and medicine-men have traded on the existing delusion or dementia, and have claimed the power of transformation, as many of the above instances show. This is the case with Abipone sorcerers, and another instance is found among the Chippewa and other American Indian tribes, with whom sorcerers dress in the skin of an animal, and imitate its howls and gestures so exactly that credulity 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 constantly recurring idea that the animal change is for a certain period 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 denning of an animal's skin, there may be a trace of the fact that insane persons with lycanthropic delusions did actually brighten the delusion by wearing a skin, as perhaps in the case of the werewolves in the Irish instances mentioned by Giraldus, the human body is visible underneath the skin. As far as the popular belief was concerned, in many cases the clothing was first removed. This kind of delusion occurred before the animal skin was put on. But it may be the rule of an older belief that the clothing was first removed; cf. the Voodoo instance (above, § 1, p. 219).

Perhaps the werewolf belief was also aided by such phenomena as imbecile children, brutalized, and having animal appearance. The folk-tales of boys 'were often believed to have been stolen by animals—the bear, the wolf—and to have been brought up and suckled by them. While many stories about such children are not authentic, there are some cases in which boys were actually found in the dens of wolves in India. They could not stand upright, went on all fours, ate raw meat, and tore clothes into shreds. Various theories have been suggested to explain their having been thus brought up, but, if some cases are authentic in wolf-haunted districts in India, there may have been instances from time to time in similar districts in Europe. This would in part explain the numerous folk-stories about children suckled by animals, e.g., that of Romulus and Remus. The case of a child of the kind described as 'idiocy by deprivation,' and, if such children survived, they would hardly differ from the insane persons who imagined they were wolves, went on all fours, and ate raw flesh.

The case is parallel to that of women carried off by baboons or orang-outangs, which has doubtless some foundation in fact (see G.F., p. 257).

4. Werewolf and vampire.—While both werewolf and vampire have a liking for human flesh and blood, there is a marked difference between them. The werewolf is a living person assuming animal form for the sake of gratifying his desire. The vampire, on the other hand, is a resuscitated corpse, which rises from the grave to prey on the living, the reasons for the resuscitation being of various kinds (see Vampire). But here and there links of connexion exist. Thus in Germany, Serbia, and modern Greece it is thought that the man who was a werewolf in life becomes a vampire after death. Hence the werewolf was born, not buried, lest he should do mischief. Again, the dead sometimes appear in reality of the transformation. Nikolaouman sorcerers were much feared for their supposed power of assuming animal forms. To strengthen this belief, they disguised themselves in the skins of animals.

In the instances of exact imitation of the animal's howls or movements was gone through, credulity 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.

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4. Werewolf and vampire.—While both werewolf and vampire have a liking for human flesh and blood, there is a marked difference between them. The werewolf is a living person assuming animal form for the sake of gratifying his desire. The vampire, on the other hand, is a resuscitated corpse, which rises from the grave to prey on the living, the reasons for the resuscitation being of various kinds (see Vampire). But here and there links of connexion exist. Thus in Germany, Serbia, and modern Greece it is thought that the man who was a werewolf in life becomes a vampire after death. Hence the werewolf was born, not buried, lest he should do mischief. Again, the dead sometimes appear in reality of the transformation. Nikolaouman sorcerers were much feared for their supposed power of assuming animal forms. To strengthen this belief, they disguised themselves in the skins of animals. In the instances of exact imitation of the animal's howls or movements was gone through, credulity 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.
spirits of all kinds frequently take animal forms and act as the werewolf or vampire. Thus the French lobin was a spirit in the form of a wolf, while it is said that the iorim of Java comes in the shape of a crocodile. In Ethiopia lives the king of the devils riding on a fire-breathing wolf and is followed by fiends in the form of wolves, while in Morocco the wicked are thought to be visited by evil spirits as wolves, jackals, etc. 2

5. The ‘sending.’—A phenomenon analogous to that of the werewolf is that of the ‘sending’—a thing or animal, sometimes even a person, 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. 2 Among the Roro-speaking tribes of British New Guinea snakes and crocodiles are sent out 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 strikes at the fragment. Then it is let loose near where the victim passes, and attacks him because it smells the smell of the fragment on him. More magical is the method of the Battle Bay sorcerers, a ‘sending’ from whose body causes death. It leads a separate life from her after her death, or may pass to her daughter. At Gelaaria this ‘sending’ is called lubon, and resembles a shadow. It leaves the woman’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. Among the Congowood Bay the ‘sending’ is called farum, and is like a limbless old woman. It turns to a mosquito and sucks the victim’s blood, resuming human form at dawn. 4 In Banks Island, if any one eats a piece of a corpse, its ghost will go forth to harm a victim at the will of the eater. Here also and in the New Hebrides the moro, or sea-snake, acts as the familiar spirit of those who profess to have had intercourse with it. 6 Among the Malays and in Java insects and even horned devils are ‘sendings’ and are believed to be sent by sorcerers. They are sent as a ‘sending,’ and should be caught by the person whom it is intended to destroy, and its claws and wings broken, a similar injury is done to the sorcerer’s limbs. 7 In the Carolinian islands centipedes, lizards, 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. 8 Matebele wizards dig up corpses, transform them into hyenas, and use them as messengers or steeds. A wounded hyena escaping into a krool is thought to show that this is the dwelling of a wizard. 9 Baronga wizards send forth crocodiles, lions, snakes, etc., to kill or wound. 10 In Calabar each wizard has two owl messengers, or sends forth insects—stinging ants, beetles, etc.—into the house where he is to find his victim. Then he sends his ikim—a gourd—to examine the house. Insects and ikim report whether there is any dangerous injur, or medicine, in it. 11

Baviol 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. 8 In British Central Africa, wizards can create lions, or sometimes inspire existing lions, to go forth and destroy. 9 Among the Boudi ‘dolls’ of Indian corn are animated by the sorcerer, and go forth to suck the blood of a victim, who turns sick and dies. 4 Zulu wizards send out owls and other animals, and Basutos crocodiles, to injure their victims. These are called their amunxix, ‘attendants.’ 5 The Eskimo angnikok sends a tynuk— a seal made by him. Should the victim kill it, he loses all strength and becomes a cripple. This seal is made of bones of various animals, covered with turf and blood, and charmed into life by a magic song. 6 A Siberian shaman will send out a ye-keola, or witch-animal, to light that of another shaman. The shaman whose ye-keola is worsted shares its fate. Lapland wizards sent flies and darts against their enemies, and also a kind of ball. The last was fatal to the victim as well as to any one who came in its way. 7 Witch-doctors send toads, scorpions, wells, and centipedes to eat a man’s heart instead of himself. 8 The Wanafs explain sickness as caused by an evil animal sent by a sorcerer to eat away the patient’s life. 9 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. 10 The Indian, Benna, and Japanese examples of the animal familiar, cited above (§ 1), should also be noted.

Danish witches were believed to make a hare out of some wooden pegs and an old stocking, and send it to steal milk from cattle. 12 The Esthonians believed in magic jackets made by wizards and sent forth to do all kinds of mischief—e.g., to transform the victim. 13 Among the Celts the druids had the power to change the Yoruba sorcerers use the owl as a ‘sending,’ and, should it be caught by the person whom it is intended to destroy, and its claws and wings broken, a similar injury is done to the sorcerer’s limbs. 7 In the Carolinian islands centipedes, lizards, 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. 8 Matebele wizards dig up corpses, transform them into hyenas, and use them as messengers or steeds. A wounded hyena escaping into a krool is thought to show that this is the dwelling of a wizard. 9 Baronga wizards send forth crocodiles, lions, snakes, etc., to kill or wound. 10 In Calabar each wizard has two owl messengers, or sends forth insects—stinging ants, beetles, etc.—into the house where he is to find his victim. Then he sends his ikim—a gourd—to examine the house. Insects and ikim report whether there is any dangerous injur, or medicine, in it. 11

2 E. A. W. Budge, The Egyptian SSDidin, London, 1907, i. 258ff.
3 A. W. Howitt, JAF xi (1877) 34.
5 Codrington, pp. 225 f., 188.
6 FL xiii. 347.
7 Les Missions catholiques, Lyons, 1851, p. 249.
10 Jutland, p. 406f.
11 Marcus, p. 231.
12 J. E. Denetto, FL xvi (1905) 293-293.
14 G. Dale, JAF xvi (1905) 253.
19 Embolitz, l. cit., 315.
20 A. C. Ellis, Ten Years of Mission Work among the Indians, Boston, 1886, p. 43.
21 Vigfusson-Powell, Intro., p. xxvii; FL x. 460.
22 Thorpe, ii. 192; FL x. 460.
he dies. Elsewhere in Celebes a man is thought to have three souls. One of these, the tamamun, leaves him in sleep and acts as a werewolf, but, if it is long and grafted from the body, it kills the owner. The wer-man in human shape arranged for a rendezvous with a woman. Her husband overheard, and followed the wer-man, who he saw when he was about to bite her. He struck the homempe otoroome, which turned into a tree. He threw it into his bamboo tobacco box. Then, carrying it to the place where the man was present, he placed it at the man's head. The owner begged him not to do this, but he still kept it in his fire, whereupon the man fell dead.

In some cases, the power of sending forth the soul as 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 sorcery. The wer-man is known by his long tongue and uneven eyes, which are of a green colour. A wer-man, when discovered, is punished by death. In these instances the spirit is lost little different from the sending of the 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 else he must not neglect it, as he would not himself.

This likeness may be further extended to the kindred powers of the Bush soul and the magaul, both of which bear some resemblance to the ‘sending’ and to the homempe otoroome. In Calabar the bush soul is one of four souls possessed by every man. It lives in a pig, leopard, etc., unseen by itself, and it is not the soul of the owner. The leopard’s soul is 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 powers of the bush soul and the magaul, both of which bear some resemblance to the 'sending' and to the homempe otoroome. In Calabar the bush soul is one of four souls possessed by every man. It lives in a pig, leopard, etc., unseen by itself, and it is not the soul of the owner. The leopard's soul is a cat, herself remaining insensible. Should it be injured in any way, she bears a similar wound.

A chief's son who had a hippopotamus for his bush-soul had been paying a visit to another chief, but soul away his cause. Asked how he crossed the river, he replied, 'You will see.' He took the leaf of a coco-yam, placed it on the water, sat on it, and at once disappeared below the surface. Then he was seen to cross the river as a hippopotamus, and on the other side he became a man.

It should be observed also that a man's human soul, residing in himself, may leave his body through a medicine and take the souls of things that he desires out of his house. Then he can perform any magic or transformation.

In Northern Nigeria among the Angas a man is

held to have a kavow which enters him at birth, and another, its counterpart, which enters the animal. The death of the one is the death of the other. The whole belief in the bush-soul is not unlike the Roman belief in the genius. A man's health depended on that of his genius, which often resided in a snake. If that was killed, the man whose genius it was was killed.

The magaul belief is found in Central America. In this case a youth obtained his magaul by dreaming of an animal after a period of fasting and fasting. The monster-animal is closely bound up with the man henceforward. When it dies, the man dies; when it is sick, he is sick. He has also the power of appearing as his magaul. Any wound caused by the animal form is then on the man.

This resembles the belief of the Motu, Melanesia. A lizard, snake, or stone, etc., is selected as a man's tamaain. His life is bound up with it. If it dies, or gets broken, or lost, the owner dies. As already seen, the tamamun may be the soul, and, if it is wounded, the body is found to have a similar wound. In an Eskimo story the spirit of a witch who has made a young man ill is wounded in the heel. At the same moment the witch dies in the next house.

Between the werewolf superstition and the various beliefs cited in this section there are certain similarities. Of these that which recurs constantly is the belief in repercussion.

Injury to the 'sending' entails injury to the sorcerer (Verash, Estoks, Sikka); injury to the animal friend entails injury to the owner (Cameron); injury to the bush-soul, magaul, tamamun, wer-soul, entails injury to the owner (Celebes, Cameroon). It is otherwise, however, in the case of the Orans and Guinea; injury to the soul which takes the form of an animal entails injury to the owner; injury to the soul which contains an animal temporarily entails injury to the owner; injury to the soul absent from the body for some mischievous purpose entails injury to the owner (Estok, Orans, Cameroon); injury to the werewolf or other wer-soul entails injury to the man in his human form.

The real point of connexion between all the beliefs is that something belonging to the man, some part of the man, or the man himself in another form is injured. The injury then, because of the vital connexion between the part and the whole, or thing owned and owner (sympathetic magic), is seen on the man himself. But it is not clear that, as Frazer supposes, the wide-spread belief in wer-animals may 'be found to resolve itself into a belief in the external soul.' The wer-animal is, save in a very few instances (Khonds, Orons, Malays, Chinese, and others), wholly human. The animal was supposed to transform, not his soul. And, even when the owner of bush-soul or magaul is supposed to change himself into the animal containing it, or an animal of the kind, the transformation is a bodily one. The external soul, injury to which causes injury to the owner, is one thing: the wer-animal, which is really the man himself transformed, is another.

But the same theory or belief in repercussion is applicable to both. It is not by any means certain that the instance on which Frazer bases his theory of the wer-animal and the external soul can support it. There is no evidence that, when the Nndua novice is supposed to die and come to life again, any resemblance to the animal soul which he used to possess is supposed to return to him.
again before becoming a member of the wolf-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

again, W. W. Thomas maintains, 2 that lycanthropy is connected with negaimatism rather than with transformation, or that the wer-animal was originally the familiar of the medicine-man. The comparatively few instances of the spirit-giving and similar wer-animal cults suggest that we are here on the track of a different kind analogus-stition to that of lycanthropy with its supposed bodily transformation. Again, the familiar is hardly a form of the man himself, as the werewolf is, but rather something of part of the man, or it is his messenger, which the werewolf does not seem to be.

There may, however, be a connecting link if we regard the phenomena of lycanthropy as based on the hallucinatory dreams of insane persons, preoccupied with ideas of transformation. Where a medicine-man is supposed to send forth his spirit either in its own shape or in that of an animal, while he remains quiescent at home, this may also be suggested by a hallucinatory dream.

It seems better, therefore, to regard lycanthrophy with its bodily transformation as distinct from the transformation of the outgoing spirit, and also from the 'seducing,' messenger, or familiar. They are analogous beliefs, to which similar conception—namely that of a transformation—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 (see FAIRY), these are really distinct in origin.

The wide diffusion of the werewolf superstition forms an excellent example of a universal belief being worked up into a superstition or story bearing a common likeness in different regions. Without the belief in shape-shifting the werewolf superstition could not have existed, if 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, soothsayers, etc. or some of these might themselves be half-crazed, as medicine-men often are through their austerities (see AUSTERTIES). In certain cases—e.g., that of the Norse berserker—the insane man was heightened by the animal-skins; or, in other cases of totemism, in its 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 congers and derivatives represents a concept which, if hard to define, is yet unique and irreplaceable into our idiom, and little less than the undefinable 'conscience'. With little doubt the word is comprised either (a) that all persons are agreed as to what precisely constitutes a lie or lying, or (b) that anything like the same ethical significance has at all times and in all communities been attached to the practice generally to be denoted by the Teutonic word and by the words commonly regarded as its equivalents in other languages, yet in English at any rate this term, and in a somewhat less degree any word or periphrasis which is thought to be merely a covert alternative for it, is viewed and, by those to whom it is applied, as involving a covert re-phant of, or at least an opinion, generally different from any other. It would probably be conceded that nowhere has antipathy 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, Graeco-Latin, and Christian. It signifies, that is, a vice or vicious act, which derives its peculiar reputation partly from the language and sentiment of our pagan forefathers, partly from conceptions that find expression in the Hebrew Scriptures of the OT, partly from Greek and Roman thought and literature, and, as we shall contend, partly from the specific teachings of Christianity. If it be alleged against this analysis that our sensitive regard for veracity is rather of feudal origin, the objection, even if well-founded, is of no moment, that feature of feudal ethics being itself derived from some or all of the four sources enumerated.

2. Sin.—The presence of the word 'lie' in all the Teutonic languages of a substantially identical word of like meaning attests the perennial importance of the thing meant. 'To lie' is to say that which is not. And we cannot doubt that the tribesman who had the skill, and the heart, on occasion to do this unhonestly was held in different esteem from the man who could not or would not; whether 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.

3. 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' reposes the most frequent emphasis upon lying. Prophecy and instructors enlarged the prohibition. 'The voice of the Lord crieth unto the city,' says Micah (6), 'for the inhabitants thereof have spoken lies, and their tongue is deceitful in their mouth' (6); cf. Jer. 9:20, 23, Ps. 62:6, 191; Jer. 23:3. Lying lips are an abomination unto the Lord (Ps. 129:4); a righteous man hateth lying (13); cf. Ps. 119. Especially guilty are 'false prophets' who in the name of the Lord 'prophesy lies ... a lying vision ... a thing of nought, and the deceit of their own heart' (Jer. 13:7); cf. Prov. 13:11. Finally, philosophically pronounced falsehood intrinsically vicious. Plato (Rep. i. 331 B; and Sophocles proclaimed the ugliness of falsehood:

"Liable (see lies)," he claims to be "liable (see lies)," though when the truth brings a man dire destruction, 'is praiseworthy to say even what is not honorable' (frag. 323).

Finally, philosophically pronounced falsehood intrinsically vicious. Plato (Rep. ii. 382 A, 389 B-D), while permitting his 'guardians' to use it, now and again, and medicinally and officially 'for the benefit of the State,' bids them punish it rigorously in private individuals as a 'practice pernicious and injurious to the soul' (cf. "Lies.") Anyhow, a deliberate perversion and subversion of truth, both in words and in the heart, is deemed the most heinous of all crimes, and punishible as such whether by stealth or by open professions of falsehood. Indeed the "lying under the circumstances," which is taken by the Teutonic races to be an excuse for falsehood, is by the later Christian ethicists held to be more heinous than falsehood itself.
of the commonwealth,' and in his latest work (Laws, 759 B. F.) extols truth as 'foremost of all good things'; for the truthful man is 'trustworthy, whereas he who loves wilful falsehood is untrustworthy, and his involution in falsehood is foolish.' Aristotle (Eth. Nic. iv. 7. 6) deems 'lying' (φάσσαντα) essentially 'mean (φασίαν) and blameworthy.' The 'truth-lover' (φιλότρόπος) stands in notable contrast with him who rejoices in falsehood (τῷ ψεύδοντι ἄφθαρτῳ γαῖαν), a type of character distinct from him who lies for the sake of gain or glory (ib. § 12). In Stoicism the viciousness of falsehood, although not expressly affirmed, is tacitly assumed. Thus ideal good is in effect defined by Seneca (Ep. 99. 1) as 'a mind set on truth.' To the consistent Stoic acceptance of unverified 'opinion' as a substitute for truth or real knowledge would be equivalent to inveracity. Altogether, Greek philosophy had energetically discommodified the art of lying, and, when Latinized, had found an ally in old-fashioned Roman prejudice against willful untruth.

(4) Christian.—The NT endorsed and deepened the injunctions of Jewish theology and Gentile ethic. 'Lie not one to another,' writes St. Paul to the Colossians (3): the Christian is to forgo all 'lying,' and this for the new and characteristically Christian reason that 'we are members one another' (Eph 4). And with this Pauline monition the warnings of the Acts of Peter in the heavenly city no 'liar' may enter (Rev 21); each person that loveth and maketh a lie (22), where nothing is lost to the ethics of truth if by 'lie' be meant idol or counterfeit god; that in this, the whole, the falsifying man's conception of the divine attributes and therewith the standard of truth. In the Synoptic Gospels 'hypocrisy' (Mt 23, Lk 12) would appear to express what in St. John is called simply 'lying' (πρᾶξη), of which the 'deceit' (Jn 8) is first cause. Thus for Christianity the spirit of lying is opposed to the spirit of truth as darkness to light. It is antagonistic 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 Christendom, has endured throughout the centuries, permeates our finest literature, and is reflected in the life and conduct of many a plain, honest man to-whoever.

2. Philosophical theories. — Theology and custom-morality apart, moral philosophers of different schools condemn lying on different grounds; the intuitionist as intrinsically repugnant to 'right reason'; the moral sentimentist as endangering or perverting the end of affection; the utilitarian because the action undermines the ends of self-government, 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, and 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 more pleasure may not be secured by an admixture of well-timed falsehood. But, even if the utilitarian theory could demonstrate the all but universal inexpediency of lying, such calculative disapproval of it as hedonistically impolitic is not the same thing as hating the lie for its own sake. It is this that would seem to be ethically distinct, and therefore, distinguishing man from man—the presence or absence of a deep aversion to lying as such. Of less real importance is the much debated question, too complex to summarize here, of exceptional contingencies in which, notwithstanding that lying is avowedly impermissible, it may yet or should be looked on as right. We may consider whether lies can be classified, and attempt a more exact determination of the essential constituents 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. Of each particular lie the motive is normally some gain foreseen or conjectured as attainable by deceiving somebody as to (1) what has happened, (2) what one purposes, or (3) how one feels. In popular usage the term 'lie' is apt to be limited to the first kind. But I lie no less really, if (2) I promise what I have no intention of doing, or if (3), being glad, I feign sorrow. This is sometimes overlooked or even denied. With regard to declarations of purpose, it is rightly urged that unforeseen circumstances after cases, and to promise what one may eventually see reason not to perform is no falsehood. But it is lying, if at the time of speaking I have not the intention professed; or if I deliberately, but insincerely, protest that in no circumstances will change my mind; or if, having changed it, I allow those concerned to go on believing my purposes agree with my act, it is a very common form of falsehood. Similarly, as regards feeling, many people who would be ashamed to state that they had seen what they had not seen, make no scruple about pretending good will towards persons for whom they have not whether they have sometimes of getting general credit for a kindness of heart which is not theirs, sometimes of misleading the victims of their dissimulation.

Not all deceit, however, is lying. For, although the essence of lying is intent to deceive, there must be also, to constitute a lie, either (a) untrue words, or (b) such recticence as in the context of (speech or action) amounts to false statement—eg., if I say 'He gave me twenty pounds,' when in fact he gave me fifty (cf. Ac 5), or if I adopt and publish as my own an essay largely written by another man. To lie is, as Kant well says, 'to communicate one's thoughts to another through words which (intentionally) contain the opposite of that which the speaker thinks.' It matters not whether the false belief is created by positive affirmation or by omission of words necessary to the establishment of a true belief.

Allegory is not falsehood, provided it is designed and adapted to embody truth. It was because early Greek mythology did not in Plato's judgment fulfill this condition that he regarded allegorizing interpretations of it as in no way bettering the case for Homer and Hesiod (Rep. ii. 379 D). As with allegory, so with all fiction. Stage-plays and novels exhibit in the form of 'stories' events that are not history, present or past, and yet mislead nobody. A 'story' is a lie, then, only when it falsely disowns its fictitious origin. Even pseudonymous authorship does not necessarily involve falsehood. Not all illusion is deception. Daniel is dramatically as legitimate as Hames or Coriolanus. But the pope who, to intimidate a Frankish king and practising on his credulity, sent him a private letter purporting to come from St. Peter was no dramatist, but a forger; and forgery is falsehood. It is doubtful whether equivocation, where a statement is equally susceptible of two meanings, one false and one true, should, because calculated to deceive, be accounted as main cause. As a thing we probably should not. But the man who habitually
equivocates is an untruthful man. Under the head of equivocation may fairly be brought many of those partially deceptive utterances which are sometimes, but unconvincingly, treated as mere social conventions, with the customary phraseology of address and other common forms of speech generally understood. 1 If, e.g., in declining an unwelcome invitation I express regret at being unable to accept it, this declares that this is a usual and well-understood way of notifying my intention, while disguising the motive, is inadequate. But, supposing I do regret the disappointment which my refusal may cause or the circumstances which render the invitation unacceptable, the phrase employed is equivocal rather than actually false. If, instead of declining, I profess 'pleasure in accepting' the invitation, the pleasure need not be wholly fictitious; for it is in my power by an effort of goodwill (a) to feel pleasure in accepting, and not refusing, the civility offered, and (b) to find altruistic pleasure in a visit not naturally attractive. By thus choosing to be pleasant, a man determines on the side of truth what would have been equivocation. Even where there is an actual element of falsehood, we recognize degrees of insincerity. A statement which in the main reveals the speaker's purpose, feeling, or knowledge of fact, but disguises some detail, is not in the same degree vicious as an entirely misleading utterance, unless, of course, there is some principle involved in which case the saying may be exemplified that the 'worst lies are half truths.' Yet we cannot altogether reject the widely spread view of 'common sense,' that a direct lie stands on a different footing from any indirect device whereby of hiding the truth (supressio veri) or of creating a false impression (nugatio falsi). There is a common understanding that, when we speak, we do not state what we know to be untrue. Socially regarded, therefore, a direct lie is a graver breach of faith, and a worse blow to mutual confidence, than any statement, however evasive, which does not actually violate this understanding.

4. Conclusion.—On the whole, the main difference between ancient and modern views on inveracity is that in the latter censure is directed primarily on discrepancy between statement and thought rather than on the divergence from reality of a spoken, or unuttered, proposition. 'Modern' inveracity tends to be severe upon misstatements, apparent willful, of particular facts, but is strangely lenient wherever 'ignorance' can be pleaded—as if ignorance was not often willful, or reckless, indifference to truth. Many persons will have difficulty in accepting as false anything which they do not positively know to be untrue, and, when con-


MA'ARRI.

1 Life.—Abu'-Ali' Ahmad ibn 'Abdallah ibn Sulayman al-

Ma'arrat, the celebrated Muslim poet and man of letters, was born in A.D. 927 at Ma'arrat (Ma'arrat al-Numan), a prosperous Syrian town situated about 20 miles south of Aleppo, the same region to which the later poet and writer Ahmad ibn 'Umar was to return in the wake of a disastrous defeat in consequence of an attack of smallpox, but so extraordinary was his power of memory that this misfortune did not seriously interfere with the literary studies to which he afterwards devoted himself. It would seem that at first he intended to make his name as a physician. The lines which the poet wrote in the early years of his career have been lost. But in the latter part of the first collection of his poems entitled Sufi al-adwān ('Sparks from the Tinder'), in which the influence of Mutanabbi is apparent, with the object of seeking a wider field for his talents, he left Ma'arrat in A.D. 950 and journeyed to Baghdad, where he was well received by the poet and scholar 'Abd al-Hasan, and was appointed to the latter's place as the latter's place. As he had planned, he departed after a stay of eighteen months, and, on returning home, announced his intention of returin
to quit the capital, there seems to be little doubt that he took this step on an account of indignity which he suffered at the hands of his rivals who were so imprudent as to offend. The remainder of his life was passed in teaching and writing. His picture of himself as a missionary relapse counsels a false impression returned with a reputation that not only made him the first man in his native town, but also a great disciplant, the beliefs in all parts to hear his words in course on Arabic philology and literature. He had many friends, and his letters to them show a kindly interest both in men and things. (Abd Allah, ed. Margoliouth, Introd. p. xxx). He complains of his poverty, but the Persian poet Nasiri Khurasani, who visited Ma'arri in A.D. 794, describes him as very rich (Safarnameh, ed. C. Schefer, Paris, 1851, p. 104—
p. 36 of the Fr. tr.). Ma'arri died in A.D. 1058.

2. The character of the man already mentioned, Ma'arri is the author of another and far more remarkable volume of poetic, entitled Luzum i&A mp;datt, in reference to a tenor of his rhyme, and generally known as the Luzumiyat. These poems, written after his visit to Baghdad, contain religious, moral, and philosophical reflections and deal with a great variety of topics. The prevailing tone is pensive and sceptical, but many passages occur in which Ma'arri speaks as an orthodox Muslim. The Riadat al-Abihrin (described and partially translated by the present writer in J.L.S., 1900, pp. 627-670, and 1902, pp. 76-103, 257-203, 533-841, ed. Cairo, 1907) takes the form of an epistle addressed to Abu i Specification of Apo, who is better known by the name of Abu al-Qur'an. In this lucid work the al-Qur'an is imagined to have entered paradise, where he holds a series of conversations with pre-Islamic poets, and the author discusses the opinions of the leading Muhammadan freethinkers(madhyn). His Letters, composed in an elaborately artificial and abstruse style, have been partly but not exhaustively translated by B. D. Margoliouth. The list of his minor works, of which only a few are extant, includes a supposed imitation of the Qur'an, entitled Al-Jazf alaI i&datt, completed in the capital, Leyden, 1592-600. But this appears to be an invention. What he attempted was probably a parody of Qur'an style rather than a deliberate challenge to the dogma of of, which claims for the Qur'an a miraculous and immutable perfection.

3. The Doctrine. — It is difficult to give a clear account of Ma'arri's religious and philosophical beliefs. Not only are they, to a large extent, negative in character, but the evidence derived from some passages in his writings is counter-balanced by others which, if they stand alone, would lead us to the opposite conclusion. These contradictions are most strikingly exemplified in his attitude towards Islam. Any one who wished to prove him orthodox might quote from the Luzumiyat numerous instances in which the poet unequivocally accepts nearly all the chief Muhammadan doctrines, yet his pages are full of denials, doubts, and criticisms which, though cautiously expressed, show a strong anti-Islamic tendency, and would even convince that the charge of heresy brought against him by certain of his contemporaries was unjustified. Several explanations of the inconsistency have been offered. The question is important, since we can little estimate a man whom we do not fully understand. Can it be assumed that he is equally sincere when he writes as a pious Muslim and when he preaches the gospel of rationalism? That seems incredible, except on the hypothesis that Ma'arri, while doubting the divine origin of Islam, also distrusted the human intellect, and hesitated to cut himself loose from the faith in which he was bred. Such an explanation, however, does not accord with his confident and emphatic appeal to reason as the highest authority. The following quotations from the Cairo ed. of the Luzumiyat (A.D. 1891) illustrate his views on this point.

"Traditions have come down to us which, if they be genuine, possess great importance; but they are weakly attested. Custom may have changed, men's minds may have altered, the world is the best adviser in the world" (p. 280, s.f.). "Be guided by Reason and do whatever it seems good" (p. 264, s.f.). "My Reason is my guide that she may lead in order to follow Shafii Maliki" (p. 150, s.f.). "O Reason, is' that thou speakest the truth? For it is well that inventions or expediencies are left to thee" (p. 196, s.f.).

Those who hold that Ma'arri's orthodox utterances do not express what he wholly or partly believed, but were designed to mask his real convictions and to serve as a defence against any dangerous attack, are attributing to him a cause of action that he himself openly proclaims: "Society compels me to play the hypocrite" (ii. 139, s.f.). "I raise my voice to pronounce absurdities, but I only whisper the truth" (iii. 30, 139). "Conceal thy thoughts even from the friend at thy side" (i. 272, s.f.).

His opinions were of a sort that could not be communicated without some disguise; and this necessity, which he disliked (cf. i. 34, 2), is the source of many superficial contradictions in his writings. The suggestion that he was peculiarly dictated and controlled by the complex form of rhyme which he uses throughout the Luzumiyat 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'arri 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 power of sustained and combining his speculations. Unable to find in any religious or philosophical system, he fell into a fatalistic pessimism tempered, as not seldom happens in such cases, by a good deal of active benevolence. He claims to unif with his reader the secret thoughts of mankind (i. 294, 15), and it is true that his poems reveal the innermost spirit of contemporary Muhammadan culture in its many-sided aspects. We are here concerned only with his main points of view and with the opinions and beliefs to which he was led by his criticisms 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 Luzumiyat Ma'arri discusses the origin and nature of religion. He ignores, although he does not formally deny, the theory of divine revelation. Religion, as he sees it, is a matter of inheritance and habit. "They live as their fathers lived before them, and bequeath their religion mechanically, just as they found it" {ii. 248, 13}. In all the affairs they are satisfied with blind conformity, even when they sayest, "God is One" (i. 252, 2). He disapproves of conformity (taglid), 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" (ii. 149, 13); cf. the celebrated verses (ii. 298, 7 ff.): "The Muslims are mistaken and the Christians are on the wrong road. And the Jews are all astray and the Magians are in error. 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, ii. 106, 5). The poet characterizes the great religious systems as a mass of forged traditions and doctrines which not only are repugnant to reason but have undergone vital alteration at the hands of their own adherents (ii. 20, 15, 196, 3, 404, 2, 409, 9). All of them are tainted with falsehood; no community possesses the truth (haddi) entire (ii. 177, 10). Ma'arri does not shrink from applying this principle to Islam, though here, as has been remarked above, he speaks with two voices and avoids positive dogmas. In the case of other principles his criticism is less restrained; thus, referring to the Crucifixion, he says (ii. 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 disbeliefes in miracles (ii. 252, 11), augurs
while castigating his neighbours and contemporaries, Ma’arrì does not spare himself (i. 48. 7).
His pessimism extends to the future:
'If this age is bad, the next will be worse' (i. 171. 17).
(c) Asceticism.—He earnestly desired to withdraw
from a society of knaves and hypocrites
and a world of bitter illusions.
'Would that I were a savage in the desert, little smelling
the spring flowers!' (i. 28. 14). 'Be a hermit as far as possible,
for one who speaks the truth is a bore to his friends' (i. 68. 1).
The happiest man in the world is an ascetic who dies childless (ii. 312. 3).
But the value of asceticism depends on the motives
by which it is inspired; the humble father of a
family is superior to the ostentatious pietist (i. 208. 17 ff.).
Ma’arrì seems to have learned at Bagdad,
if not during his earlier travels, some peculiar
doctrines and practices of Indian origin, connected
more particularly with the Jain. He thinks it
wrong to kill animals for food or to hurt them in
any way, and therefore excludes from his diet not
only meat, but also eggs, milk, and honey (i. 232.
9 ff., ii. 169. 9, 210. 13, 264. 13, 378. 9; cf. JIIS,
1902, p. 313 ff.). In his opinion there is greater
virtue in letting go a captured fia than in giving
alms to a beggar (i. 212. 9). He praises the Indian
custom of burning the dead instead of burying them,
and adds practical arguments in favour of cremation
(i. 235. 5 ff., 240. 11 ff.).
The religious enthusiasm of the Indian ascetics
who throw themselves alive into the flames fills him
with admiration (i. 260. 6 ff., ii. 253. 5 ff.).
Characteristically enough, he alleges as a reason
for abstaining from wine the fact that the forbidden
beverage is destructive to the intellect (ii. 312. 14,
361. 11).
(d) Religion and ethics.—Though Ma’arrì be-
lieved the whole conception of religion as a super-
natural revelation of divine truth, he was nevertheless
a firm monotheist (i. 47. 12, 279. 12, 281. 4 ff.).
Reason, he says, assures us of the existence of an
eternal Creator (i. 240. 9), whom he seems to have
identified with an omnipotent, all-encompassing
God. Whether his idea of God is truly expressed
by the orthodox phrases which he employs may be
left an open question. At all events, his religious
beliefs were based on intellectual conviction, not
on traditional authority (i. 128. 8, 129. last line,
338. 15).
'Truth is not to be found in the Pentateuch: follow thy
reason and do what it deems good' (i. 304. 8 ff.).
Religion, as he defines it, is, first God, renunciat-
ion of pleasures, and avoidance of sin (i. 315. 12,
361. 17, ii. 298. 12, 329. 12), but also embraces
the obligation of dealing justly with everyone (i. 103.
11). He asserts that all acts and forms of worship
are useless without obedience to the unwritten
moral law which is prescribed by reason and
conscience. It is evident that he regarded this law
as supreme and self-sufficient, for he never made
the pilgrimage to Mecca nor did he take part in
the public prayers (i. 100. 8). Virtue consists not
in fasting and praying and wearing ascetic garb,
but in abandoning wickedness and purging the
breast of malice and envy (i. 285. 13 ff.). That
man is ignorant of true piety who, when he has an
opportunity of satisfying his appetite, abstains
(i. 150. 13 ff.). A trivial wrong to one’s
neighbour will be more severely punished hereafter than
to neglect to fast or pray (i. 294. 9). Ma’arrì
had no sympathy with religions or sectarian
prejudice.
He observes that, 'when a reli<ion is established, its ad-
herents contend and revile all other creeds' (ii. 405. last line),
but his own opinion is that a hierarchy is more good than a Muslim
preacher (i. 50. 7). 'Were it not for the radical hatred implanted
in human nature, churches and mosques would have risen side by side' (ii. 82. 4).
Worldly ambition causes theologians to write
controversial books full of vain words and endless
analogies (i. 249. 5 ff.).
Macedonianism

1. Introduction. — In the closing years of the 4th and the first half of the 5th cent. the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians were regarded as the most important heretical groups deriving their origin from the Arian controversies. Three laws of Theodosius, dating from A.D. 383 and 384 (Cod. Theod. XVI v. 11—15), are in the main directed against them, and the latest of these speaks of the three heretical designations as "three sects whose religious officials pro sua erroris famosus nominabur." About three years afterwards Jerome (in Eph. ii. [on 4th], ed. D. Valla, Venice, 1766—72, vii. i. p. 610 C = PL xxvi. 328) and, as far down as 456, Nestorius (Liber Heredilita, tr. F. Nau, Paris, 1910, p. 148) link together the names of Arians, 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 (ed. 1909), and which, therefore, cannot have been written long before A.D. 392, and may even be of later date—regards the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians, whom he sometimes conjoins (ii. 11 [PG xxxix. 661 B], ii. 12 [iv. 673 B and 588 B]), as the most outstanding adversaries of orthodoxy. Augustine (c. 402) brings them before us as the non-Catholics of the East (collections. 1. iii. 6 [PL xlii. 395]); in 415 Jerome describes them in similar terms (Ep. xcvii., ad Caesariop. [Vall. ii. 2; p. 100]), and Sozocrates (c. 440) recognizes them as the heretical sects of his time (HE ii. 1, v. xx. 1). As regards the heresy of the Eunomians, ισότων Αρμονοιών, καθώς των Άρμονων, ισότων Εξεδωμάτων (Council of Constantinople in 381), J. D. Mansi, Scriptores conciliorum . . . collectio, Venice, 1759—89, iii. 560), we are so well informed that in dealing with them we can start from their date of origin. In the case of the Macedonians, however, the position is less favourable. It will therefore be advisable, first of all, to determine the 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 450. — As sources for our inquiry we have, besides the historians of the 5th cent., the following works: (a) the Dialogi de Trinitate of c. 325—541 from A. Mai's editio princeps (Ueternum scriptorum nova collectio, Rome, 1858—59, ii. 209 ff.). Of these four sources, the Sermones Arianorum, which seem to have been composed c. 409, or some years later, in the Latin-speaking part of the Balkan peninsula, are of little service for our purpose; but what they say regarding the teaching of the Macedonians rests, to some extent at least, on what Sophranes (of whom otherwise we know nothing), principal among the Dialogists, Didymus, de Trinitate, and the two sets of dialogues enumerated above, the present writer, in a recent paper ("Zwei macedonische Diäologie, in Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1914, pp. 363—518), seeks to show (1) that in Did. de Trin. we find no fewer than thirty-one fragments (printed and numbered loc. cit. pp. 326—534) of a learned dialogue of Macedonian origin, written between c. 381 and the date of Didymus's work; (2) that this dialogue was known to and used by the author of the third of the five Dialogi de Trinitate, who wrote, as it would seem, in the period between the date of Did. de Trin. (c. 392) and the Nestorian controversy (c. 430), and that many sections of this third dialogue have probably been taken—verbatim, more or less—from the said Macedonian dialogue; (3) that the first of the two Dialogi contra Macedonios is of prior date to Did. de Trin., and that its preliminary distinctions—especially those regarding the three theses of Eunomius,enable us to reconstruct a second dialogue of Macedonian origin, considerably shorter than that mentioned in (1) above, and written between A.D. 381 and c. 390 (printed as no. 32 in Loofs, Zwei maced. Diäologie, p. 530 f.). With these data at our disposal we are in a position to sketch the teaching of the Macedonians to a great extent from their own writings, and, in order to bring out this point clearly, we shall in the following paragraphs, when quoting from the two Macedonian dialogues in question, give the number of the relevant fragment as found in the present writer's paper cited above.

3. Doctrine of the Macedonians in the same period. — The leading doctrine of the Macedonians is found in the thesis characterized by their opponents as "Pneumatomachian," viz. that the Holy Spirit is not to be designated Οσιός [frag. 32, lines 1—8, Dial. c. Maced. i, 1 p. 1129 A]; frag. 29, Dial. de Trin. iii. xxxvi. [p. 1396 A]. The development of this negative side seems to have been conditioned among the Macedonians by the antithetic positions of the Macedonite Creed; the Macedonians disputed the κοινωνία του Τεκμερίου of the Holy Spirit (frag. 32, ii. 8—12, Dial. c. Maced. i. 3 [p. 1298 B]), His ἄμοιον (frag. 16, Dial. de Trin. ii. 3 [p. 573 A]),
and His ἡμέρας εἰναι (frag. 32, ll. 13-33, Dial. c. Maced. i. 4 [p. 1263 C, D]; frag. 12, Dial. de Trin. ii. vi. 18 [p. 543 B, C]; frag. 22, ilb. ii. x. [p. 641 B]).

Only τὸ σῶμα τὸ μετανοητὸν ἐναρμονίζεται [see the commentaries to Dial. c. Maced. i. 23 (p. 1279 C)] on the positive side it was urged that in I 3 St. Paul does not mention the Holy Spirit as συνάγων δόθη τῷ ἕλεγξαν (frag. 14, Dial. de Trin. ii. vi. 19 [p. 548 B, C]; cf. frag. 18, ilb. ii. vii. 8 [p. 581 D]; καταγγέλλατε . . . τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς ἑλέγξαν φῶς); the angels, too, are ἄγιοι καὶ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ (frag. 4, ilb. ii. iv. [p. 481 B]).

The Holy Spirit, however, was not regarded as merely one of the angels; He was described as Θεός ὁ πάντων σιῶν φῶς, μέλλοντων ἔρχεσθαι τοῖς φύσιν καὶ τὰ ἔλεγχα (frag. 17, ilb. ii. viii. 3 [p. 550 B]). Nor is it only orthodox writers who on grounds ascribed to the Macedonians the doctrine that the Holy Spirit is a created being, for we find it stated also in the Sermones Arianorum that 'Macedonians Spiritum Sanctum in Patris per Filium creatum defendunt, et nonuntium et ministrum Patris cum esse proiectum, sicut et nos' (PL xiii. 611 A).


In their interpretation of the Scripture texts on which the orthodox writers based their doctrine of the Spirit, the Macedonians proceeded partly on grounds of purely grammatical exegesis—e.g., frag. 32, ll. 12, Dial. c. Maced. i. 3 (p. 1263 B): τοῦ τοῦ Κρίου λέγει [sc. Paul, in 2 Co 3'7] ὅ ἐστιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ; and partly on arguments of textual criticism—e.g., that in Ro 8 we should read δα τοῦ ἐμετατοπίστον, κλή, in the hands of the orthodox had been tampered with (frag. 25, Dial. de Trin. ii. xi. [p. 664 C]; cf. Dial, de Trin. iii. 29 [p. 1233 B, C], while in IV 2 the correct reading was πένθους (frag. 25, Dial. de Trin. ii. vi. 11 [p. 627 B]). In the MSS of the New Testament, some of them are δα τοῦ ἐμετατοπίστον, κλή, in the hands of the orthodox had been tampered with (frag. 25, Dial. de Trin. ii. xi. [p. 664 C]; cf. Dial, de Trin. iii. 29 [p. 1233 B, C], while in IV 2 the correct reading was πένθους (frag. 25, Dial. de Trin. ii. vi. 11 [p. 627 B]).

A view held by the learned, and supposed—wrongly, as the present writer thinks—to have the support of Augustine (PL xiii. 39), viz. that certain Macedonians regarded the Spirit as ἐν δεοσεων ἀντίστασι (cf. J. A. Mangarelli’s note [53] on Dial. de Trin. i. xviii. = PG xxixix. 337, n. 83), cannot be verified directly from Macedonian sources. It appears to lack probability, and seems to point to the illustrations being taken casually and for the purpose of the more common and general arguments against the Macedonians' exposition of the spiritual nature of the Spirit. It is the narrower sense, it need only be observed that, according to the Dial. de Maced. ii. (pp. 1239 C, 1336 C), the Macedonians, like the Arians, denied
that the Θέος ορθεύεται, or Θεός ἐνέργειαν, had a human soul.

The relation between these Macedonians and the Homoioussians of the 4th century.—What we know of the teachings of the Macedonians in the period between A.D. c. 351 and c. 430 (cf. § 3) would make it necessary to assume (even if we had no direct information on the point) that the sect was semi-Arian or briefly connected with the Homoioussian or semi-Arian party. In point of fact, however—even apart from Rufinus, Sozomen, and Socrates, whom meanwhile we leave out of account (cf. § 5)—the Macedonians, at least as those of Durm and Schlüter, were closely

Further, auxentius of dorostorum writes (c. A.D. 383) of Ulfilas as follows:

By c. 350, however, the Macedonian dogma, embraced also the pneumatian heresy. The "Homoios, figoioi Pneumatoi, and Macedonians, who were condemned by the Synod of Constantinople (381) and in the famous twenty-four anathemas of Danasus (A.D. 359), given by Theodoret (HE i. 11 [ed. L. Parmentier, Leipzig, 1911, p. 399; in Latin, PL Xll. 359 A; cf. Parmentier, p. 3xxi]), all that is said of the Macedonism is:

Moreover, auxentius does not mention the Macedonian doctrine of the Spirit by the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians.

And the reason that Auxentius does not mention the Macedonian doctrine of the Spirit is that, like Ulfilas, he had nothing to criticize in the so-called Pneumatomachian ideas. For, like Origen, all the theologians who in the Arian controversy rejected the Homousia of the Son affirmed by the Nicene Creed—Enbrians, Arians, Homoioussians, and Eunomians—regarded the Spirit as a κτίσμα subordinate to the Son. Even the Nicene Creed itself did not prescribe that view; all that it says concerning the Spirit is: καὶ παστορεύεται εἰς τὸ Ἀγίον Πνεῦμα.

Moreover, their partsians were at first concerned to assail only the Logos-doctrine of their opponents. At the earliest it was in the Epitikes to Socrates vii. 35 (PG 57, 560), written by Athanasius during his exile from 9th Feb. 356 to 21st Feb. 362, that that theologian contended also for the Homousia of the Spirit. The opponents of whom Sargon had informed him, among which the Epitikes was itself interdicted (per EXTREMOS et τῶν Ἀρμενίων διὰ τὴν κατ' τὸν θρόνον τῶν Φιλοσοφῶν, φρονοῦντες δι' ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος καὶ Μνημόσυνος αὐτὴ μὴ ἔχειν κτίσμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λεγομένων πνευ-

1 The words "contra Pneumatomachos" in Auxentius, 1st ed. (Kaufmann, p. 72) rest upon a false reading and a false conjecture; cf. K. Müller, Ufius Ender, Leipzig, 1914, p. 85 ff.

2 This is shown by the demonstrable similarity between the Dialogus of Didymus and the Epitikes of Sargon in many respects, although the former is, doubt, dependent upon the latter (cf., e.g., ad Sarcoph. i. 10 [pp. 556 C and 557 A] with Did de Trin, ii. vi. 19 [p. 545 B, C]). Not only do the opponents of Athanasius as well as those of the Macedonians, and especially the "dictum probans" (Ep. ad Sarcoph. i. 10; Did. loc. cit.; cf. also Basilius, de Spiri, Sancto, xiii. 29 [PG xxxii. 117 C])—here Didymus may well have borrowed from Athanasius—but we find also that Am 400 (steter το θεσμόν) together with the other "dicta probans" (cf. § 3) are appealed to by the opponents of Athanasius (Ep. i. 9 [p. 555 B, C], i. 11 [p. 555 B, C]) as well as by the Macedonians of the 5th cent. (Did. de Trin, iii. 26 [p. 124 B, C], and 25 [p. 1257 C]). Moreover, we have that the mockery poured by Athanasius upon the "promis" recognized by his adversaries (Ep. i. 7 [p. 545 B])—whom he stigmatizes as τραπεζικοί (ib. 21 [p. 589 11], 52 [p. 605 A])—recalls that Macedonian practice of resorting to σπουδαίον, σπουδαῖον, etc., to which Didymus draws attention.

3 It is surprising, however, that Athanasius here makes no mention of Macedonians: as a matter of fact, he names no exponent of the doctrine which he criticizes. Nor even later does it seem that the attitude assumed by Athanasius, of the anathema uttered by the Alexandrian Synod of A.D. 362 against all who regarded the Holy Spirit as a κτίσμα (Ath. ad Ant. iii. [PG xxvi. 809 A]), and his acceptance of that doctrine by Melito of Antioch at an Antiochian Synod of A.D. 363 (Mansi, iii. 366 f.), many have become interested in the Pneumatomachian question, do we hear anything, to begin with, about Macedonians himself. Neither Basil of Caesarea, who in 372 went definitely over to the anti-Pneumatomachian side, and for that as for other reasons quarrelled with his friend Eustathius of Sebaste in the following year, nor who composed his de Spiritu Sancto (PG xxxii. 67-218) in 375, nor Epiphanios, who, writing in 376, inserts the Pneumatozyxy in his catalogue of heretics (Ath. xxii.), mentions Macedonians by name. Epiphanios, without giving any name at all, is content to characterize the Pneumatomachians as κατὰ τὴν Πνευματικὴν καὶ ὑποθετικὴν; Basil, in his de Spiritu Sancto, likewise gives no name; but two years later (377) he states that Eustathius is the προστάτης τῶν Πνευματουχῶν ἄνδρων (Ep. cel. xii. 2 [p. 802 B]). But that attitude of Eustathius towards the doctrine of the Spirit is a created being (cf. Soc. HE ii. xlv. 6). In view of these facts, we must ask what was the connexion between the Macedonians and their nominal head.

5 Macedonians and the Macedonians.—This question leads us to a consideration of the life of Macedonians. 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 art. "Macedonians," in P.F.F., and to E. Schwartz, "Zur Geschichte des Athanasius," ix., in GEO, hist.-phil. Klasse, 1911, p. 478 ff.). Here we need merely state that

1 The bishops Acacius of Cesarea and Patrophilus of Skythopolis, to whom he alludes in Ep. ad Sarcoph. iv. 7 [p. 638 B], were Athana Homologoi.

2 Although V. Schultz (Attestation, Stede und Landschaften: I. Konstantinopel, Leipzig, 1913, p. 45, note) regards the present writer's labour on this subject as inferior to what was done nearly twenty years earlier by Franz Fischer ("De patriarcham Constantinopolitanorum catalogis et chronologis ecce principalibus," in Zeitschr. f. d. h. vaterl. deutsche Ges. v. Gesch. und Altert. iv. 181 [1894], p. 283-305), yet the present writer cannot with draw his objections in principle to what he regards as an unscientific mode of using Socrates and Sozomen (P.F.F. ii. 43; cf. xviii. 480), and to Schultze and Fischer's over-evaluation of their merits.
MACEDONIANISM

According to Socrates (II. vi.), had as an aged deacon (την άθενηκα γονα) contested the see of Constantine with Paul upon the death of Alexander (installed, in all likelihood, while Constantine was still reigning), found himself in secure possession of the see (Hist. Eccl. ii. 3), after (cf. Euseb. p. 294) regards as the final deposition of Paul in 342. 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 communion with the latter (Athen. Hist. Arv. vii. [PG xxv. 701 A]). This does not necessarily imply that he had been an 'Arian'; for the later Homoiouians also belonged, till A.D. 358, to the 'Eusébian' group of the opposition, and even at the event which ushered in the rise of the Homoiouians, Macedonians, as documentary evidence, is found in that group: the Epistle of George of Laodicea, written in 358, and preserved by Sozomen (iv. xvi. 21), names him first among the persons addressed. Epiphanius (Hær. lxxiii. 23 and 27 [ed. D. Pateras, Paris, 1627, 870 D and 874 C = PG xliii. 445 A, 436 B]) recognizes him as one of the Homoiouian party which was (339) in the enumeration of the Macedonians, just as his presbyter, Marathonius, subsequently 1 bishop of Nicomedia, and Eusebius, whom he made bishop of Cyzicus (Soz. ii. xxxvii. 4; Soz. iv. xxv. 2), were partisans of Basil of Ancyra and Eusebius.2 At the deposition of Seleucus (359) he was associated with Eusebius and the other Homoiouians in supporting Basil against the Arian (Soz. iv. xxvii. 7, and, like Basil, Eusebius, Eleuthius, and other Homoiouians—several of the most prominent of them all—he was deposed by the Arians at the end of the year 359 or in January 360 (Jer. Chron. ad annum, 359 [ed. Helm, p. 214]). Philostorg. v. 1 [ed. Bidez, p. 68; cf. p. 227]; Soc. ii. xix. 3; Soz. iv. xxiv. 5). He then retired, 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 his party after 354. In the interval between his deposition and his death, according to Socrates (II. xiv. 1–3) and Sozomen (iv. xxvii. 1, 2),3 he founded a new party. Socrates states that (by letter? [see below] he called upon his associates Sophronius (of Pompeii) and Theodorus (of Cyzicus) to prepare for the future to the Antiochian formula recognized at Seleucia, i.e., the Confession of Lucian (cf. C. V. Caspari, Alte und neue Quellen, 1879, p. 42 f.). Sozomen (iv. xxvii. 1) is more explicit:

'επερείσαν τὴν Βυζαντίαν, κατὰ τὸ διὰ τῆς ἀναγέννησιν τῶν αὐτὸν καθ' ἅμιαντα ἀρχόντων, διὰ τοὺς ως ἑνήμερον καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναμνηστικῶν τοιούτων.

Rufinus (HE i. 25 [ed. T. Mommsen, Leipzig, 1908, p. 990]) somewhat earlier makes a similar statement. The tradition is nevertheless untenable. It refers in reality to the earliest public appearance of the Homoiouians, not of the Macedonians, and it displays even less knowledge of the actual beginnings of the Homoiouian party some two years previously than does Philostorgius (iv. 9 [p. 62]). Then, in the further course of the narrative of Socrates and Sozomen, the term 'Macedonians' becomes, in conformity with that report, the regular designation of the Homoiouians generally. Thus the 'Macedonians', in the reign of Valens, draw closer to the orthodox party; they accept the ἄμφοτερον; they come to an understanding with Pope Liberius, and, especially in Constantine, live in religious communion with the orthodox (cf. esp. Soz. vii. 5, 3), until at length (cf. ib. 3, 4) they, more stand forth as a party by themselves. But, had the Homoiouians been in reality universally designated Macedonians, as Socrates and Sozomen assume, we should certainly have found some evidence of the fact in Athanasius and the Cappadocians. One is prompted to ask, nevertheless, whether the statement of Sozomen (v. xiv. 1), viz. that during Julian's reign ἀμφοτερον ἑπερείσαν τὴν Βυζαντίαν, Καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσικῷ καὶ Ἐλευσίας ὅπως ἔτη ἔδωκαν ἔφοιτον, 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 Meletus came to be called 'Meletians,' so in Constantinople the followers of the deposed Macedonians who did not attach themselves to the church of Eudoxius, his successor (Soz. iv. xxvii. 7, VIII. i. 7), were presently designated 'Macedonians.' The connexion between Macedonians and the later 'Macedonians' would otherwise have better gained accessions from the Homoiouian circles of which the adherents of Macedonius, as dwellers in the metropolis, formed the best-known group in the Balkan Peninsula. This solution of the historical and doctrinal problem of the Homoiouian—latter signification of the name 'Macedonians'—is certainly a possible one. For it was in the neighbourhood of Constantinople—on the Hellespont, in Bithynia, and in Thrace—that the 'Macedonians' were most numerous, and they certainly were deposed by the Arians at the end of the year 359 or in January 360 (Jer. Chron. ad annum, 359 [ed. Helm, p. 214]); Philostorg. v. 1 [ed. Bidez, p. 68; cf. p. 227]; Soc. ii. xix. 3; Soz. iv. xxiv. 5). He then retired, 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 his party after 354. In the interval between his deposition and his death, according to Socrates (II. xiv. 1–3) and Sozomen (iv. xxvii. 1, 2), he founded a new party. Socrates states that (by letter? [see below] he called upon his associates Sophronius (of Pompeii) and Theodorus (of Cyzicus) to prepare for the future to the Antiochian formula recognized at Seleucia, i.e., the Confession of Lucian (cf. C. V. Caspari, Alte und neue Quellen, 1879, p. 42 f.). Sozomen (iv. xxvii. 1) is more explicit:

1 Cf. Tillemont, Mémoires, Venice ed. vi. 307, 770.
3 It may be remarked that these two Church historians differ noticeably in their judgment of Macedonius; for, while Sozomen simply disparages him, Sozomen betrays a certain admiration of the homoeotensive ideas which he shared with Marabonius (cf. Soz. iv. xxv. 3).
MACEDONIANISM

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 the name ‘Macedonians’ and his information regarding Macedonius from the Macedonian dialogue used by him. Yet the correspondence between what that dialogue tells us regarding the Macedonian and that reaching our ears from Didymus have known when he wrote his Epistles to Serapion is striking. Can it have been the case that the above-mentioned summons of Macedonius to Eusebius and Sophronius, referred to by Socrates (ii. xlv. 2), was contained in a letter which the latter had come to Serapion’s hands? This would explain how the Alexandrians had obtained information regarding the Macedonians at a relatively early stage; it would explain the information possessed by Didymus regarding the αἱματομαχο- τηθέν Macedonia, and also the account given by Socrates (and Sozomen) of the origin of the Homoioans. The hypothesis is not impossible; for the first letter of Athanasius to Serapion 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 Homoiou- sanism. The Macedonians. This is, however, another question to be considered. Athanasius was aware that those who were known to Serapion as opposed to the Deity of the Holy Spirit felt themselves repelled by the Arrian ‘blasphemy’ against the Son (En. ad Soc., i. 1 [p. 529 f.]), and that they were detested by the Arians (ib. i. 32 [p. 605 B]; this fits in remarkably well with the situation from the beginning of A.D. 360. Some later the Homoiou- sanians (‘Macedonians’), as a result of negotiations with Liberius at a synod held at Tyana in 367, passed completely over to the side of the Nicene Creed (Basil, Ep. cxxv. 5 [PG xxxii. 917 D]; Soz. vii. xii. 21; cf. Sabinus, ap. Soc. iv. xiv. 11). Thereafter, as we read (Soc. v. iv. 1; Soz. vii. ii. 2), the ‘Macedonians,’ who at that time had neither a church nor a bishop in Constantinople (Soz. iv. xxvii. 6, viii. i. 7), maintained ecclesiastical communion with the Homoiou- sanians. Thus the question arises how it came about that the later Macedonians were Homoiou- sanians. Basil (Ep. cxxv. 9 [PG xxxii. 924 B]) tells us that, at a synod held at Cyzicus in A.D. 376—otherwise unknown to us (Loebs, Eustathius, p. 171 f.)—Eustathius of Sebasthe, the πρωτοπάτωρ τῆς τῆς Ἔλληνος ἰσαρχίας αἰχμαλώτου, formula which, together with Pneumatomachian clauses, contained statements pointing away from the Nicene Creed to the Homoiou- sanion (τὸ θεοφράστηρ κατστασίας τὸ κατὰ ὄντα ὤν τῷ ἑιδῆ, and that from 375 he had drawn closer, ecclesiastically, to the Homoiou- sanian court-bishops (Basil, Ep. cxxv. 7 [p. 921 A, B]; cf. 5 [p. 920 A], codd. 3 [p. 936 B]; cf. Loebs, Eustathius, p. 762 ff.); Basil is of opinion that the fundamental Ariant tendency of Eustathius to the Homoiou- sanion—an act that (as he merely suppresses, without overtly rejecting, the Homoiou- sanion) did not as such altogether exclude recognition of the Nicene Creed—a decisive factor in 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 otherwise plausible point given by Sozomen (vii. ii. 3), and less fully by Socrates (v. iv. 21 f.), regarding a synod held at Antioch in Caia (378). 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 Manicheans, the Phytians, and the Eunomians (Soz. v. ii. 1; Soz. v. ii. 3), the Macedonians received again from the Homoiou- sanians, with whom they had lithererto been in communion, abandoning the Nicene Creed and maintaining their adherence for the ἐπισκοπή as against the ἐπισκοπή. From that time a section of the Macedonians (Homoiou- sanians) had continued to exist as a distinct party (Cf. another, breaking away from the latter, had previously held themselves more closely to the Homoiou- sanians. 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 οὐκ ἐπιστευσαμεν κ. α.). Here, indeed, Sozomen seems to have wrongly interpreted the statement of his authority (Sabines), which he records verbatim in viii. i. 7, 2). May it not be the case, however, that in Soc. vii. xii. 4 we have a doublet of vii. i. 3, clearly derived from Sabines, and providing free license, while we read of a synod in the Caian Antioch, where, in opposition to the Homoiou- sanion, the Confession of Lucian was made the standard; this synod, however, was held subsequently to the synod of Tyana (367), 3 (p. 528 f.), and the Homoiou- sanian party who had gone over to the Homoiou- sanion. The present writer must admit that he finds this ‘doubling’—if it is a doubling—a disturbing element. Still, it is possible that, as H. H. G. Vincent (Aegean Churches) suggests, there were two Homoiou- sanian synods at Antioch in Caia (A.D. 368 and 378); and, if, in fact, the bishop of that city was an insurgent Homoiou- sanian, 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 succeeding that date that we find the later Macedonians were Homoiou- sanians, in which, as we have seen, the Homoiou- sanism, which is a sequel to the doctrine of the Spirit, broke away from the Homoiou- sanians adhering to the Nicene Creed. The fact that Epiphanius also had heard of certain Pneumatomachians (ib.), subscribed not only to 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 Whitsuntide sermon of the year 381, addressed the Pneumatomachians as πόλεμος ἀντὶ ὧν ἐπισκοπής (Or. xlii. 8 [PG xxxvii. 440 B]). Gregory had as valid grounds for this friendly judgment as had the orthodox when, shortly afterwards, at the synod of 381, they repelled the thirty-six Pneumatomachians who attended under the leadership of Eleusius of their negotiations with Liberius (Soz. v. viii. 7; Soz. vii. viii. 4).

The breach which had been started by the rupture between Eustathius and Basil, and by the synods of Cyzicus and Antioch in Caia, was rendered absolute by the Council of 381. The Pneumatomachians withdrew from the Council, and were condemned by it (cf. § 4). The amicable overtures—nearly so far as to fold the breach to the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians at

1 Cf. Loebs, Eustathius, p. 78, with note 2, where, however, the definition of Eustathius from the Nicene Creed is not sufficiently recognized.
2 ἐπισκοπῆς ἀντὶ ἄγιον. If the source here is referring mainly to the time of Valens, this would point to Gratian's reign.
Constantineople in 383—Eulcubin being once more the representative of the last-named group (Soc. v. x. xx. 4; see above, § 1), still remained a distinct group apart from the Church, but how far beyond A.D. 450, if they maintained their position (the present writer cannot say).


F. Loofs.

MADAGASCAR.—The religion of the Malagasy is extremely simple. They believe in one god, named Zanaka, ‘creator of all things’; but this god, being essentially good and, consequently, incapable of doing evil, is more or less neglected. His attributes are vague, and there is, properly speaking, no cult connected with him. Yet, with the exception of sorcerers, there are in Madagascar no individuals or classes of individuals connected officially with any religion or cult.

1. Ancestor-worship.—The shades of ancestors, however—for all the Malagasy believe in a future life—are the objects of profound veneration, and inspire their worshippers with extraordinary awe. They are credited with all power of good and evil over the living, whom they visit from time to time. A dead man is, e.g., will not return, pay a visit to his widow, and in this case the birth of posthumous children is considered perfectly legitimate. Offerings are made to ancestors, generally of a small piece of ox-flesh and a few drops of rum, which are taken to the grave of the ancestor whose favours are sought.

2. Sorcery and fetishism.—The Malagasy do not believe in death from natural causes, except in the very rare case of extreme old age. Their idea is that one is always then the victim of evil spells cast by sorcerers, and they are, therefore, careful to collect all hair-cuttings, nail-pittings, etc., in case a sorcerer should find them and use them to work evil on their owner. The Sakalava kings were always accompanied by a servant whose sole charge was to gather up the earth upon which they had spat.

Diviners or sorcerers play a very important part in the life of the Malagasy. The natives believe that they are in communication with the spirits of the dead and can cure disease, foretell the future, discern whether the outcome of any enterprise will be favourable and what is the most suitable moment for undertaking it, indicate lucky and unlucky days, and war against what is forbidden (fady). The Malagasy never embark upon any important undertaking without first consulting the sorcerer, who makes use of sigilica—ceremonies in which a handful of seed is spread out on a cloth, according to well-defined rules and figures, which are then interpreted with the aid of a code. The sigilica, which was introduced, or at least very frequently employed, by the Antimborano, has been in general use throughout the island for a long time.

The sorcerers, who are called upanenagy, ouamara, marina, etc., according to the different provinces, have often been successful in winning the sect back to the Church. The Macedonians, undisturbed by the laws against heretics passed in 383 and 384 (cf. Soc. v. xx. 4: see above, § 1), still remained a distinct group apart from the Church, but how far beyond A.D. 450, if they maintained their position (the present writer cannot say).

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 implicit faith in these orly.

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 official servants. The oldest and most famous of them was Kellumaza.

3. Fady.—In almost every case there is some fudy connected with these amuletts—fetishes—i.e., it is forbidden to do certain things, and certain fetishes, ‘the holy fetishes,’ as they are rigidly respected, the orly loses all its virtue and is useless. The fudy, which occurs throughout the whole of Madagascar, is extremely curious, and recalls the talm of the Oceanians. There are some places which are regarded as fudy for every one, while others are fudy only for certain families or even for certain individuals. There are fudy days, when no one should begin anything new or start on a journey. If a child is born on one of these unlucky days, it is killed—or, rather it was until quite recently, especially in the southern parts of the island—because it is supposed to bring evil upon its family. There are also fudy 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 fudy are really of a religious nature; their aim is to appease the wrath of spirits and otherwise gain their favour.

4. Human sacrifice.—Human sacrifice has now been abolished in Madagascar, but it is not very long since it was the custom, when a Sakalava king was dying or was about to embark upon 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 Menaile, Toma, who met his death in the attack on the village of Ambakily 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 Makatany chief was killed on his grave, that he might be able to live 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 as to form with the divine officer the code of Mala-
Justice was meted out by the king or the village chief, and in certain tribes—e.g., the Betiseo—by an old man of the tribe. The incident in the life of man; others, again, bury their dead by the side of the high road or right in the midst of human habitations. Their home, when they feared 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, Betiseo, 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 which a piece of stone is embedded, or an improvised coffin they lay either on the ground or on a small platform in the middle of a passageway roofed over with branches and leaves.

The Antankarana make their cemeteries in the natural grottos 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 Betiseo and Bara families follow the same custom, and bury their dead in the hollows and coves 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 Mahafaly, and the Bara, and most of the Bara—cover their graves with a heap of loose stones in the form of a long parallelepiped, while some Sakalava families surround their tombs with posts carved in different shapes (human figures, crocodiles, etc.), which recall certain cemeteries of Oceanica.

The Merina custom is to hollow out a mortuary chamber, above which they usually build a small house for those of noble birth, and for the Hova, or freemen, a small rectangular building. When the dead have gathered together stones and blocks or fragments of quartz, with a raised stone at one end. The head is generally turned to the east.

All the Malagasy have the same idea of the impurity of a dead body and its power to communicate uncleanness 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 any part of this ceremony must cleanse themselves before going home.

As may be gathered from the prevalence of ancestor-worship, all the Malagasy without exception stand in awe of the dead, and desire above all things to be buried in the family vault, where the number of such graves is so large that it is difficult to believe. 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 in 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 fifteen or twenty weeks' journey from Tananarivo. When the body cannot be recovered, 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—they must appear unkempt as possible so as to let their grief be seen at a distance. On the death of a person, the phrase goes in Madagascar, where ordinary everyday words would never be used in connexion with such high and exalted personages as kings—on the departure, of a sovereign, a number of summimentary
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 punishment; but mutilating his body was one of the restrictions enforced on the death of Radama I. (1810-25): all the inhabitants of the kingdom, with the exception of the heir to the throne, had to shave their heads, sleep on the ground instead of in beds, use neither chairs nor tables, pass each other without greeting in the street, neither play any musical instrument nor sing, have no fire or light at night, do no work except in the fields, refuse to be carried in a palanquin, use no mirror, go about barefooted, make no fire, 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 Betsileo and the Antankarana—have the peculiar and repugnant custom of not burying their dead immediately after death; frequently they even wait till decomposition has set in; and in many cases the putrid liquid is collected and set apart. Their funeral was formerly very solemn, and the corpse was cremated, and, if the corpse cannot be able to live at all in the midst of the nauseating odours, the relatives and friends of the dead man drink all the time and burn quantities of incense, suet, and even leather. This custom, which is less common in the last century, comes from the desire now to bury any putrescent 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 in killing some cows immediately after the funeral. If a man dies without the skeleton remains, and when the body is finally placed in 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 blankets and is not placed in a coffin. Later, at a certain specified time, the ceremony of the manadiky takes place. This consists in changing the soiled blankets, and the Merina say then that they turn the bodies on their other side so that they may not get tired of lying in one position.

Funerals in Madagascar are always the occasion of feasts in honour of the dead. The richer the man is and the more cattle he possesses, the more brilliant are the orgies that are indulged in. Shots and knives are thrown, and two or three are killed 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.


MADHVAS, MADHVACHARIS.—The Madhvas or Madhvacarins are an Indian sect, one of the four svampradayaś,1 or churches, of the Vaishnava Bhakti-marga (see art. BHAKTI-MARGA, vol. ii. p. 515). It has usually been stated that this sect represents an attempt to reconcile the promise or alliance between Saivás and Vaishnavas,1 but an examination of the authoritative documents of the faith shows that this is far from the truth. It is therefore advisable to include in this article an account of the life of the founder of the religion, and of the legends connected with his coming.

The authorities on which the following account is based are: (1) the Manavacharitā (quoted as Mn.), which deals with the religion from its very origin down to the birth of Madhva, the founder of the sect; (2) the Madhavacaritā (Mr.), which deals with the life of Madhva himself; both these works are in Sanskrit, and are written by one Narâyana, who was the son of Trivikrama, an actual disciple of Madhva; (3) the Vayuprakāśa of the above Trivikrama; and (4) C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyer's Śrī Madhva and Madhavanism (K.), which includes a summary in English of (1) and (2).

1. Accounts of the founder.—The basis of the Madhva religion is direct, that Viṣṇu is the Brahma of the Upaniṣads; and, secondly, that, whenever he becomes incarnate, he always has his son, Vāyu, the air-god, as his friend and helper. Accordingly, the first four sūtras, or chapters, of Mr., after characterizing the order of the desire not to be born, give detailed accounts of the Rāma and Kṛṣṇa incarnations, Rāma's great friend and ally being Hanumān, the son of Vāyu, and Kṛṣṇa's ally being, not Arjuna, as we might expect, but Bhima (cf. Mr. i. 41), one of the five heroes of the Mahābhārata. When nothing is left but the skeleton remains, and when the body is finally placed in 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 blankets and is not placed in a coffin. Later, at a certain specified time, the ceremony of the manadiky takes place. This consists in changing the soiled blankets, 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.

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1 It is called the Brahmana-svamprapāya because it is said to have been first communicated by Vishnu to Brahman, who spread it throughout the world with the help of his brother. See below.

2 e.g., by Wilson, Religions Sects of the Hindus, p. 189.

3 The Madhva sect is sometimes called the Kaśikā sect, from Śrī Kaśika, the name of the founder of the sect. The object is plain. Śrī Kaśika means...
brought up in great poverty, and as a slip at the monastic subsequently taught by him) it is related that in his boyhood he could not eat at a time, never being able to eat a second (M. p. 10). He is taken to Saurashtra, where, under the patronage of Rana, he quickly mastered Sanskrit (14). He then goes from teacher to teacher, but is turned off by them for his heretical views. He invents his doctrine, described as Śūnyatā, and is hailed by the demons as their saviour (21). On their advice he joins the Buddhists and teaches Buddhism under cover of Vedanta. He becomes the Vedanta without non-attached, with nothingness (Vākpati) (26). He becomes a Sākta, and messenger of Bhairavnath, but is quickly expelled (17).

The 7th sarga describes further disgraceful events in Sāukara's life. He seduces the wife of his Brahmana host (17). He makes common use of the sacred art. He falls sick and dies. His last words are instructions to his disciples to uproot the learned Śātyaprajā, the last of the great teachers of the true Vedic doctrine.

In the 8th sarga we have the doings of Sāukara's followers. They persecute their opponents, burning down monasteries, destroying castles, and by magic arts killing women and children (2). They forcibly convert one of their chief opponents, Prakriti and composed his disciples to adopt the Šāmī-system (6). These, however, still secretly adhere to the true religion, and, after consulting Śātyaprajā, determine to cause one disciple to become thoroughly learned in the Šāmī-system, who should start a line of disciples, outwardly Mahāyāna, but really devoted to Hara (i.e. Viṣṇu). In this line of disciples came, in due course, Acyuta-prakṛța. In his time the Lord, i.e. Viṣṇu, became incarnate as Madhava, in the person of Madhyageha and Śākyānti (37). The book ends with a brief account of Madhava's work, specially mentioning that he composed the Vedānta Sūtras utterly destroyed by that made by the three Śrīmaṭa-Saṅkarāīa.

It thus appears that Madhava, like Bhima, was an incarnation of Viṣṇu, who came to the earth to destroy the followers of Sāukara and all their teaching, that the true religion was delivered to the present age by Kṛṣṇa and Śaṅkara, that it was upheld by Kumbāra in the Puruṣ-Śrīmānas, and that it was revived by Madhava. Sāukara's śāmī-system was declared to be only Buddhist in disguise (prathecchākara-Buddhā) (M. p. 51). There is no way of reconcile the Saiva teaching of Sāukara with Viṣṇavism. Here also must be mentioned one other doctrine of Madhīva not referred to above, but of considerable importance—that salvation can be obtained only through Viṣṇu. This doctrine was adopted in the Vedānta Sūtras utterly destroyed by Madhāva's teaching.

In M. the first sarga sums up briefly the contents of M., special stress being again laid on the Maniṣmat story (i. 39), and on Bhumibā's chaste end. The account of the political history of Viṣṇu is plainly stated in ii. 24. The rest of the work is a prolix account of Madhava's life, too long to analyze here. The main facts are as follows: Madhyageha Bhaṭṭa, Madhava's father (M. p. 9), ascended the seat of Jajnāṭa (6), close to the modern Hardwar, a town on the sea-coast of the present district of S. Kanara, and about 40 miles due west of Śrīnagara, then, and still, the head-quarters of the Śrīmānas of Sāukara-Śrīmāna. The ancient name of the country now comprising the Districts of Dhārwar and N. and S. Kanara, together with the western portion of the State of Mysore, was Tuluva, the modern Tulu, and it is here that the Madhāvas have always been strongest. No census figures are available for their number, but a very rough estimate of the materials available leads us to put it at something like 70,000. Elsewhere they are very few. After the usual module the boy was named Viṣṇu-deva, but in later years he was known as Madhava. The most probable date of his birth is the Śaka year 1119 (=A.D. 1197), but some authorities assign the birth to the 14th century. He was a 'suspicious, but śākara 'misbegotten' or 'unchaste.' The word śākara is a family libel on the founder of the system which it opposes.

1 Probably identical with the ancient town and still existing village of Šrīmāna, the seat of the Śrīmāna school.

2 Evidently a misprint for the famous libel on the founder of the system which it opposes.

3 Previously identified with the ancient town and still existing village of Viṣṇudvīpa, the seat of the Śrīmāna school.

4 A list of the thirty-seven works attributed to him is given in Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Saṅkara MSS in the Bombay Presidency for 1852-53, Bombay, 1854, p. 207.

2. Doctrines of the sect. —Madhva rejects not only the monotheistic monism but also the Vedic doctrine of one universal soul, of Känämunk (see art. BHARATI-MÁRGA, vol. ii. p. 545). Its followers call themselves Sud-Vaisnavas to distinguish themselves from the Súri-Vaisnava followers of the latter. The basis of the Śrāvaka system is denied. This by none means mean the dualism of spirit and matter, or that of good and evil, but the distinction between the independent Supreme Being (Paramatman) and the dependent principle of life (jīvātmán). There are five real and eternal distinctions: (a) between God and the individual soul, (b) between God and matter, (c) between the soul and matter, (d) between one soul and another, and (e) between one particle of matter and another. The account of the order of creation given in Mah. i. 2.30 closely follows the well-known Sūkhyā-Sūtra system, as modified by the Parāsars, and need not detain us. Vigna, Nárayana, or Paró Bhagavan, not Brahman, is the name given to the Supreme Being. He is endowed with all the various qualities (guna), and has a consort, Lakṣmi, distinct from, but dependent on, him. By her he has two sons, Brahmān, the Creator, and the Vigna mentioned above, who is the Saviour of mankind. Moksa, or salvation, consists in the escape from the wheel of birth and death, and in the abode of Nārayana. Souls (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 prásadas, and a seventh, to each of which a wheel of birth and death is assigned; these are destined to salvation; (b) those who are neither sufficiently good to belong to the first class nor sufficiently bad for the third; these are destined to perpetual transmigration (preternatural); and (c) sinners, especially followers of the Yajñaveda doctrine and other heretics who reject Vajña; these are destined to eternal hell. Again, it must be noted that there is no salvation, except through Vajña, i.e., in the present age, through Mahdva. It is also noteworthy that in this religion the idea of eternal bliss, or moksa, is balanced by the idea of an eternal hell—a logical symmetry that is missing in the other religions of Madhva's time.

The inner soul is characterized by ignorance (avidyā), and this ignorance is dispelled, and salvation is obtained, by right knowledge of God. This knowledge is obtainable by souls of the first class, and eighteen methods are described as necessary for it. Such are listed by the writer (vįrāngya), equanimity (kṣame), attendance on a gurum, or religious teacher, bhakti directed to God, due performance of rites and ceremonies (cf. the Purāṇa-Màrnāṇa, reproduction of false doctrines, worship (pāramāṇa), and so on.)

Service to Vigna (i.e. to God) is expressed in three ways: (a) by stigmatization, or branding (nimkäma) the body with the symbols of Vigna; (b) by giving his names to sons and others (nimkāravat); and (c) by worship (bhakti) with word, act, and thought. Worship with word consists in (1) vərity, (2) usefulness, (3) kindness, (4) sacred study; with act, in (5) almsgiving, (6) defence, (7) protection; with thought, in (8) mercy, (9) longing, and (10) faith. Worship is the dedication to Viṣṇu (i.e. God) of each of these as it is realized.²

The custom of branding symbols of Viṣṇu on the shoulders and breast is not peculiar to the followers of Madhva, but is adopted by the Śrī-Vaisnava; but the Madhva, in his view, instead of being occasional, is universal, and is declared to be necessary according to the bhástras. All classes, whether monks or lay, are branded. The chief of each math, or

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² The complete list is given by Kamadagkar, p. 309.
³ Sáraśástram Mahārāma, tr. p. 31.
a passing notice. Thus, before Madhva appeared on earth, at a festive gathering at the temple at Udupi the spirit of Amantavāra (Viṣṇu) came upon a Brahman and made him a messenger of good news that the king of heaven was at hand (K. p. 13). After the child had been presented in the temple at Udupi, as his parents were taking him through a forest, a grūtha, or evil spirit, opposed their way, but departed on being rebuked by the divine child (K. p. 16; Mr. iii. 324). When the child was five years old, his parents missed him, and after an anxious search of three days found him at Udupi, in the temple of Amantavāra, teaching gods and men to worship Viṣṇu according to the Vedas (Mr. iii. 1 ff.). On his southern tour Madhva multiplied food in a wilderness, to meet the needs of his followers (K. p. 27; Mr. v. 32).

On one of his northern tours he walked across water 'without wetting his clothes' (K. p. 53 or Mr. x. 27), and on another occasion he stills an angry sea by his look (K. p. 48; Mr. xvi. 11). The substitution at sacrifices of a lamb of rice for a lamb of flesh and blood also offers a striking analogy, but, as K. p. 68 points out, it may with equal probability be an expression of the same spirit. And, in the circum-
stances, the fact that Madhva was born and brought up in the neighbourhood of Christians and that the doctrine of bhākiti is common to all forms of Vaishnavism and to Christianity, therefore, probability that at least some of these legends grew up under Christian influence. Still more striking, however, is the central article of Madhva belief that Vāyū is the son of the Supreme God, Viṣṇu, and that salvation can be obtained only by the aid of bhākiti, an idea borrowed from Christianity, quite possibly promulged as a rival to the central doctrine of that faith.

4. Traces of Manichaeism.—In the two papers already quoted, Burnell points out that 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 Manigrama, by a grant from the personal, or local chief. Burnell goes on to suggest that these Persians were Manicheans, and that the name of their settlement meant 'Manes (Mama) town,' not 'Jewel-town,' as the compound would otherwise mean (above, p. 329). This is attacked in the same journal and, according to Garbe (p. 152), completely controverted by J. Collins. To the present writer it seems that, in the discussion, Collins failed in his main point—the identification of Mani' in Manigrama—and that Burnell's suggestion, though certainly not proved, may possibly contain more elements of truth than Garbe prepared to admit.1 It seems that Burnell's suggestion that Mani refers to Manes receives some confirmation from the Manichæan theory of the Madhvas. It is intelligible that Bhīma should be selected as the hero, but it is unintelligible why the altogether unimportant Mani- mat of the epic should be selected as the origin of the arch-heretic Bhīma. Bhīma killed many a much more noteworthy demones, who would have served Madhva's purpose better; but so small a part does Manim, the demon from beyond the Himalaya, play in the epic2 that Madhva had, according to the legend, actually to get Vyāsa's permission to rewrite the story, so as to make it complete. It must, on the other hand, be admitted

that there is little resemblance between Manichaeism and Śaṅkarā's theology. The former is dualist and the latter is monist. But Mani's dualism caught the essence of the ideas of the Mikaelian (foreigners), may have become acquainted with Manicheism, and may have adopted it in this way with Śaṅkarā's theory of mūḍa. The question deserves more investigation than has hitherto been given to it.

5. Literature.—The Nyāgāraṇyakā and the Madhyayācaya have been already mentioned. Several editions of these have been published in India. A useful summary of Madhva doctrines will be found on p. 168 of the Sākohilc, viṣṇuyata-vatānagaha, an anonymous work published in the Asiatic Society Series in 1907. A fuller account will be found in Padmanābhaśā, Madhyamikābhāṣya, Bombay, 1905, quoted by Bhagavatār, p. 53. Finally, there is Madhyavīchārya, Sārmād-vatānagaha, of which many editions have been published in India. Of this there is an Eng. tr. by E. E. Cowell and A. E. Gough (2nd ed., London, 1894). The system of Parṇapāṇa, K. Madhva, will be found in ch. v. p. 57 ff. of the translation.

As for works in English or other languages, the Madhvas is contained in 'Account of the Marks Goorooes, collected while Major Mackenzie was at Hurriyang, 1841,' translated on p. 223 ff. of the 'Characters' in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1804 (London, 1806). We next have H. Wilson, Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Himalaya, or the 9th and xvii. of Asiatic Researches, London, 1831, i. 125 ff. A useful little book is C. K. Krishnanand Aiyer, Sri Madhukar and Madhyamikas, Madras, no date. This is the only work utilized in the foregoing pages. See also the following: R. G. Bhagisvarākar, Vaiṣṇavism, Sārmād and Buddhist Systems (=GIAI iii. 6). Strassburg, 1913, p. 57 ff.; id., vol. xviii, 'Dharmav., Bombay, 1894, p. 58 ff. (full account of the history, religion, and customs of the Madhvas of the present day); and G. Venkoba Rao, 'A Sketch of the History of the Madhvas,' beginning in L. Ali, (1914) 232 (refers to C. P. Madhavāchārya, Life of Madhyamikas). For an authentic account of Madhva's doctrines see S. Saitha Rana, The Vedanta-śāstra, with an especially, by Sri Madhuvācaya, a complete Translation, Madras, 1901, The Bhāvanādīdāna, Translation and Commentaries in English according to Sri Madhyavīchārya's Bhākshaka, do. 1906. Both of these are in English. The preface of the latter contains a life of Madhva from the orthodox point of view; cf. also P. Ramachandra Rao, The Brahmin Sūtras; Conceived Literally according to the Commentary of Sri Madhavēchārya (Samākrit text), Kumalakomu, 1902. G. A. GRIEBEN.

MADHYAMAKA, MADHYAMIKAS.—Madhyamakas is the name of a system of Buddhist philosophy, 'the system of the middle way,' the system of the Abhidharma, the adherents of this system are called Madhyamikas.

1. Nāgarjuna.—The work upon which the Madhyamaka philosophy is based, the Mādhyamakakārikā, still survives, and tradition is agreed in ascribing it to Nāgarjuna. Various commentaries have been written upon it: Nāgarjuna's own, the Akṣavādaya; those of Buddhālāpa and Candrakirti, which seem to have a faithful rendering of the author's meaning; and that of Bhāvaviveka, which transmits his personal views. These are two branches of Madhyamaka, but the difference between them has not been studied, and seems to consist in a mere divergence in the method of demonstration.

All this literature is, or will soon be, accessible in the editions of the originals or in translations.1 The Mādhyamakakārikā is probably the authentic work of Nāgarjuna, who flourished about the middle of the 2nd cent., A.D. We know that this mysterious and miraculous person was attached to the household of the Great Vehicle, or Mahāyāna (q.v.), and, in particular, the revelator of the sūtras of the Pañcasādhyāya, the teaching of which is akin to that of the Madhyamakas. It is even possible that several sūtras of the Great Vehicle were first written for the sole purpose of stating the theories of the Madhyamaka philosophy under the guise of words of

1 See literature at end of article.
the Buddha.’ It is difficult to determine what part of the gñāna texts in the translation of the śūtras, 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. All this is possible, probably, to the early centuries of the Christian era, from the first onwards.

2. The Madhyamaka system and its antecedents.

—It is not difficult to show the place occupied by the Madhyamaka in the development of Buddhist philosophy from its beginning, and such a historical sketch is indispensable to a definition of the system itself.

The Buddha had given his revelation as a ‘path,’ or a ‘way’ (avaguna, patha-gata), and had qualified this path by ‘middle’ (madhyama = madhyama), doubtless, as has been often said, because he repudiated two ‘extremes’ (anata)—an exaggerated asceticism (tapasa), and an easy secular life (sukhaloka). But he had also condemned other ‘extremes,’ viz. contradictory theories, such as: ‘Everything exists,’ ‘nothing exists,’ ‘The person who feels is the same as sensation,’ ‘The person who feels is a different thing from sensation.’ The Buddha exists after death, but the Buddha is not after death; and some texts—few, 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 dharmas, and of the negation of the individuals (pudgala, ‘sir’), which is almost exactly the philosophy of the Canon, and finds, from the very first, clear and skilful expression in the theory of dependent origination (patichchedasamuppada, pratityasamutpada).

The Canon teaches that there is no individual (pudgata), 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-nairatmya); he is merely a mass of dharmas following one another in unbroken succession, cause and effect.

What is meant by dharma? This word, as Madhyamaka thinkers say, is easy to understand. Man is a collection, a series of dharmas; everyone, every volition, every sensation, is a dharma. His body is composed of material dharmas. Sound, colour, smell, whatever can be defined as a physical or a mental dharma. The organs of sense and intellect (manas, indriyas) are dharmas of subtle matter. Consciousness, hatred, and delusion are mental dharmas, ‘co-ordinated with thought.’

The dharmas are ‘realities’—things which actually exist, and nothing exists but these elementary realities, which are all doomed to destruction; some, e.g., the mental dharmas and the dharmas forming the successive instants of the existence of a dharma, are nonexistent by moment, while others sometimes last for a long time.

Just as a wagggon is nothing but the collection of the parts of a wagggon, so man is simply the collection of the elementary realities, material and spiritual, which constitute his pseudo-individuality. Apart from dharmas, man and wagggon have only an idea—existence of designation (prajñātāt), as the Buddhists say.

It will be observed that none of these elementary realties exists in isolation, but that every dharma combines with other dharmas to form a more or less solid complex. The four chief elements (maha-bhākata) combine in the formation of every material thing. Anger as a pre-supposed, besides delusion, an elaborate complex of intellectual dharmas—contact, sensation, ideas, and intellecctions; and this intellectual complex presupposes, at least as a rule, a physical complex—body, sense-organs, heat, vital organ, not to mention former actions to be rewarded, which are sometimes regarded as subtle matter.

All dharmas are intimately bound up with its causes and effect; and its essential nature is to be an effect and to be a cause; it is a moment in continuous time. Every thought has as determining causes (prajñāya) a great number of dharmas more or less exterior to itself (object of vision, visual organ, etc.). But its cause, properly so called (ātma), is the thought immediately preceding it—just as every moment of the duration of a flame depends of, course, upon the oil, the wick, etc., yet is, as a matter of fact, the continuation of the preceding moment of the flame. The Buddhists were quick to see that flame and thought are made up of ‘instants’ of flame and thought succeeding each other moment by moment. Extending this observation, they formulated the general theory that ‘the dharmas perish the very moment they are born.’ They perish without any other cause of destruction than their very birth or their nature; they are not merely ‘transitory’ (anatman), as the Buddha said; they are ‘momentary’ (kārya) (cf. art. INDREX). Consequently, the distinction between a stone and a human being: they are both collections, more or less complex, of dharmas, which do not last. The collections last by constituting series, because the dharmas renew themselves—always the same in the case of the stone, often very different in the case of the living being. In the course of an existence our vital organs, sense-organs, etc., renew themselves without any essential modification; volition, on the contrary, creates dharmas—reality, which are different from volition itself. Volition is controlled by judgment; and, when judgment is illumined by the law of the Buddha (yoni maanaśkāra), ‘supranormal actions (lokottara) actions become possible, and these destroy passions, desire, action, and retribution, and make for the realization of nirvāṇa, that is to say, the collection of mental dharmas begins to become impoverished and finally disappears; desire is no longer present to give life to it. Such is the dharma, and it can be summed up in two words: pudgala-nairatmya, the unreality of the individual, and dharmasthitya or dharmakāya-loka, the transitory or momentary character of the dharma.

This phrasism of material dharmas, both long and short, but it did not satisfy the Madhyamaka school, who put a more rigorous interpretation upon the word ‘voni,’ so often applied to the Buddha to everything in general, and held that this philosophy is in its nature not free from the two ‘extremes’ of perpetual duration and annihilation (śaśvata, techohecha), seeing that it inevitably regards nirvāṇa as the annihilation of a series of thoughts. The Madhyamaka school claims to find the true ‘middle’ in denying, not only the unreality of the individual (pudgala-nairatmya), but also the unreality of the dharmas themselves; it denies the existence not only of the being who suffers, but also of pain.

‘Everything is void.’

Nagarjuna and his school seem to hesitate between two positions.

1. Everything takes place as if things and living beings were composed of substantial dharmas, and yet, as if they arrive at nirvāṇa, the hurt caused by the ancients must be followed: eliminate the dharmas which generate new dharmas because they are associated with desire; and insert, in the complex series that constitutes our being, the dharmas of the knowledge that destroys desire, and so arrest the renewal of the dharmas. Yet we do not put
an end to existence by this method, for existence is void of reality in itself, since the dharmas do not exist substantially: we put an end to a processus of‘void’(śūnya) dharmas which renew themselves in‘void’dharma. It is important to observe the nullity of the cause that can arrest the renewal of unreal dharmas in knowledge of their radical and fundamental unreality.

The ancients saw that the essential nature (dharmatā) of things (dharma) is to be produced by concurrent causes (pratītyasamutpāda), independently originated. The Madhyamaka school observes that 'what is produced by causes is not produced in itself, does not exist in itself.' The essential nature of things consists in not being produced in themselves, in being void of all substantial reality—i.e., in 'vacuity' (śūnyatā). This term 'vacuity' has been variously understood. For some it is 'nothingness'; for others it is a permanent principle, transcendent and undelineable, immanent in transient and illusory things. It would be a long and difficult task to explain the mystical significance that it has in certain Buddhist books; we know that it ends by being confused with the term 'vijñata', thunder-bolt, diamond, mythological thing—something intermediate between the Madhyamaka, 'vacuity' is neither nothingness nor a transcendent-immmanent principle, but the very nature of what exists: 'things are not void because of vacuity' (śūnyatā)—conceived as something intermediate—nor because they are void; and they are 'void' because they are produced by causes. 'Vacuity' means 'production by causes', and is only an abstraction, a mere word; 'void means 'produced by causes'.

Therefore, there is a complex processus of dharmas which have no reason in themselves for existing and which cannot exist substantially by reason of their causes, i.e., former dharmas which do not exist by themselves. The following formula explains this clearly: dharmas resembling delusions of magic or reflexions in a mirror (māyopanm, prabhūtābhaya)—we might say 'consequent' dharmas—give birth to dharmas that are equally illusory. Like begets like.

The objection of the realist against the Madhyamaka is, therefore, fruitless: 'If everything is void, then existence and nirvāṇa, impurity and purity, ignorance and wisdom, are the same thing; and the path of salvation does not exist.'

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. Negativity in the end of the production of these phenomena. Impurity is attachment to phenomena conceived as pleasant; purity is complete detachment from phenomena. Ignorance is clinging to the substantiality of phenomena, which induces attachment 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. Negativity in the end of the production of these phenomena. Impurity is attachment to phenomena conceived as pleasant; purity is complete detachment from phenomena. Ignorance is clinging to the substantiality of phenomena, which induces attachment 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. Negativity in the end of the production of these phenomena. Impurity is attachment to phenomena conceived as pleasant; purity is complete detachment from phenomena. Ignorance is clinging to the substantiality of phenomena, which induces attachment and answers it.

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 Musalmans have been comparatively rare. But 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 Telugus in the northern part of the Presidency. The causes that have led to this great movement are mainly social. The out-castes are the hereditary slave or serf of Hindu masters, 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 and possibility of new life, and for the last half century have been crowding into it in thousands. The great force behind the movement, therefore, is a natural human craving for life...
and freedom. At the same time, there is also a strong spiritual element in the movement. In almost every district where it is in progress it has owed either its origin or its power to a few men and the observance 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 is in itself an indication that the movement is bound to have a very striking influence in the future, not only upon the Christian Church itself, but also upon the religious life and thought of India as a whole. A great Christian Church is steadily and rapidly growing up in India from the lowest stratum of Hindu society. The conscience of educated Hindus is becoming awakened to the injustice and the social evils inherent in the caste system. Slowly and surely the work of the Christian Church is preparing the way for a great economic, social, and religious revolution throughout the length and breadth of India.

2. Hinduism.—Hinduism in the Madras Presidency does not differ greatly as regards either its doctrines and 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 Brahmans in the South, but this difference is social and political rather than religious. The Hindu philosopher and the monist of Saunara are more widely held in the South than in the North, mainly owing to the fact that Muhammadanism, with its clear teaching on the unity and transcendence of God, has had a far greater influence there than in N. India. The stern and eloquent worship of Siva, the Destroyer, which has absorbed into itself many elements of the old animistic cults, is the predomi-

nent form of Hinduism; but the worship of Visnu, the Preserver, in all his manifold incarnations, has a large number of devotees, and has a special attraction for the lower castes of Saunara whom it has admitted more freely to its temples than the rival cult of Siva.

3. Animism.—The prevalence of animism in the Madras Presidency is very inadequately represented by the small number of people (683,466) classed as animists in the Government Census. The large majority of the Hindus in the villages, with the exception of the Brahmans, even when they are described as Vishnu and Siva, are not truly Vishnuists or Sivaists, in the same sense that the village deities, the Grama-Devata, are not truly Vishnu or Siva, in the same sense that the village deities, the Grama-Devata, 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 conglomerate of religious beliefs, customs, and ceremonies which are often classed together under the term Hinduism. In almost every village and town of S. India may be seen a shrine or symbol of the Grama-Devata, who is periodically worshipped and propitiated. As a rule, the shrine of the village deity is far less imposing than the Brahm-
nical temples in the neighborhood; very often it is nothing more than a small enclosure with a few rough stones in the centre, and often there is no shrine at all; but still, when calamity overtakes the village, when pestilence, famine, or cattle
disease makes its appearance, it is to the village deity that the whole body of the villagers turn for protection. Siva and Visnu may be more dignified titles, but the village deity is 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 drunk by the worshippers, sometimes sprinkled upon their bodies, sometimes sprinkled on the houses or the gate way of the village, and sometimes mixed with boiled rice and sprinkled all round the village site, and also the sacrificial feast upon the flesh of the victim, connect the sacrifices to the Grama-Devata in India very closely with the animistic sacrifice as it is found all over the world. Traces of human sacrifice, too, are often found in connexion with these cults. In Mysore the present writer came across a ceremony called 'the human sacrifice ceremony,' in which the man who represents the victim, instead of being killed, is simply touched with a bunch of coconut flowers. Lewis Rice states that similar traces of human sacrifice are found among the Coorgs in the hill country to the west of the Mysore State, whose religion is one or two other elements and consists of the worship of ancestors and demons. With reference to the worship of Grana-Devata among them, he says that, as among other Dravidian mountain tribes, so also in Coorg, the tradition relates that human sacrifices were offered in former times to secure the favour of their Grana-Devata, who are supposed to protect the villages from all evil influences. At the present day a he-goat or a cock is often sacrificed instead of a man.

The special features which broadly distinguish the worship of the village deities in S. India from that of Siva and Visnu are three. (1) The fact that the village deities, with very few exceptions, are female: in South India there are almost all the village goddesses have male attend-
ant, who are supposed to guard the shrine and to carry out the commands of the goddesses; and one male deity, Iyayar, has a shrine to himself, and is regarded as the night companion of the village. In the Telugu country there is a being called Potu-Razi, who figures sometimes as the brother and sometimes as the husband of village goddesses, and sometimes as an attendant. But, with the exception of Iyayar and one other deity, all the male deities are so distinctly subordinate to the goddesses that they do not con-
travene the general principle that village deities are female and not male. (2) The fact that the village deities are almost universally worshipped with animal sacrifices. Bullfles, sheep, goats, pigs, and fowls are freely offered to them, some-
times in thousands. In the Tamil country this custom is modified by the influence of Brahmamism, which has induced the villagers to select the best and the most holy and irreligious 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 Pujaris, i.e. the men who perform the worship and officiate as priests, are not Brahmans, but are drawn from the Saunara castes or sometimes from the out-castes. On the other hand, in the temples of Siva and Visnu, the officiating priests are Brahmans, no animal sacrifices are ever offered, and the principal deities are male and not female. The origin of these cults is lost in antiquity; they are certainly pre-Aryan, but have been more or less modified in various parts of S. India by Brahmanical influence. Some details of the ceremonies used in them are to point back to a totemistic stage of religion; some of the deities are obviously agricultural, 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 specially 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 widely prevalent throughout S. India, and have become incorporated in popular Hinduism. Almost every village has its sacred pipal tree, representing a
female, and a marapoo tree, representing a male, plant, are often worshipped together. These two trees are married with the same ceremonies as human beings.

In every house of one section of the Brâhmanas (called Madhvas [p.r.] or Raojis) there is a talwâri plant (sacred to Visnû). The snake is closely connected with Mahîshas and Siva. A cobra forms the bhrumâ (sacred vehicle) on which Visnû rides, and Siva 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 bas-relief erected on raised platforms for the adornment of the public. Brâhmanas and Sûdras 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 singular freedom over the devils by cobra which are reputed to swarm in their houses and crawl in and out among the members of the family without ever doing them any injury.

Demonolatry is very prevalent, especially in the Southern part of the Tamil country, and devil-dancing, performed by a class of men who are supposed to have supernatural powers over the devils, forms a weird feature of the religion of the Tamil villagers. Some diseases, especially nervous maladies, are supposed to be possessed by these devils and are often put to terrible tortures by the exorcist. Red-hot iron needles are sometimes stuck all over their bodies, or they are bound hand and foot, and then beaten with sticks.

The innumerable superstitions connected with popular Hinduism are excellently described by Edgar Thurston in his Omens and Superstitions of Southern India.


H. WHITEHEAD.

MADURA.—Madura is the name of an important District in S. India—260 to 300 miles south of the town of Mâduras. Its capital, Madura, had a population of 134,130 in 1911, and is situated 10° N. lat. by 78° E. longitude. It is a prosperous town, and as with all other busy ports and market towns, it is a stopping place for many of the numerous weavers who are found in the state. The city is about 50,000 weavers. Yet, apart from government and railway works and the Scottish spinning mill, there is hardly one horse power of steam used in the whole community—by which it may very be known that modern prosperity in the East is not necessarily connected with the use of most modern industrial appliances and forces.

Madura is a town of considerable antiquity. It was known to Ptolemy (vii. 6. 89, viii. xxvi. 17) as the capital of the Parsea, and as the centre of the ancient Pándya kingdom whose fame spread westward through the Greeks and Romans even before the advent of the Christian era. Even to-day ancient coins are occasionally discovered in the town and surrounding regions.

Madura has long been designated the Athens of S. India; the ancient and famed Madura College was the source and inspiration of Tamil classical literature for centuries. Many of its most popular legends gather round its poet-saints, the narrative of whose struggles and conflicts is a perennial source of delight to the people.

But it is its great shrine and its vast temple that is the source of its pride and the centre of its life. The town is built around its sacred precincts, all the main streets running parallel to the four walls of the temple. This temple has a past which runs far beyond the history into the misty realm of legend and myth.

The first historical reference is to its partial destruction by Malik Kafür, the famous general of the Mughal emperor, Ahmad Din, in 1510. He destroyed its outer wall and numerous high towers, and left little but the inner shrines, which were saved only by an opportune dissension 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 Nayakan dynasty, by far the most prominent of whom was Tirumala Naik (1520-39).

S. Indian temples are among the most spacious in the world. The Madura shrine is the third in size, but is the first in architectural excellence, best in its upkeep, and most thoroughly devoted to its religious purposes. Its outer walls, which are 25 ft. high, form almost a square (82 ft. by 780 ft.), and enclose an area of about 14 acres. Each wall is surmounted at its centre by a richly embellished 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 displaying marvellous patience and skill. The 'Hall of a Thousand Pillars' (correctly speaking, its pillars are only 985 in number) is the culmination of its architectural claims. Of this, J. Ferguson writes:

"Its sculptures surpass those of any other hall of its class, and are associated with but not by any number but their marvelous elaboration that makes it wonder of the place (Hist. of India and Eastern Arch.)".

This hall is eclipsed, perhaps, by only one other, the so-called Choultry, or Puthu Manipalan, 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 250 years ago, is 330 ft. by 105 ft., and is supported by 124 richly sculptured pillars 20 ft. high. It is a worthy granite monument to one of the great kings of S. India. The whole temple is distinctly Hindu in its architecture—a style in which the arch is entirely absent and densely pillared halls predominate. Its many gateways are pyramidal in form, and are a striking development of the ancient adhar, or pagoda, of Madura.

The temple is one of the most distinguished faneis of Saivism, representing that type of the Brahmanic cult which first appealed to and was adopted by the Dravidian people of S. India. Because this is the more austere form of Hinduism, it is more closely allied than the mild Vaisnavism to the cruel demonolatry of the aboriginal people of that region. This temple and its worship admirably illustrate the habit of the Brahmanic-propaganda, which never antagonized a new and contiguous faith, but rather fraternized with it, then adopted its lending features, and finally absorbed it entirely. Siva's representative in this shrine is Sukkalingam or Sundaresvara. The first name is Dravidian, revealing the non-Brahmanic or non-Aryan origin of the god who was adopted
from the pantheon of the Dravidian cult to that of the Aryan. Later, this S. India manifestation of Siva popularized the northern faith among the people of Madura by marrying the most dreaded demoness of that region—Muns. Muns, doubtless, was an ancient queen who was slain in war, and was soon exalted to the highest place in the Dravidian pantheon. By this marriage the Aryan cult of the north was wedded to the supreme faith of the south, and the great annual marriage-festival of the temple celebrates and perpetuates the union of the two diverse cults in that region. In that most popular festival there is another interesting feature; Minâkâ is said to be the sister of Alâna, a famous Dravidian 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 Saivites and Vaishnavite, fraternize together and bring their offerings to the aggrieved god. Thus, upon this occasion, we find this fragment of that region's Dravidian and demonolatry, most strikingly brought together.

In many ways the worship of this famous Hindu temple reveals a fact which outsiders can understand only with much difficulty. In a certain way, all Dravidian peoples form, and are loyal to that faith. But it is a Hinduisn which is completely impregnated with Dravidian and animistic ideas. The worship of the Aryan deities in S. India is a pious pastime; but the people are still obsessed by their myriad demons, and find their chief religious concern in appeasing them in the many demon shrines which are found in every town and village. Even Kâlî, 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 ammanâs, or demonesses, who haunt that region and terrorize the whole community.

It is thus that we learn what the amorphous thing called Hinduisn 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 heart from time immemorial. The General is given to the religion its outer form and éclat; 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 rooted in the garb of the north. The Madura temple furnishes one of the best illustrations of this animistic type of Hinduisn.


MÉNADS.—The character of the Ménads was long a subject upon which the most mistaken ideas prevailed. The accounts of them given by poets, mythographers, and historians were all jumbled together, and were, moreover, mixed up indiscriminately with the representations of the cult of Dionysus in art, while, 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 representations to order, and to clear the obscurations of the development and character of the Dionysus-cult, was A. Rupp, in his Die Ménade in griechischen Kultus, in der Kunst und Poesie (Rhin. Mus. xxi. 1872) i–ii, 562–611; cf. Roseher, ii. 2243–2253. Then at length the powerful movement introduced into Greece by the new deity, and the influence of that movement upon the suppositioral Ménads. The latter, indeed, are delineated by E. Rohde (Psyche, Tübingen, 1907, ii. 5ff.). The researches of the folklorists among other peoples have also brought to light interesting parallels to the ancient Dionysian cult and customs; 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, 1899, 1899). Dionysus, the lord of the Ménads, of the 'Bacche,' so named after him, was, as is now universally recognized, and as was already known to Aristarchus, not originally a Greek deity, but was derived from 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 Sabos or Sabazios (schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 911 ff.). It is true that Sabazios is also spoken of as a Phrygian deity (red. Ionian, Vaigasite Sabazios, and Dravidianized), but the Thracians and the Phrygians were, in the judgment of the ancients, closely related peoples, and we are not surprised that the worship of the Phrygian national goddess Cybele should show so many points of contact with the Thracian 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 (and in Greece, therefore, subsequently called the 'Great and Minor' Dionysus) by the women dancing in wild frenzy amid the glare of torches, whirlimg dizzyly to the clangour of rude music—the clashing of bronze vessels, the hollow roll of large drums (cf. Cybele), the shrill whistling of flutes—and with loud shouts of 'eii' (which afterwards became 'eccho, evoe, and finally 'evoe'). These raving creatures (παραβαταί; used generally as early as Hom. Il. xxii. 460), with their dishevelled hair streaming in the wind, were clothed in long flowing ἔσχατα (whence they were also called ἐσχατάτες), over which they wore the Ἱβήρια (cf. Ἀρκ. frg. 64, and the pictorial representations), and in their hands they carried serpents, (animals sacred to Sabazios (Theophr. Char. xxx. 4); cf. the παραβάτικα of Polyanx i. in the Aryan festival. The Madura temple furnishes one of the best illustrations of this animistic type of Hinduisn. In their religious frenzy they threw themselves upon the sacrificial animals, tearing them in pieces with their teeth (Eur. Bacch. 786 ff., etc.); but cf. the singular explanation of the practice in Gruppe, p. 731 ff.). In these riots were the banquets of wine played no part; the women used no strong drink to stimulate their frenzy, but, on the contrary, were able to work themselves into such a condition of over-excitement as would bring about the ecstatic state. Their delirium was regarded as a means of compelling their god to appear (Eur. Bacch. 141 ff., 301 ff.; Paus. vi. xxxvi. 1: οἱ τὴν θεὸν σφόν ἔπιθυμον τῷ ὅπλῳ τὴν ἐκπύθην Λέγεσιν). A notable analogy to these practices is found in the leaping of the Perioi in the Tyrol; here, on Shrove Tuesday (cf. art. CARNIVAL, vol. iii. p. 225 ff., esp. p. 228), the Perioi (so named, like the Bacchus, 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 Perioi herself in their midst, and it is even said that she has sometimes manipulated her worshippers (F. A. Voigt, in Roscher, i. 1941). This mimic mock cult, whose votaries were also called Κλάδοφοροι and Μεολάδοι, maintained itself till later times; even Queen Olympias, 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, not seldom startled the court of Philip (Plut. Alex. 61). In the festival of the raving women (Mήσα), which had been brought from Beroia (or A. Frickenhaus, Lenaeuuseum [Programm zum Winckelmannfeste der archäolog. Gesellschaft, Ixxii.], Berlin, 1912). With these designs are mingled others showing a distinct background of mythology, and here we also find names of the Menads, such as Μαγδα, Κορώ, etc. (cf. C. Franke, Satyrz- und Bacchennamen auf Vasebildern, Halle, 1912).

Then later art brought the depiction of that longed-for, actual, ecstasy 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 was the work of the superfluous art of the Hellenistic period.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

J. GEFFCKEN.

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, Gaya, and Shāhābād in S. Bihar. The name Bihār itself, which is now that of a vast district, is evidence of the predominance of Buddhism in these lands, for it was originally the name of a town with a celebrated Buddhist monastery (Skṛ. viṅgāra). Buddha was not born in Magadha, but in the country to the north of it, at the grove of Lumbini (q.v.), near Kapilavatū (q.v.), the Śākya capital in the Nepalese Tarai.

Magadha was the home and the nucleus of two of the greatest Indian empires, the Maurya and the Gupta. It is certainly not longer in the past that Bihār is one of the richest, most fertile, and best irrigated districts in India. As the home of Buddhism and Jainism, it is full of archeological remains of the greatest religious interest.

Its earliest capital activities in very ancient times were in the following order:
- The ancient hill fortresses of the Maurya and Gupta periods
- The ancient city of Gaya, now a great pilgrimage center for Hindus
- The ancient city of Shāhābād, now the capital of the modern district

The modern town of Gaya, although now a place of pilgrimage for Hindus, has no ancient religious associations; 7 miles to the south, however, are the remains of Bodh Gaya, the site of the town in which the Buddha is said to have attained enlightenment (dhi). To the south of Gaya is the hill of Dhoura, the Pragodhi (Po-lo-ki-po-tii) of Hiuen Tsang, with a cave in which the Buddha once rested. Punāwān, 14 miles east of Gaya, is rich in Buddhist sculptures; to the south of it is the sacred hill of Shrāvastī, which has been identified with the Kukkutapagādī of the Chinese pilgrims.
MAQH—MAGI

A. Cunningham, however, recognizes the latter in Karkhisa, which lies some miles to the north. Cunningham and others, however, believe all rich in Buddhist remains, the last-named with a colossal stone image of Buddha. Jetian, or Jakhtitan, is the Ya-yivana (‘bamboo-forest’) of Buddha’s wandering near it at Tapolchan are the hot springs, which the H. Yule of the latter. The latter is the Sattaparni canal which is fed by the Maha-bhera and what had been useful by Indra and Brama for sandalwood to ancient Buddha’s body. In the hill of this region, the present place is called ‘Magha’—Magadha—Magh—Magi. In this north-eastern part of the Japanese, a tiger was the place of the Buddha’s visit of 543 B.C.; according to Cunningham, this is the modern Son Bhadrar on the cave of the southern side of the hill. The ancient hill of Buddha is the pipal-tree cave of Pa-Han in which Buddha used to meditate after his meals. On the top of this hill there still is a small Jain temple; Ratnargr is the perad of the Pali chronicles and the Ruirati of the Mahabbhara. The extensive ruins at the modern Baragendra are the ancient Nalika. In the ancient Central India, the greatest center of Buddhist learning in ancient India. Near Girak on the Panchana river a bathing festival is held annually to commemorate Kpna’s crossing of the river in his war to Java males, or Sasanar, Monghly, and Shergarh are rich in relics of Mughulian architecture. At Sitamarhi is a cave with which a legend of Setha is associated. The annual bathing festival of Sonpur, 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 the elephant rescued the elephant from the crocodile, and here Rama built a temple. At Aksar there is a fine sculpture of the varaha (bear) and Visha


MAGAS.—See Sauras and Magas.

MAGH.—Magh, or, popularly, Mugh, Mugi, is the designation of a group of Indo-Chinese tribes, numbering 1,924,5 at the Census of 1911, practically all confined to Bengal. The derivation of the name is uncertain. A. P. Phayre (Hist. of Burma, London, 1884, p. 47); cf. H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Holom-Johnson*, Vol. 18, 1903, p. 594) connected it with Maguha, or Mugna, modern Bihar, while L. Vivien de St. Martin (J. W. McCrimmle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1877, p. 183, note) identified the Magh with the Maccoalinga of Piny (HAL VI. xxii. 6).

1 All Maghas are Buddhists of the Southern school, and regard the Northern Buddhists of Tibet as wholly unorthodox. The wiser sections of the Thonghas, 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. On the other hand, the tendency is to follow after modern Hindustani, particularly in its Tartar developments, and to add the gross worship of Siva and Jaura to the simple observances prescribed by their own communion. It comes to pass that while the ancient Phayra or Holom is the recognized priest of the tribes, considerable respect is shown to Brahmin, who are frequently employed to determine auspicious days for particular actions, and to assist in the worship of the Hindu gods. Among the Thonghas old women often devote themselves to the service with great devotion, and with special ceremonial functions, are regarded as some sort of priestresses, and are called by the distinctive name tenta. (H. H. Reid, TC. 8. 24. 7. 4, 1896.)

2 The people thus described are the Khymongtha of the hill tracts of Chattogong, who, as R. L. Luce states (Hill Travels of Chattogong, Calcutta, 1869, p. 37; *Wild Races of S.-E. India*, London, 1874, p. 36), are known to the Bengalis of the plains as ‘Hill Mugh,’ and are to be carefully distinguished from the true Magh of the Chattogong District, otherwise called Bhag, the Maghas of the offshoot of Bengal women by Burmans, when the latter possessed Chattogong. They supply the famous Magh cooks, well known in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal. The Magha are Buddhists and believe in the doctrine of transmigration of souls; but 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 Gantama 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 its temple (bhag), a bamboo structure built under the shade of some trees, inside which, on a small raised platform of bamboo, stands an image of Gantama, made either of gilded wood or of alabaster, the figure being in a sitting posture, with a regal-shaped headress indicative of superior power. Before it the village girls lay offerings of flowers and rice every morning, and, at the same time, bring the daily food of any priest or wayfarer who may be resting there. By the side of the image hangs a cylindrical bamboo vessel, containing the village, after removing his turban and bowing to the semblance of the Teacher, rings to announce his presence. Each one prays 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 jungle for the purpose of sowing their crops, the boys are clothed in yellow robes of the priesthood, have their heads shaved, and go through a rite before the image, which is to be an assumption on their part of religious 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.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article.

MAGI.—1. The name (Gr. Mages) is, in Old Pers. *Mages* is familiar to us from the classical writers, and from two appearances in the NT. It meets us first on the Behistun Inscription of Darius, where the kind describes (D. Pers. text i. 35 ff.) as gentes or races, *Ma-r-ga* (Garmata; in Magi) and his own successful plot against him, by which he restored the Achaeonian dynasty to its ancient throne. There is nothing in the NT to show what *Mago* meant, and we must fall back on our Greek sources, Herodotus first, and the rest *longo intervolo*. In Herod. i. 101 we are told that *Magas*, *Mago*, and four others were *Mages* (see text). The six names were explained as Aryan caste-titles by J. Oppert long ago (Le Peuple des langue des Medes, Paris, 1832, p. 7; and again, on different lines, by A. J. Carnoy (Musul. new ser. ix. (1898) 121 ff); the tolerable certainty that live are Aryan makes a strong presumption that *Mago* must be interpreted from the same language group.

The etymology, however, must be left undecided. Putting aside some attempts of Semitists to claim it, we have at least two plausible analyses which do not clash with special ceremonial functions, are regarded as some sort of priestesses, and are called by the distinctive name tenta. (H. H. Reid, TC. 8. 24. 7. 4, 1896.)

1 Ancient Geography of India, p. 462.
2. While the Magi were thus a distinct caste of Medians, and apparently the recognized leaders of the subject population in the time of Aryan (Persian) domination, there is no reason for doubting that their ascendancy was essentially religious, like that of the Brahmins in India. Darius writes of his repairing temples which the Magus had destroyed (Es. [Pers. text] 1:65-66), and so far the inscription favours the view that the departure of the Magi was occasioned by the nature-worship, as described most accurately by Herodotus (i. 131 ff.); they had only to emphasize certain clear points of resemblance between their own religion and that of the Aryan, veneration of the sun and of the chief stars, and others of the sun-race. It is significant of course, that the scanty reference does not definitely prove anything one way or another. But the testimony of Herodotus and all later classical writers is so unanimous and precise that we need not doubt their bold bid for political supremacy, as leaders of the people against Aryan invaders, they began to build up power upon their popular vogue as shamans. It was easy to insinuate themselves into the old storehouses of religious tradition and authority, to replace the old sun-worship by the new, the ancient sun-gods by the Aryan Mithras, the shafts of tamarisk by the tower of Babel. Babylon spread, babylon, it was babylon, in the east.

3. This notice enables us to trace the Magi in a separate activity as far back as 591 B.C., when they were occupied primarily in building the temple of Bel in Babylon. This is quite in keeping with what we know of them. Their contemporary appearance in Babylon is probably attested by Jer 20:1-13, where "the Rab-Mag" appears among Nebuchadnezzar's officers (for alternative views of Rab-Mag see the Oxford Lexicon and EBi, s.v.). H. Zimmermann and H. Winckler (KAT 3, 416) explain the Rab-Mag's name, Nergal-shurezer, as "Nergal, protect the king"; and in their account of Nergal they express the opinion that the Magi who in the Later Avesta has features which could be very easily connected with Babylon. The head of a caste of exorcists, who by their charms can keep the Satan from harming the king, is wholly in place at court. We compare at once the apotropaic functions of the Magi in Phutarch, de Is. et Osir. 46. We may add to this small but important peculiarities several other traits by which the Magi may be distinguished from the Persians in religion, whether in the earlier or the later stages of what we now call Parsism. First come two conspicuous features recognized from the first by Greek writers as Magian and not Persian: (1) their exposure of the bodies of the dead to birds and carrion dogs was distinguished by Herodotus (i. 140) from the Persian custom of burial after encaustic in wax. It has pronounced aboriginal affinities, and was neither Semitic nor (almost certainly) Aryan. Coupled with this was their insistence on next-of-kin marriage, which they believed extravagantly for its accumulations of merit. It was never accepted by the Persians, and never found its way into the Avesta (see on this Moultou, p. 203 f.), first appearing in the Pahlavi writings of the Sassanian age as an important of developed Parsism. But modern Parsism repudiates it with the utmost emphasis, and its scholars attempt the heroic, and impossible task of denying that their ancestors meant anything of the kind (see art. MAJUS (Ir.); § 2). The very name of magic attests the strength of their association, in the mind of antiquity, with an accomplishment altogether ignored in the Avesta, and never countenanced in Parsism. Equally ignored is (4) astrology, with which the Magi were traditionally credited. But the Avesta, while it has plenty of starlore, and some mythology, has never a hint of ideas belonging to astrological conceptions. A curious point under this is the inconsistent views of the planets held 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 by the names of the planets, belonging, including Ormazd himself. These names are simply equivalents for the Babylonian terms, like which the names we have taken over through the later Greek and the Romans, so that the date is later-Avestan. Thus, the Magi put the planets into the creation of Ahriman because of their irregular motion, while the Parsis generally believed in their beneficence. There is the same kind of discrepancy in (6) the views of mountains, which in Aryan and Semitic mythology alike were venerated as divine, but by the Magi were treated as lots on the symmetry of creation, to be smoothed out when the regeneration came. It will be seen that most of these peculiar traits, by which we may distinguish the Magi, were habits of people whose religion they adopted and adapted, 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, or somehow linked with the Medes. This led to neither of the two great races which divided Near East between them. To what stock they belonged we may not be able to say. L. H. Gray (ExpT xxv. [1914] 257) points out that these were Magi in India, about whom we hear in the Bhāṣyag Parāṣa and the Pitṛatāvaitakā; 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 to India 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 L. O. D. C. Casatielli (Manchester Guardian, Dec. 31, 1913) and L. H. Gray is the writer to epitomize here the thesis set forth in his Early Zoroastrianism, chs. vi. and vii. (cited also by Geldner, in Tabi 1914 [1914] 257).

4. Pursuing this thesis further we are led to credit the Magi with all that is fairly called "dualistic" in Parsism. There is nothing really new in this, it may be noted that Zoroaster is identified with Iranian Magus; but Magus may be borrowed as a foreign word with altered declension (the form Magus also occurs in the Indian Pur). This word is of Ionic origin, which suits our theory. See, on the Magus, art. ZARAN and MAGUS.
dualistic in Zarathushtra’s Gathas. The very name of Ahriman (angra mainyu, ‘enemy spirit’; see art. AHRIMAN) occurs only once there (Vz. xlv. 2b), as a casual epithet and not a fixed title. The good and evil spirits named as such in these two books of the Gathas, at the very beginning, but there is never any real question as to the source of the strife between them; one whose perpetual counsel is ‘Resist the devil and he will flee’ can never be called a dualist. But the Magi, on Plutarch’s express testimony, offered sacrifices to Ahriman. 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 resurrection among the world the divinities of Ormuzd and creations of Ahriman. This is practically absent from the Gathas, and even from the Yoshts, where a pure Iranian nature-worship shows small sign of influence from Zarathushtra on the one hand or the Magi on the other. The prose Avesta (excluding the early Gatha hayyantanghiti)—which by the loss of metre and the presence of much dubious grammar proclaims itself composed in a virtually dead language—is full of this dualism, and has to be balanced between the two camps; different terms are used for the head, hand, voice, etc., of an Ormuzd-worshipper and those of an Ahrimanian. Every yazata has a demonic opponent; but we note that the latter has been replaced by a political ascendant, and that the friends are often of manifestly 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 dualism implied such a personification of the world that it must have been argued for, and with that apparently called forth the declaration of Is 45. The presence of such a system in Babylonia during the Exile suits our view of the Magi as shamans exercising influence far beyond their own land of Media, and the presumption adds something to the case for recognizing the Rab-Mag as an apxgiasis. We may observe that, if Judaism emphatically denied this dualistic assigning of darkness to an evil demiurge, Zarathushtra himself was so clear in his claim that Mazda made the night as well as the day (Vz. xlv. 5).

5. We are reduced mainly to conjecture when we ask what was the Magian eschatology. That death must be abolished if Ormuzd is at last to conquer his opponent, according to his standing Avestan epithet—seems a natural inference from their first principles. We know, further, that they pictured a regenerate world in which such visionary features as mountains would disappear, and the earth would become a ‘hopeless 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 Theophrastus, declared that the Magi taught the future resurrection of men to a deathless existence. This excellent 4th cent. authority may, of course, be describing only the doctrine of Persian religion in his own time, when the Magi were their long-established priests. But the extract apparently connects this immortality with a doctrine that looks rather characteristic of the Magi themselves. The locuciones in Plutarch, already quoted, is ordinarily taken as silent to any doctrine of a resurrection amongst the Magi. But E. Botkin, (Die Verwandschaft der persisch-rabimischen mit der para. Eschatologie, Göttingen, 1862, p. 1022), argues that in Plutarch’s quotation from Theopompus we should translate ‘Hades is to be deserted,’ which agrees with the other accounts of the testimony of Theopompus. The absence of any doctrine of immortality in Tobit (cf. the Jewish choice in the beginning) does not exclude the possibility (as in Moulton, p. 416) as a contributory argument. For, whether the book is rightly or wrongly held (as by Moulton, ch. vili. and p. 332ff., and D. C. Simpson in the Oxford Apocrypha) as containing a Median folk story rewritten by a Jew, we must admit that the adapter was not likely to include that element unless he agreed with it, which, if the date was early, he would not do. It is clear that, if Zarathushtra’s eschatology came before the rise of the Magi, the latter were then, in part, at least, described by Magian ideas, it was very little likely to attract the thinkers of Israel. The common belief that the rise of the doctrine of immortality in post-Exilic Judaism owed some real stimulus to Persian influence becomes less and less probable as the history of early Zoroastrianism is investigated more thoroughly.

6. Such, then, in outline were the Magi as a sacred tribe, so far as our information allows us to isolate them from the Jewish views during the Exilic period. Their beliefs were held, apparently organized and a systematized by the Magians, and the early literature which we have, is characterized by the long established presence of Magian ideas. They were not, however, systematically taught, as we may gather from the writings, in which the YHVH is so important as the God of the Jews, to which the evidence of the Magians is less important than the evidence of the Persians. The Jewish testimony shows us how far we should not find the beliefs of the Jewish and Gentile Magi, as we may learn from the later development of Zoroastrianism in Persia, and it is clear that they made a considerable contribution towards the development of the Jewish religion.

7. Later developments of Magianism belong to the history of Zoroastrianism as established under the Sassanian dynasty. It only remains here to add a few words about the Magi as they figure in the Nativity story of our First Gospel. To discuss the historic credibility of that story, or the various theories that ‘many-syllabled’ about the Magi, must be left to the dictionaries of the Bible. Here it suffices to connect the foremost traits of the Magi, as described above, with points in the story of Mt 2. That these Μαγοι ἀπὸ ἅπαντος appear to the picture as experts in dream-interpretation and in star-legends, is clear. It is noteworthy, therefore, that Mt 2, so far as its testimony goes, isolates the Magi from Persian religion, which, as we saw, has practically no room for them. Our early Greek witness, Θεοπόμπος, according to an important statement of Theophrastus, declared that the Magi taught the future resurrection of men to a deathless existence. This excellent 4th cent. authority may, of course, be describing only the doctrine of Persian religion in his own time, when the Magi were their long-established priests. But the second extract apparently connects this immortality with a doctrine that looks rather characteristic of the Magi themselves. The locuciones in Plutarch, already quoted, is ordinarily taken as silent to any doctrine of a resurrection amongst the Magi. But E. Botkin, (Die Verwandschaft der persisch-rabimischen mit der para. Eschatologie, Göttingen, 1862, p. 1022), argues that in Plutarch’s quotation from Theopompus we should translate ‘Hades is to be deserted,’ which agrees with the other accounts of the testimony of Theopompus. The absence of any doctrine of immortality in Tobit (cf. the Jewish choice in the beginning) does not exclude the possibility (as in Moulton, p. 416) as a contributory argument. For, whether the book is rightly or wrongly held (as by Moulton, ch. vili. and p. 332ff., and D. C. Simpson in the Oxford Apocrypha) as containing a Median folk story rewritten by a Jew, we must admit that the adapter was not likely to include that element unless he agreed with it, which, if the date was early, he would not do. It is clear that, if Zarathushtra’s eschatology came before the rise of the Magi, the latter were then, in part, at least, described by Magian ideas, it was very little likely to attract the thinkers of Israel. The common belief that the rise of the doctrine of immortality in post-Exilic Judaism owed some real stimulus to Persian influence becomes less and less probable as the history of early Zoroastrianism is investigated more thoroughly.

LITERATURE.—Greek and Latin lost classics are collected in A. Rapp’s two papers, ZDMG xx. (1869) 189 and xx. (1889) 184-191. Those whose Zoroastrian contents are conveniently studied together in A. V. W. Jackson, Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, New York, 1919. The account of the gospels is given largely on the writer’s own discussion in the writer’s subject Early Zoroastrianism (IL), London, 1917.

JAMES HOPPE MOUTH.
MAGIC (Introductory).—I. History of the term and problem of its definition.—In any general treatment of the subject of magic the problem of its definition must occupy the chief place, seeing that it constitutes a veritable storm-centre in the anthropological literature of the present day. As so often happens when a word belonging to the common language, and used in vague and conflicting ways, is taken over by science that it may correspond to some precise concept, theorists interested in different and more or less incompatible concepts claim exclusive rights over the same technical term; so that, if they are at all equally matched, the term becomes for the time being ambiguous, i.e., it answers to more concepts than one. Something of this kind has occurred in regard to the word 'magic.' It may be instructive, then, to begin with a glance at some of the meanings it has been given to by philologists. It is, of course, the lineal descendant of the Gr. μαγεία and the Lat. magia, which in their strictest sense refer simply to the religion, learning, and occult practices of the Persian Magi, or priests of the sect of Zoroaster, in the form in which they became known to the West (see art. MAGI). Such matters, however, being both foreign and ill-understood, would naturally be more or less suspect. Hence the word tends from the first to carry with it the unfavourable associations summed up in the notion of witchcraft (see, for instance, Hesychius, s. v. ψαργ, which he identifies with μαγεία, and Pliny, HN xxx. 11; and for further references cf. H. Hubert, in Durenberg-Saglio, s. v. 'Magia'). These associations the equivalent words in the various languages of modern Europe have never lost. Bacon's attempt to rehabilitate magia as natural science in its operative aspect (de Augmentis scientiarum, iii. ad fin.) proved quite abortive. Thus it comes about that the nature, as anthropologist in attributing to a given people can hardly do without at the same time implying that it is something inferior and bad—something that, however prevalent it may be, belongs to the lower levels or even to the pathology of mind and society. A survey of representative views on the subject will bring out the fact that, in this respect at least, most, if not all, theories tend to be at one.

2. Representative views.—As far back as 1870 E. B. Tylor laid it down that the 'confusion of objective with subjective conception, ... so uniform in principle, though so various in details, ... may be applied to explain one branch after another of the arts of the sorcerer and diviner, till it almost seems as though we were coming near the end of his list, and might set down practices not based on this mental process, as exceptions to a general rule' (Researches into the Early Hist. of Mankind, p. 129). He adds that the same state of mind will account for its taking, many of the food-preparations of the savage, for instance, depending on the belief that the qualities of the eaten pass into the eater (ib. p. 133). Such an attitude of mind he characterizes as one of 'gross superstition and delusion' (ib. p. 119), even while allowing that at a stage of development when human life was more like a long dream such a system of error was perfectly 'intelligible' (ib. 159 f.). He pursues the same line of explanation in his later work, Primitive Culture, where magic is described as 'occult science,' i.e., a 'pseudoscience' (3rd ed., i. 112, 119). 'The principal key to the understanding of occult science is to consider it as based on the association of ideas, a faculty which lies at the very foundation of human reason, but in no small degree of human unreason also' (i. 115 f.). He adds a dissertation on the utility of magic arts, in which he maintains that 'in the whole monstrosities farrago there is practically no truth or value whatever' (i. 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' (i. 150). The 'symbolic magic' of the savage and modern spirituists, in his view, is nothing but a misapplication of fallacies to which the human mind is naturally prone (see ch. iv., passim, esp. ad fin.).

J. G. Frazer (The Golden Bough) maintains a position which in most respects is identical with that of Tylor. In the second edition (1900) 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 latter is the view involved in sympathetic magic (GB i. 9), though the savage acts on it, not only in magic art, but in much of the business of daily life (ib. 31). In the second edition (1900) Frazer lays far more stress on the 'fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle between magic and religion,' being influenced especially by the theories of H. Oldenberg (Die Religion in ihren Ursprüngen, Berlin, 1894), F. B. Jevons (Introduction to the History of Religion, London, 1896), and A. C. Lyall ('Asiatic 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 ii. p. xvi). He still represents magic as 'next of kin to science,' since the two have in common the 'general assumption of a succession of events determined by law.' Magic is nevertheless 'the bastard sister of science.'

'All magic is necessarily false and barren; for were it ever to become true and fruitful, it would no longer be magic but science.'

All cases of sympathetic magic resolve themselves en analysis into mistaken applications of the laws of the association of ideas by similarity and contiguity, 'Legitimately applied' these same principles 'yield science; illegitimately applied they yield magic' (ib. p. 62).

Religion, on the other hand, 'is opposed in principle to both to magic and to science, since its fundamental assumption is that the course 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, through the former often extend to control spirits, treating them, however, exactly as

Egyptian (A. H. Gardiner), p. 262.


Indian (H. A. Rose), p. 283.


Jewish (M. Gaster), p. 300.

Slavic (L. A. Magnus), p. 305.


Vedic (A. A. MacDowell), p. 311.
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,' 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 abstained from a truer theory of nature (ib. pp. 73, 75). In the third edition (1911) these main theories 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:

- **Sympathetic Magic** (Law of Sympathy)
- **Homoeopathic Magic** (Law of Similarity)
- **Contagion Magic** (Law of Contact)

While the whole erroneous system, both theoretical and practical, which answers to the name of magic is the practice of any aspects according to the following tabular form:

![Diagram of Magic Types]

(See GEI, pt. i., The Magic Art, i. 64 and 713.)

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 sympathetic magic, with its two great laws of similarity and contact (ib. i., p. 26 f.).

E. S. Hartland (Ritual and Belief, London, 1914) enters 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. It is venture to suggest that man's emotional response to his environment, in his interpretation of the terms of personality of the objects which encountered his attention, and in their inversions by him with potentiality, atmosphere, orenda, nature —call it by what name you will—we have the common root of magic and religion' (p. 60).

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, purchase, or by study and practice in the conventional methods, has acquired the most powerful orenda. 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 had, in a word, possessed himself of their orenda. The union of these two professions in one person is not adventitious; it is probably fundamental' (p. 50 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.

N.B. "Conveys the notion of power, by whatsoever means acquired, wielded by the magician as his own, and not as that of a higher being whose cooperation is only obtained by supplication and self-abasement" (p. 86).

On his view prayers and sacrifices are magical processes just in so far as a constraining power is attributed to them; and he asks, 'Have analogous beliefs in the magical powers of a rite even yet disagreed from Christianity?' (p. 87).

Religion, on the other hand, is an organized system, whose objects, so far as they are personal, are endowed with functions which are to be apprehended with the imagination, or may not grant the prayers of their suppliants. ... Where the object is impersonal, or is but vaguely personal, it is none the less treated with reverence and submission by the remote and un-assuming man; it is the object of an emotional attitude, actively directed towards it. The object thus, even when it is not personal, tends to become so' (p. 88).

A. Lehmann of Copenhangen (Aberglaube und Zauberer von den alledemten Zeiten an bis in die Gegenwart, Stuttgart, 1898) defines superstition (Aberglaube) as the following: 'The whole system of religious and sorcery which fails, in order 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 Zauber) is any practice which is engendered by superstition, or is explained in terms of superstitious notions (p. 6 f.). By insisting on the essential relativity of these two ideas he claims to have avoided many difficulties that puzzled former inquirers. For instance, if it be asked how magic is to be distinguished from miracle, the reply is that it is all a question of standpoint, Aaron performing miracles while his Egyptian rivals are mere magicians (p. 9). For the rest, he finds two more or less independent theories to be equally at the back of magic, whether it be the belief of the spurious magician, the spiritist, which relies on the intermediation of personal agents, and the occultist, which calls into play mysterious powers of nature (p. 314).

H. Hubert and M. Mauss ('Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' in ASoci., 1909, p. 87) start from the conception of rites. Rites are traditional acts that are efficacious in a non-mechanical way, thus involving the notion of mana (q.v.), or wonder-working power (p. 14; cf. p. 138). Such a notion underlies the idea of the sacred as something divine, the spiritist, which relies on the intermediation of personal agents, and the occultist, which calls into play mysterious powers of nature (p. 21 f.). The differentia of magical rites 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 decomposition 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 to do justice, but which must be remembered, from a strictly sociological standpoint, and throughout regards magic and religion not as phases of mind, but as social institutions, having as such a reality of their own determinable in terms of form and function.

Arnold van Gennep (Les 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 assigns the terms '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 metaphysic, while the practice founded on another theory becomes science. For the rest, the mysterious forces which are the objects of magico-religious theory may be conceived equally well under an impersonal or a personal form; and, correspondingly, in magic, whether it issue in positive acts or in abstractions—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)

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<tr>
<td>dynamism</td>
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<td>totemism</td>
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2. Practice (Magic)

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<td>sympathetic contagious</td>
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Wilhelm Wundt (Völkerpsychologie, vol. ii, pts. ii. and iii., Leipzig, 1907-09) makes myth or belief the ultimate source of cult or ritual, since the latter is but the former put into practice. There is but one mythical idea at the back of all rites, namely, the idea of soul, and from it are generated in succession three forms of cult, magic, fetishism, and totemism, which by reaction cause the idea of soul to develop correspondingly. To deal only with the first of these, magic in its primeval form consists in associating or transferring the actual soul on soul, as when the evil eye is feared, while the secondary form consists in supposed action from a distance, when the soul-influence makes itself felt indirectly by means of a symbol (il. 46f.). Thus Wundt is entirely opposed to the Frazerian theory that magic implies a theory of natural causation on the part of the savage. On his view, while ordinary events are accepted as a matter of course, extraordinary events, demanding as they do a theory that will account for them, are at first ascribed to the soul-power or will of a man, and later (when the stage of magic is transcended) to that of a magnified man, or god, similar soul-power or will being ascribed to inanimate objects and to animals at the intermediate stages of fetishism and totemism.

Here perforsche must end the survey of representative views, those selected for examination at least exemplifying the wide diversity of the notions which it is sought for purposes of science to impose on a highly plastic, since popular, term. Now the purely verbal side of the question need not be a source of trouble. If the things are envisaged distinctly, the words may be trusted to look after themselves. Thus in the present case there are evidently different concepts answering to separate aspects of human life; and it will be sufficient for the present purpose if these aspects are discriminated, so that terminology may be given the chance of adjusting itself to the facts.

3. Magic as a general name for rudimentary cult.—On any theory of the evolution of religion which represents it as a single movement falling into distinct stages, there is the primary first stage of minimum development immediately preceded by a stage of what Bacon would call abscia in proximo,—a pre-religious stage, as it might be termed. Now, since the word "magic" tends to bear an unchangeable sense, nothing is more natural than to dub magical whatever fails to come up to the evolutionary standard which religion is more or less arbitrarily taken to embody. It hardly matters whether, after the manner of Frazer, an age of magic is held to have preceded the age of religion, or whether, in the style of Wundt, magic is identified with the lowest form of religion. In either case magic answers to something to which is assigned an unfavourable, because inferior, place in the evolutionary scheme 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 mass 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 primitiveness cannot be identified off-hand. At most, then, it is with the help of psychological and sociological considerations of a general type that a primordial stage of mind and society can be theoretically posited, out of which determinate religion may be shown to have emerged by some sort of subsequent process. Such general considerations suggest that, just as Jourdain talked prose before he realized the fact, so the primitival 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 ideas concerning the how and why of what was being done. Certain recurrent situations in the social life of a tribe, as for example, the killing of a human being, is wholly subordinate to the social so long as mere gregariousness prevails—induce states of emotional intensity. The emotions must find a vent somewhere. They do either through activities directed to not accidental acts of soul on soul, or through the ritualization of superstitions with the concomitant activities of social life. In either case habit entwines with 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 performers and 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 accompaniments of custom which do not explain themselves so readily—for, instance, wearing such a garb, uttering certain words, and the like—may well seem to call for justification even to the unthinking savage, who will at least then suspect a 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 'protreptic' rites, as they might be termed, which, while affording emotional relief, act likewise on the whole as preparations for the business of life—very much as play does, in the case of the young—then accretions in the way of accidental features due to custom are likely to be more pronounced, inasmuch as there is no discipline of hard fact to impose bounds on the action. Meanwhile, in proportion as these secondary activities conform to the same stimuli as the primary, in the way in which they are the by-product, as, for instance, when the hunting interest overflows into a pantomimic rehearsal of the chase, they will wear an initiates appearance, though in reality being 'repercussions' rather than imitations. When, however, an ex post facto justification of them becomes necessary, it is quite natural that the doctrine that they have 'power' should implicate the belief that their seemingly imitative character has something to do with their efficacy. It is putting the
MAGIC and genuine magic tend to make them better treated as a part of ritual, namely, as observances of negative prescriptions, which will invariably be found to form one context with sundry other positive prescriptions. Magic is, not even natural according to the ordinary usage of 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 needs to be pushed (see Notes and Queries on Anthropology, issued by the Royal Anthrop. Institute, London, 1912, section on "The Study of Magico-Religious Facts, p. 251 f.).

4. Magic as a name for the black art and allied developments.—The view which has just been discussed and deprecated, that identifies magic with rudimentary cult as a whole, may be said to draw a horizontal line between magic and the later and more evolved products of the same tendencies which rudimentary cult embodies. The other view, which will notice neither the civilised onlooker ranks them. For the rest, in so far as these relatively unidented discharges of the social energy need any supporting doctrine, they would seem to find it, not in any philosophy about like producing like, but in some ideas that appear quite late in the history of thought—but in vague notions of the mana type (see MANA). In other words, the savage comforts himself with the theory that these magical practices work, but is content to feel and know of the work without being able to explain it. On the whole, it would seem a pity for the evolutionist to apply a term redolent of disparagement to what on his view is a genuine phase of the serious life as lived under certain conditions of culture. It is far less question begging to predicate religion throughout (unless, indeed, one is prepared to follow van Gennep, and predicate magic throughout as well as a general name for the practical side of religion—which is surely an abuse of language). The science of comparative religion, if it is to do its work properly must in particular 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 these early forms of cult in which this principle appears to predominate, he will be inclined to label his collections of specific ceremonies 'hunting magic,' 'productive magic,' and thus describe rites of the intichiuma type, which bear on the increase of food-animals and plants), 'agricultural 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 like, or unlike, or not.

So, again, tabus are better treated as a part of ritual, namely, as observances of negative prescriptions, which will invariably be found to form one context with sundry other positive prescriptions.
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namely, the suggestibility leading sooner or later to death on the part of one who satisfies himself the easy life. But this is far personal experience as a medical man of five or six such cases 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 every accident or incident of a insanious disease.

An individual becomes incapacitated through some chronic and painful illness which does not answer to the various abdominal methods of treatment or materia medica: the illness weighs upon his mind, and after a time he becomes more and more confirmed in his conviction that someone has been "pointing" the patient (日夜scholastic phraseology, that a "worm, pimple, flower, etc., has been put inside him and his blood removed" (W. E. Roth, Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aboriginals, Brisbane, 1897, p. 154).

Indeed, it has often been observed that the savage scarcely recognizes the fact of "natural" death, so ready is he to attribute the evil to some sinister pass of some particular individual or at least to the machinations of persons unknown (cf. art. Life and Death [Primitive], § 7). From these vaguer attributions of ill-will to one’s neighbours it is but a step to the concept of magical influence, independent of the will and intention of any person at all. Varions more or less impertinent forms of evil—such as the arunguynta of the Arunta (Spencer-Gillen, 1898, p. 626 n.), the adpow of the Hunter’s N. E. H. Bowen, in Anthropological Researches, iv. 1902, p. 37), or the beli of the Malays (W. W. Skeat, Malay Magic, London, 1899, p. 94)—are regarded as malignant and destructive agencies in their own right, much as one thinks of the plague or 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, again, the witch-doctor do to foster the evil reputation of the physician by their highly flamboyant accounts of the dreadful arts which it is their professional privilege to be able to counteract, one might almost be tempted to declare that the science of medicine is to be reduced to a combination of fear wedded to ignorance and credulity. But this would be to go too far. There seems good evidence that in Australia men and even women, despite the fact that black-magic practised within the gates is not seldom to be punished by death, wreak their vengeance in this way on their private enemies. Roth’s own black servant, a mere layman, actually dared to point the bone at a native doctor, the latter dying about a fortnight later (A.Gillen, Bull. Ethnol. Soc. Paris, 1912, 1914, p. 354). At most, then, it may be surmised that for every case of genuine guilt there are far more false accusations; and, in short, generally, in every witch-haunted society, whether it be native Australia or 19th 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 respectable purposes. Thus among the Arunta of Central Australia such magic is chiefly resorted to in order to bring about a runaway match. It is true that, according to native ideas, it is merely a case of one tribal husband trying to entice the woman away from another tribal husband, so that, as Spencer and Gillen say, “It is a breach of manners but not of custom” (c, p. 544). Even so, however, it would seem to be the case that it is a novelty to large kin formation and social structure, to a general conflict within the group, or between one local group and another, so that its anti-social tendency is bound in the long run to become tolerably 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 ritual acts may be placed in the same determinate class by themselves, whereas over against this class can be set in contrast another class of rites, entirely similar as regards the general nature of their mechanism, but embodying entirely different motives of a basis disease.

Broadly speaking, all public rites have this common quality of being illicit and repellant, since the fact that they are the recognized custom of the community is taken as a sufficient guarantee that they exist for the betterment of the common weal. Thus the totemic ceremonies of the Central Australians, the object of which is the increase of the food-animals and plants, occupy exactly the same place in the life of the people as is filled by the rites of other religions. Hence E. Durkheim (Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse, Paris, 1912) takes the totem system of Australia as the typical instance of a elementary religion, whereas Frazer, adopting what has been termed the horizontal line of division between the 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 of the religious and the horizontal line of divinity, of magic and religion, than the case of the Malays, in the way in which they are regarded as illicit. A man had no right to enter into private relations with supernatural powers that might help him at the expense of the community to which he belonged. In his relations to the house he was bound always to think and act with and for the community, and not for himself alone.

Granting, however, that in the small undifferentiated society private enterprise is suspect, we must recognize that, as the division of labour develops and the individual asserts himself more and more, the law is increasingly ready to sanction, or at least condone, the use of magic for securing personal ends, such as the protection of property by talismanic marks having the force of conditional curses (see P. Huvelin, Magic et droit individuel, in J. Soc. x. [1907] 1 f.; and cf. M. Mauss and M. H. Beuchot, iv. iv. [1906] 117, on the magico-religious significance of the Eskimo property-marks). For the rest, there will always be in every society a number of ceremonial practices to which a certain amount of magico-religious value attaches that fall most naturally under the category of folk-lore, having no place in the official cult, yet being too insignificant to call for much notice favourable or unfavourable, and, on the whole, tending to be despised rather than condemned. In a case like this, for instance, the practice of the use of magic, it is best to treat all magico-religious rites as generically akin, even while making due allowance for their tendency to group themselves round the opposite pole of benevolence and ineffectiveness, of social service by the priest. More especially is this the case when the interest passes from intent to content, from motive to mechanism. Social and anti-social rites are hardly distinguishable in respect of their external forms at the stage of the most rudimentary culture, the one bearing the closest resemblance to each other, the
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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 annual or oral. Lastly, the idea that are bound up with the rites conform to a common type, now to that of mana and now to that of spirit (cf. Huvelin, op. cit., p. 2). A great deal of ritual material which should hardly have been, seeing 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 the moment it is directed against the people just across 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 Kurmai tribe of Victoria, where marriage by elopement verges on the position of a recognized institution, while there were medicine-men who assisted those who wished to elope, there were other medicine-men who aided the pursuing kindred to discover them (A. W. Howitt, The Native Tribes of S.E. Australia, London, 1904, p. 277). Once more the medicine-man in his capacity of tribal head-man may use his power against the enemies, and will even bring to bear on them the power of Daramula, 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, 382). Clearly, then, it is not to the simple and more 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 freedom; Magic, on the contrary, shows as the enemy of organized cult and, indeed, of the social organization as a whole, must lurk in dark places, and grows not by internal systematization, but merely as does a rubbish-heap, by the casual act of someone, and the vulgar idea, as is common to 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 version 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 opposition. The same is true, of course, of much 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, though never wholly escaping the tendency to impute value and efficacy to its ritual as such, is free to develop an ethical conception of the godhead in which the action of mere power is gradually converted into that of a power that makes for righteousness, and is therefore to be meted out and accounted for by rites but by righteous conduct.

(b) Magic as the rival of science. — The view advanced by Frazer to the effect that the fundamental conception of magic is identical with that of modern science (Cfr., p. 1, The Magic Art, 1-220) will hardly bear close inspection. The magician surely does not postulate that the same causes will always produce the same effects. On the contrary, his art is based on the supposed possibility of miracle — on what might be termed super-causation as contrasted with normal causation. In other words, he seeks to help out ordinary action by means of certain influences which he hopes to produce from a supra-sensible source. This is what Taylor means by 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 as regards 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 the workaday world of actions, guided by the routine of sense-perception, stands in the foreground of attention; and this is the world of natural science has always been at home. Chipping a flint so as to produce a cutting edge is nascent science, whereas bringing up a quartz-crystal mysteriously from one’s inside is a magico-religious process and will even call for a special order of experience. A considerable part at any 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 the attempt by the Egyptians, who measured out the land in Egypt after each inundation of the Nile (cf. J. Burnet, Early Greek Philosophy, London, 1908, p. 24). It cannot be denied, however, that, so long as their occult character be recognized, certain developments of the magico-religious way of thinking may be held to correspond to sciences or pseudo-sciences, inasmuch as they severally represent a body of organized lore intended on the whole for the furtherance of a system of ritual or magical practices, and the most characteristic types are faith-healing and divination (qq.v.). Faith-healing is in its most typical form a direct counterblast to sorcery, which is in essence a faith-hurting. White magic and black magic are built upon a larger and more of the other’s form, since the natural procedure of the healer is first to establish by his diagnosis what exactly the wicked magician has done, and then by dramatic reversal of the agency to undo it. Indeed, as has already been suggested, witchcraft is in no small part a pure invention on the part of leechcraft. To bring about a faith-cure it is essential to show that what is wrong is something that will answer to the proposed method of putting it right and which merely is evidence that the man may checkmate medicine-man, diamond cut diamond? Meanwhile, the occult science of the faith-healer is not the only form of medical science known to the savage. On the contrary, it may be more or less sharply distinguished from the ordinary folk-medicine, towards which it stands in a certain attitude of rivalry.

Thus Roth, who, as a medical man, went very carefully into the various methods of dealing with disease that prevailed among the aborigines of North Queensland, observes that the “doctors” attend specially on the sick, the charge of all such being left to individual caprice, e.g., a woman looks after her husband, a mother after her child. Nor do the people describe, the knowledge — where known to all — of the therapeutical value of any plant, of massage, etc., being common to the tribe (N. Queensland Ethn., Bull. 6, p. 29). It is only when the ordinary treatment fails that the aid of the medicine-man is called in (6).
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 such uses for healing, massage, emollients, 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 too would be ready to recognize as 'science,' i.e. a more or less organized common sense. At the same time, the lay mind is likewise 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 author, as he himself says, "in his short visit" (J. A. J. Smith), 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 Roth specially notes that among the Boulla blocks, there are indications of a desire on the part of the medicine-men to claim a share in the care, with a corresponding reward. The medicine-man, as he records it, was asked if he was of a running bath, which apparently answers very well, the medicine-man undertakes to help it out by operating on the snake. 'The doctor himself grasps the porcupine. The snake lies quiet, being as harmless as a by the snake lies hid, dig it out, and lets it glide away a few feet before commencing to pick it with stones. During this process the snake gradually diminishes in size and becomes harmless, when it is carried back to camp, where the medicine-man can make use of it. The process was repeated several times, and so on, in such a way that indications and directions can be obtained for all possible cases' (The Life of a South African Tribe, N. Hatton, 1913, i. 481).

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 scientific epoch of the human mind," the mother of sciences is undoubtedly Greece. There the human spirit shook itself free of the domination of the magico-religious, thanks to its interest in the things of this world.

Between Homer and Herodotus, Greek medicine has come into the world. Man has become the measure of all things; and the things are worth observing and recording, because they do not, or do so, amply human knowledge and ability, are unquenched, or prompt or guide human 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 anthropocentric, it is nothing less, but it is also nothing more, than the Greek Life, the Way of Life, the Way of Living' (A. Myres, in Anthropology and the Classics, ed. Maret, Oxford, 1906, p. 129).

There is no violent breaking with the old-world rituals and the associated beliefs; but colonization, trade, and the progress of the industrial arts beget a secular frame of mind which dispenses theological prejudices in so far as they conflict with science.

"All ailments are from God," writes Hippocrates, "no one of them being more divine than another, or more human either, but all alike from God. But each of them proceeds from growth, and nothing comes into being without a process of growth." Therefore he turns without more ado to the study of these physical causes, which originally came into being for the public service are being exploited for private ends (Huelin, p. 40). 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 accepted postulate that the goal of science is prediction. On the other hand, divination is a certain of its developments all the appearance of science so far as concerns the organization of its principles and the directly practical character of its aims. Thus Babylonian divination, the literature of which is particularly rich, reveals an amazing wealth of lore involving the most elaborate classifications of omens resting on a wide basis of genuine observation. It is also to be noticed that here the practice of the art depending on this body of would-be 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 migrate into Europe that Babylonian astrology is differentiated from astro-nomy, and the organization of the sciences becomes apparent. Again, at a lower stage of social evolution divination can fill the place of science so far as it calls out the reasoning powers of the mind and supplies some sort of intellectual gymnastics.

Thus H. A. J. Smith, a missionary, who gives an admirable account of the use of the divinatory bones among the Thonga of S. Africa, spent many hours with his native teachers trying to acquire the principles of this system of theirs which they call "The Word," a profession which vaunts to be superior to the missionary's Bible.

"So I had an opportunity of reaching the depths of the Thonga 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 value of these practices. Astrologacy has no more real worth than Chiroceromy, Necromancy, and all the other "mysteries." 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 facts of their lives, and shows an ability so to speak, in such a way that indications and directions can be obtained for all possible cases" (The Life of a South African Tribe, N. Hatton, 1913, i. 481).
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The word used in Arabic for this notion is *sihr*, connected with the verb meaning 'to produce illusion' on the eyes (Qur'ān, vii. 113); it seems, therefore, to be in origin the causative of the verb *hārēs*, 'to be bewildered', and is explained by the verb 'to frighten', whence the whole phrase resembles *māyēwō nālīqatārum* in Δ ν. It is probable that the Hebrew *shāhār*, used twice by Isaiah for 'conjure away', is identical, and the Armenian *shkronn*, 'marvel', may be borrowed from this word. The passage in the Qur'ān which contains most information on the subject is ii. 66, where it is stated that the *sihr* was revealed to the two angels in Babel, Harūt and Mārūt, who taught it to mankind, without concealing the fact that they were tempting them; the *sihr* showed how to separate a man from his wife, i.e. was the contrary of a love-philtre. Isaiah (47:1) connects the *shāhār* with Babylon, which, according to classical writers also, was the headquarters of magic.

"The doors of Persia, Babylon, and Memphis:

*Omne veintiornum solvat penetrata Magem*.

(Lucan, Pharsalia, vi. 641.)

Harūt and Mārūt seem from their names to be Arabian personifications of the chief and refusal, with which their recorded operation corresponds.

In the Qur'ān, as might be expected, it is not clear whether the results of *sihr* are always subjective only or may be objective; and some commentators think both possible. When, therefore, a miracle is branded as *sihr*, it may be regarded either as optical illusion due to the employment of demons; it is true that Solomon employed them (according to the Qur'ān), but this may have been a prophetic privilege. And a theological difficulty arises from the statement that *sihr* 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 Shāfi'i and Hanifi schools took the other view; and even those who believed in its objective thought that it could affect accidents only, and could not transmute substances.

The practice was forbidden; and, indeed, under penalty of death; Malik hold that one convicted of sorcery should not even be given the option of repentance, whereas Shāfi'i confined the death-sentence to the case where examination of the accused proved him to be guilty of unbelief (Qastāfīnī, *Commentary on the Nawwāb Ladhunagād*, Cairo, 1278, vi. 128). It is possible, however, permissible, and, according to some, a duty incumbent 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 ordinarly recognized as an agent in the course of events or actions of man, but is rather a subject of talk and delight, whereas the superstitious may resort to it for a variety of needs.

It figures on one occasion in the biography of the Prophet, when an illness was brought upon him by a Jew named Labāl ben al-ʿĀsām; 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 sīra of the Qur'ān, which is a spell against eclipses and women who breathe or spit on knots. The practices against which those spells were similar to, if not identical with, those which are enumerated by classical writers (e.g., Lucan, vi. 406 ff.). Others, of which the Arabian Nights offers ample illustration, also have 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, *majli*.

*Naqib ibn Khaṭīb (Lexicon bibliograph. et encyclop., ed. G. Flügel, London, 1853-58, iii. 584)* classifies the various magical methods as follows:

The Indian consists in purification of the soul; the Nāhaš in the employment of spells at suitable times; the Greek the compelling of the spirit of the demons 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 gives the spell yet more weight, as it may well be divided into tales of wonder and delight, whereas the superstitious may resort to it for a variety of needs.

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 ascetic practice won command over the jinn was carried to greater lengths by the Indians than elsewhere, whereas the theory of mysterious words may be particularly Jewish, and the Hermetic
MAGIC (Babylonian).—For the purpose of this article we may regard the term 'magic' as denoting practices which have their origin in the belief 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 relationship 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, moreover, to a distinct contrast in attitude towards the supernatural. Magic may be said to be present wherever power over the unseen is believed to be inherent in the ritual, whereas, according to the religious concept, the seat of power is regarded as resting outside the sphere of man's deliberate control. When the term is used in this sense, it must be admitted that a great body of the religious beliefs and practices of the Babylonians and Assyrians should be more accurately described as falling under the category of sorcery.

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 as they are in this text, 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 analogies; 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 connection it is important to realize that the moral character of sin which we find emphasized in the Hebrew prophets is quite foreign to the Babylonian conception. In almost the whole of their religious literature the expressions 'sin,' 'sickness,' and 'possession by demons' are employed as synonyms: they denote merely an evil state of the body. In fact, all sickness and disease were believed to be due to the attacks of evil spirits, under
whose power or influence the sufferer had fallen, whether by his own act or through the machinations of demons or sorcerers. Such spirits and powers of evil were legion, and were even on the look-out to inflict bodily harm on men. They might be ghosts of the dead, or gruesome spirits half-human and half-deamon, or, lastly, fiends and devils, the names of which correspond 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 upon the victim. And, in order to be successful, it was of the utmost importance that the spirit or evil influence which affected the sick man should be mentioned by name. To this end the magician repeated long lists of ghosts and devils, any one of which might be the cause of the sickness. Thanks to this practice, we know a great deal about the Babylonian demons and their characteristics. In order to illustrate the manner of their attack, and how dissociated this was from any moral offence on their victim's part, it will suffice to refer briefly to one class of spirits, the ghosts of the dead. These spirits were the ghosts of dead people which, for some reason or other, could not find rest, but were found haunting the deities with which they were associated. After death, the spirits of men and women who died in the ordinary course of nature and were buried were believed to enter the under-world, where they checked out a miserable existence with the help of offerings paid to them by their descendants and relatives upon earth. But, if the offerings were not made, or if the corpse was left unburied, the spirit might wander unsatisfied. Other ghosts were the spirits of those who died violent or unnatural deaths, or who departed this life before completing certain natural functions—such as the ghosts of women who died in childbirth. As a rule, such spirits haunted ruins or desolate places, and, if a man wandered there, they might seize on him and plague him. A spirit of this sort could also fasten himself on any one who had been in any way connected with him in this life, by the sharing of food with him or by the mere act of eating, drinking, or dressing in his company. From then on, it would be his ruin, through no fault of his own, to supernatural attack, and precisely similar results were believed to follow both ceremonial and moral offences. To touch the hair or bed of a person already affected by evil influences was, according to these texts, quite as dangerous as committing a moral offence, such as theft, adultery, or murder, and the resulting condition of sickness or misfortune was the same.

In order to escape the ban and cure his sickness or misfortune, the sufferer had recourse to the magician, who, by his knowledge of magical words, prayers, and ritual, could invoke the help of the great gods, and so gain control over the demon itself. In cases where the influence of the hostile sorcerer or sorceress who had cast the spell. In a large class of texts prepared for the use of the magician his purely magical character is sufficiently apparent from their contents. In others, where the contents refer more to the condition of the sufferer than to the possible causes of his misfortune or the means to relieve it, the essentially magical character of the compositions may sometimes be detected in notes or remarks which have been added later by the same scribe or reciter and for the performance of accompanying rites and ceremonies. For the rites prescribed often have 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 cases the compositions specifically named in the recitative, or liturgical, portion of the text. In fact, a study of the rubries makes it clear that many present a certain general resemblance in giving directions for the recital of the main text over something in the accompanying formula. The relationship between text and ritual may be illustrated by the following group of rubries from the Eighth Tablet of the MUL.APIN series, col. iii. lines 8-22, which give directions for the recital of incantations on the Sixth Tablet of the series and the performance of accompanying rites.

'c) The incantation (beginning):' "Come thou sorcerer, who, in a pure place art born!" over a good offering shalt thou recite, and upon the libation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shalt thou place it.

The incantation (beginning):' "Come my sorcerer or my enchantress!" or a nisubhibbi-plant shalt thou recite, and upon the libation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shalt thou place it; and with an upper garment shalt thou envelop the bed.

The incantation (beginning):' "Come my sorcerer, my enchantress!" over twelve pieces of libations paid to them by their descendants and relatives upon earth. But, if the offerings were not made, or if the corpse was left unburied, the spirit might wander unsatisfied. Other ghosts were the spirits of those who died violent or unnatural deaths, or who departed this life before completing certain natural functions—such as the ghosts of women who died in childbirth. As a rule, such spirits haunted ruins or desolate places, and, if a man wandered there, they might seize on him and plague him. A spirit of this sort could also fasten himself on any one who had been in any way connected with him in this life, by the sharing of food with him or by the mere act of eating, drinking, or dressing in his company. From then on, it would be his ruin, through no fault of his own, to supernatural attack, and precisely similar results were believed to follow both ceremonial and moral offences. To touch the hair or bed of a person already affected by evil influences was, according to these texts, quite as dangerous as committing a moral offence, such as theft, adultery, or murder, and the resulting condition of sickness or misfortune was the same.

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the recital of the correct formula, was obviously believed to synchronize with the destruction of the hostile person whose life had been initiated. These images could be made of wax, honey, bitumen, sesame-seed, and the like—all permissible and common substances. When metal was employed, we may assume that the mere passing through the fire was sufficient for the purpose, and that the great part played by fire in Babylonian magic may be seen in the titles of the two chief magical works, Skirpy and Mokiftu, both of which signify ‘burning,’ and in the great number of prayers and incantations addressed to the fire.

In one particularly interesting class of magical rites the relationship which was constituted by the magician between the hostile influence and the object destroyed may be clearly traced here. Here the image is engaged in exorcizing a demon from his patient, and, having gained control by the necessary formula, he transfers him to some object which may be destroyed or rendered harmless. In such case the medium is a parcel of water, which is then broken and the water spilt; in another a clay image is fastened to the patient’s body and afterwards removed; or the body of a pig might be spread upon the sick man, and afterwards thrown out. In both 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 unwinding of coloured threads, and the like, it is not clear how far the physical action is to be interpreted as a direct influence. It is possible that we should 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 and its objects, we are 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 recently been amply in which we may be said to deal with magic in a concrete form. It is true that we possess a few plaque-tablets, inscribed with a text relating to the plague-god, and intended to be hung up in houses to ward off the plague; we have also recorded the figures and heads of demons, sometimes inscribed with incantations; and 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 cast metal, moulded on the face with 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, which are 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 these figures 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 beneath the pavement in the main doorways of a temple or a palace, may be treated as magical in their supposed effects, but they fall rather under the special heading of foundation-deposits. It may be added that the magical beliefs and practices of the Babylonians survived their racial disappearance, and, largely through Jewish, Syriac, and Manichaean channels, contributed in no small degree to the great and composite body of medieval magic.


I. W. King.

MAGIC (Buddhist).—If we rightly understand the real character of Buddhism, what Buddhism ought to be according to its cardinal tenets, there is no possible connexion between the two. The only aim of the Buddhist monk is nirvāṇa to be attained in this life, i.e. absolute freedom from passion in order to reach freedom from rebirth, i.e. eternal, blissful nirvāṇa. All the machinery of illusion was believed to be organized with a view to this. Buddhism does not deny that there are good (kañ.cas) acts that ripen into happiness in a future life (sacara, ‘paradise’), but monks consider them not only as of no avail for, but even as of the worst kind. Such obstacles to nirvāṇa are not in the training for nirvāṇa, 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 practice it: all kinds of magical arts and performances—even of a benevolent nature—are regarded as perversions.

But ‘historic Buddhist’ is not, in every respect, what Buddhism ought to be. Buddhists are Hindu; regular Hindus and Buddhists have never 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. Ādha.—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.’ The term adha (ādha) in the words of Rhys Davids, ‘mystical wonder,’ ‘wondrous gift,’ ‘magical power,’ a mastery (prabhadra), which is only the exercise of a power acquired by pious works, by penance, and also by formula, and especially by contemplation.

There is nothing ‘preternatural’ in the adha, and the natural character of the ‘miracles’ performed by ādha are shown in the following passage of the Mahabodhi-priyā: ‘There are persons who can go with this four-element-made body to

1 These are ‘mundane’ (dakikas) good acts, in contrast with ‘supramundane’ (lokottara), those which lead to nirvāṇa, i.e. the volitional actions (sacara) with ‘traces’ (dhyvanas) and other contaminations (asamadhikas).

2 On the position of the Buddha with regard to magic see T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 388, and, London, (1900) 278.
MAGIO (Buddhist)

Uttarakura [see art. Brest, Amor or the (Buddhist)], or to the Brahman world... "But how can they?" "Do you admitting ever jumped three or six feet of ground?" "Yes; do you believe in this sort of fantastic feat?" "But how can they?"

The man whose thought is concentrated has indeed a great power over his body; but this power is not different, in nature, from the power of an ordinary man.

Birds are, by nature, endowed with magic power, as is proved by the fact that they go through the air. Their bird is born from the ripening of acts, i.e., that the very act of one of the magical acts of their acts; the former bird endows them with this special 'superhuman' faculty. Gods are, of course, magicians; they go through the air, they create at their will palaces and pleasures (bhoga). Sovereign kings or world-emperors (chatukarsa) are, too, magicians by nature. Ordinary men obtain momentary magical power by many devices, and are 'superhuman' at some time and for some object.

As a matter of fact, Buddha was looked upon by his disciples and other was by the unbelievers—a great magician; and it is recognized by all Buddhists that magical power is one of the natural possessions of the saints, since they are holy men, just like the yogi of old and the modern fakirs. We may rank them therefore with the divine and the divine, the knowledge or the thought of others, the knowledge of former births, the knowledge of the disappearing of passions, i.e., with the most desirable gifts of sainthood. And it is no wonder that Mundalayayana, who is style, as the 'best of the Buddha's disciples with regard to magic,'

It is evident that the admission of the reality of rddhi is beset with many dangers. Buddhists were sternly forbidden to boast of possessing superhuman faculties; that was one of the gravest sins.

There is nothing specially Buddhist in the manifestations of rddhi. Buddha's disciples win success in the plantanagorical shows which have long been familiar to Hindu romancers and dreamers: "Being one, he becomes many, or having become many, becomes one again; he becomes invisible or visible; he escapes from the obstruction, to the other side of a wall or rampart or hill, as it goeth through air: he penetrates and down and through solid ground, as if through air; he walketh on water; he travel cross-legged in the sky; even the sun and the moon, so mightily though they be, does he touch and feel with his hand; he converses in the belly even up to the heavens of Brahma..."

Stories of miraculous exhibitions intended to convert the incredulous are frequent. Buddha and his disciples willingly condescend to give 'signs.'

When the Tibetan writer Tanaratna narrates the medieval miraculous tournaments between the Buddhist and Brahmasthalskarah, which often conclude with the Buddhist victory and the conversion of kings, he only testifies the continuance of an old tradition. But—and this restriction is of paramount importance— even when narrating miracles, the old texts add that miracles, by themselves, prove nothing; the unbelievers, conquered by the more powerful magic of Buddha, used to say: "Gautama— the 'maudum' name of the Buddha, and the one used by the believers— Gautama is the magician (maugirea); every thousand years there appears in the world a great magician who can cause or enjoy the world (abhradharmakosa); or, in the world of the Brahmavat缕s: 'Well, Sir! there is a certain charm called the gandhabar charisma. It is by the efficacy thereof that he performs all this.'

There is in the Buddhismatasthala, a text-book of the Vijayanavis (by Asanga, 4th-6th cent. A.D. 3).

1. A. F. R. Lydgate, Buddhist Psychology, London, 1914, pp. 157, 146, 155, 160, 169, 117 (1906) 72. Magic power (rddhi) sometimes only a momentary possession; or even a power of a disciple who, when crossing a river, concentrates his mind, and, according to a legend, walks on water; but, being distracted, he sinks (Satha 120).

2. See Saha Chakravorti, 'Bhuta, the Brahmidharmas' (Mongol, 1907), ii. 295. The rddhi 'born from spells or born of spells (napamakhas) is the same.'


4. Dialogues of the Buddha, i, 274.

a complete survey of the magical power of the bodhisattvas. It is said to be twofold: paivimakim rddhi, power of transformation, when a bodhisattva modifies the nature of an existing thing; and vindhrmakim, power of creation, when he creates some thing or some person. The 'created persons' (nirmiti, nirmitiya) are frequently found in the Mahayana works; but they are not unknown in the Hinayana, both Pali and Sanskrit. Elaborate theories on the nirmitakosas are to be found in the Abhidharmakosa of the Sarvastivadin (Lokaprajipati, 1st cent. A.D.), which, however, is very much at variance with the views of the Sanskrit Hinayana; and in the Abhidharmakosottama (ed. vi), where the creative power of Buddha and of the gods (nirrnitavrtti, etc.) is discussed.

2. Paritta.—Another very orthodox form of magic is puritth, or rokkha, 'guard,' 'safeguard.' It plays an important part in Sinhalese Buddhism under the name of purit (Spenche Hardy, Eastern Monarchs, London, 1850, p. 246, Manual of Buddhism, 2°, do. 1859, p. 47; D. I). Good examples are found in Pali literature.

Taking refuge in the three 'jewels' (ratana, ratana, Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saivaga, forms a charm called 'sutta of the jewels,' which is very efficacious against illness:

Whatsoever spirits have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let all fly away and then listen attentively to what is said. Therefore, O spirits, ye all pay attention, show kindness to human beings. Let both day and night bring their offerings; therefore protect them strenuously. Whatever wealth be here or in the other world, or whatsoever celestial jewel, in the heavens, is certainly not equal to Tathagata... By this truth may there be salvation.' In the same way: 'Nothing is equal to the dharma, to the Saivaga!'... So also, in the Peaceock Jataka, sun-worship ('the only king, the one who beholds, the light of the world') is connected with that of the Buddha:

'I worship thee, golden and luminous being! May I spend this day under thy care! Homage to the omniscient seer! May they protect me! Homage to the Buddha and to the illumination, to the delivered and to the deliverance...'

When Sakyamuni was a large golden peaceock, he recited this half-solar, half-Buddhist prayer morning and evening, and consequently avoided all dangers. And, as the peaceock is the born enemy of serpents, the 'sutta or 'charm' of the peaceock' is used as a preventive and as a cure for serpent-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 mechanical, nothing really magical, in the efficacy ascribed to the purit. The non-Buddhist gods are clearly subordinated to the Buddha: it is almost a dogma that the Buddha converted gods and demons; and it is quite reasonable to believe that they will grant their favour to the disciples of Buddha. It is believed also that benevolent gods (nattis), beings in itself (maaitibhot), which is capable of protecting the benevolent person against all the attacks of the wicked; in order to avoid serpent-bites, it is not a bad plan to sleep on a raised bed, but the right method is to declare to the god of serpents that they are being enveloped in a universal sentiment of benevolence. This magic of benevo-


2. Tanaratna (Sutta-Nipata, 2); Rhyds Davidse, SBE xxxv, 215; art. Jexva; (Buddhist), § 9.


violence is the most noteworthy invention of Buddhism in connexion with the subject which we are discussing.

3. Hindu influences. — All practices tainted with name-supersition, from the most trivial to the most serious, are strictly forbidden: astrology, divination, charms, enchantments — in a word, all that any one may accomplish with the help of certain secret recipes and a technical method. Hindu sorcerers, enchanters and sorceresses, 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 not be tainted with this temptation, and drew up a long list of 'wrong means of livelihood,' of low arts, that were strictly prohibited. The Brahmans also made an effort to distinguish themselves from sorcerers.

Among these 'low arts' we may mention specially:

'Arranging a lucky day for marriages; using charms to make people lucky or unlucky, to procure abortion, to bring on drunkenness, to keep a man's jaw fixed; obtaining oracular answers by means of the magic mirror, or through a girl's nail, by bringing forth flames from one's mouth; causing virility; making a man impotent; invoking Sīri (Sri), the goddess of luck; worship of sun, etc.'

Whatever the 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 people have been completely ignorant of the sun or the inferior deities; a day came when the infiltrations became 'streams,' when paganism — gods, rites, theories — under a thin Buddhist veneer, took its place in sacred literature. Of course, we find popular magic always condemned in principle (love-rates, omens of life, etc.), but there are serious official worship and mysticism are permeated with Hindu elements, heavily laden with magic; this is, properly speaking, what is called Tantrism (g.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 sāstras, the mere reading of which effaces sin; (2) the great value attached to sacred names (e.g., the name of Amitābha); devotion to images of devotion to mystic emblems, or to the Deity, was replaced or strengthened by mystic formulas (see Avalokiteśvara), represented, when carried to an extreme, by the Tibetan 'prayer-wheel'; it has been noticed that, in the Lotus of the True Law, it is which the express devotion to a feminine 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 Buddhhas.


MAGIC (Celtic). — 1. Wielders of magic. — Magical rites resembling those used by other races abound in Celtic paganism. They were performed by the gods, the Tuatha Dé Danann being later incorporated among them, by kings (a reminiscence, perhaps, of the origin of the kingship in the magic-wielding class), and by all members of society, but above all, by the druids as the official magical class. There is evidence that they had acquired as early as the earlier magic-wielding persons.

The rites of agriculture and the possession 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 women's domain, with the growing supremacy of gods over goddesses, men became also greater magicians. But women still professed magic, and their claims were never forgotten. The so-called 'druidesses' of the later empire, the priestesses of the Sæna, and the virgin goddesses 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 Conall's father, and in the Irish texts women as magicians, performing all magical acts and to dreams, are much in evidence. But their magic was, so to speak, non-official; hence, when the druids were overthrown, they still retained their powers, and much medieval witchcraft is directly connected to the druidic roots of druids. The latter is the origin of the druids, it is certain that the Celts believed firmly in magic, and did not require to learn the superstitious in any of its branches from the races which they conquered.

For the druids as magicians in Gaul and see buccaneer, § 7. Their prominence is seen in the fact that in later Celtic literature 'druid' is the equivalent of 'magician,' 'magistrates of the lives of Celtic saints,' 'druid,' while in sages and folk-tale 'drudism' — 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 men into animals or into trees; they could produce storms and snowstorms. 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 war parties. In fact (5) the appearance of the druids was usually associated with a sacred well, whether the people went in procession, probably with an image of a divinity, which was sprinkled with water; in some instances it was sufficient to beat the water with branches, sprinkle it 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 officiating and saying prayers. 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


3 See E. Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, I, 254, a collection of interesting documents on the ancient life of India.
priest in rural French parishes was believed capable of causing rain in time of drought, or of averting "Madonna" in the modern Celt believes is little more than hallucination. The druid could also turn a man into a lunatic 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 shadow, or of making an image of 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 crech, still known and used in remote Celt regions.

4. The Airbre Druid, 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—trees. The cult of stones and the belief that sepulchral stones were the abode of the gods, that the dead probably gave rise to magical rites, the origin of which must be sought in remote times. Many of these are still practised, and the method used throws light upon the earlier pagan customs. These are of a magico-erotic nature, and, like similar customs, were founded on the belief that the ghost can cause fruitfulness, 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 it. In one of the stones of a dolmen, pregnant women do the same to ensure an easy delivery, or unmarried girls to procure a husband. Similar practices are used in connexion with boulders or stones which are not sepulchral, and probably these were anterior to the use of megalithic monuments. In these cases the rocks were believed to be the abode of spirits, or perhaps manifestations of the power of the Earth divinity, who gave vitality or fruitfulness to those performing 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 paining of the stones with 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 presence (see BLEST, ABOVE OF THE (Celtic), §§ 2, 6). 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 Cuchulainn, by the drink given him by the druids, was made to forget his fairy mistresses, and his wife to forget her jealousy. Another 'druidic sleep,' in which the victim is made to forget or is rendered motionless, and occasionally in that state is caused to tell secrets, is of frequent occurrence, and 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 invested with animation, and were attacked by the victim, is also strongly suggestive of hypnotic influence. It may, however, be merely the record of actual hallucinatory cases, since the 'glamour' in which the modern Celt believes is little more than hallucination.

Patrick, the step-mother, Doirche also with black, emotion the death. Sleep, results ably delirium, gest other (see when his herbs his don, swindisch, 'broken, believed by
magicians, by which stones or trees seemed to be invested with animation, and were attacked by the victim, is also strongly suggestive of hypnotic influence. It may, however, be merely the record of actual hallucinatory cases, since the 'glamour' in which the modern Celt believes is little more than hallucination.
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 druids with their own weapons—neutralizing their magic, controlling the elements, producing rain, rendering themselves invisible, producing marvellous supplies of food, and causing certain forms of incarnation or communion through their curses. The popular belief in magic could not be eradicated, and they who now filled the place of the ancient priesthood were freely doubted by the people and by their biographers with the ancient powers.

See also CHAMHS 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 child-like credulity of its authors and the extravagance of their speculations, it is nevertheless worthy of more patient scrutiny and analysis. The materials have been gathered from anthropologists and students of folklore, or even from serious students of Chinese life and character. In this article we do not more than touch the fringe of a subject which derives much of its interest from the fact that a belief in magic is still a living force in the China of to-day.

There are many early references to a class of sorcerers or witches known as wen. This name is often applied to male 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, while the term wen (usually in some such combination as wen-po, which means "witch-wife") has persisted throughout the ages, and is still in common use. In pre-Confucian days the wen held a recognized position in the social organization of the country. They were entrusted even in the courts of kings with certain quasi-sacerdotal functions, and in public ceremonials they had stated duties. They were believed to have the power of giving life and divination in cases of remorse.

Judging from the somewhat meagre accounts which we possess, we may suspect that the rites observed by the wen were in many respects identical with those practised to this day by the Chinese shamen (see BUTU AND SHAMANISM). Their methods included mimetic dancing, drum-beating, chanting of mystic formulæ, 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 misfortune.

In the course of ages their position gradually deteriorated. This was largely the result of the rise of Confucian culture, which always aimed at reducing human nature to a harmonious relationship with society and with the heavens. The wen were held to be a position of inferiority; but it was also due to the fact that many of the magical notions and methods of the wen fraternity were taken up and systematized by the Taoists. This is one of the reasons why the popular Taoism of modern times concerns itself with magic and sorcery to an extent which seems quite unwarranted by early Taoist philosophy, and why the illiterate villagers and fortune-tellers of the present day usually profess to act in co-operation with the native shamen and to practice a form of magic very different from that of the immemorial Taoist deities, in spite of the fact that they are the sole surviving representatives of the ancient wen, whose name they still bear.

There is reason to believe, however, that besides the officially-recognized wen there were always numerous "free-lance" witches who carried on a lucrative business among the superstitions multitudes, and whose connexion with the State cult or predominant religion of the time was little more than nominal. It was probably the sorcerers of this type who were admitted at certain anti-witchcraft regulations (reminding us of Plato's Laws, xi. 933) which we find in the Li Ki—the canonical 'Book of Rites.'

Those who gave false reports about spirits, about seasons and days, about consultations of the tortoise-shell and in the "Ke,' so as to perplex the multitudes: these were put to death (SEB xxvii. 201). It may be added that the same sort of inventors of "wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements," because such things raised "doubts among the multitude" (ib.).

But it seems that even the official wen 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 683 B.C., e.g., there was a disastrous drought, and a certain reigning duke expressed his intention of dealing with the situation by instituting a render of the rich man and a witch. Evidently this was a familiar practice in such emergencies, and the reason why specific mention was made of it in this particular case was that, owing to the enmity of the duke's minister—who seems to have been far in advance of his time in his attitude towards witchcraft, and who was called a "barbarous custom was not carried out. From a similar story which refers to the reign of Duke Hsi (490-487 B.C.) it appears that the practice had been modified to the extent that the rich and deformed man were no longer burned alive, but were merely exposed to the scorching heat of the sun.

One explanation of these customs is that by burning a deformed or emaciated man, or by exposing him to the sun, the pity of the heavenly powers would be aroused and rain would be sent to alleviate the wretched man's sufferings; and that the same happy result followed from the exposure of a witch, because a witch was a person who was able to compel spirits to descend to earth. A sounder explanation is based on the belief in the supposed interaction of the principles of yang and yin—the male and female, or active and passive, forces, which by their alternating pulsations or activities give rise to all natural phenomena. In time of drought the yang principle shows excessive activity and disturbs the harmony of nature's processes: steps must therefore be taken to realign the balance of forces. The intricacies of the yang-yin theory are necessarily bewildering to a Western reader until he has acquired some knowledge of the principles of feng-shui (p. 12); but it is this pseudo-philosophy which was raised to a form of art decaying in China, but is still far from extinct—denial of the witches formed part of the ordinary ritual observed on the occasion of the official rain-sacrifices; and, if we may judge from similar practices in other parts of the world, the dancing partook of the nature of magic-natic magic. It was

2 See SBE xxvii. 201. It has been suspected by commentators that the two stories refer to the same historical incident.

3 China Li (Both's tr., ii. 102).

4 The ceremonial dancing of ancient China was not always magical. There were six dances officially recognized under the Chou dynasty, of which only one (the sam) had anything to do with rain-making. Ceremonial dancing is now yet extinct in China, for it still forms part of the ritual proceedings at the Confucian sacrifices. For an interesting account of the ancient Chinese dances see H. A. Giles, Intercommunication, Shanghai, 1896, p. 119.
accompanied by music; and, if there is any truth in such ancient legends as that of King Wu (who reigned until 947 B.C.), we may suspect that music preceded dancing as a 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 music, which was thought to have such a power that it would produce rain. Many of the observances still carried out at the popular festivals in China are undoubtedly of a magical character, and are intended to regulate the rainfall, to expel disease and misfortune, to ensure good harvests, and to attract good luck. Communal magic of this kind is sometimes official in character, as in the case of the spring-welcoming ceremonies presided over by the local district-magistrates; but for the most part the rites are conducted by the villagers themselves, under the guidance of their own clan-committees (hsia-shou), or headmen. Ceremonies which at one time were doubtless carried out with punctilious care and with something like religious awe have in many cases become mere village games and pastimes of which the original significance has been partially or wholly lost. Such are the lantern-dances and still-walking of the children of N. China at the full moon of the first month of the year. Few of these games take part in, and to understand that by the skilful manipulation of their paper lanterns they are supposed 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 'rises' they are assisting nature to stimulate the dormant activities of animals and vegetation; and that in walking on stilts over ground destined to produce a crop of grain they are helping the wheat and other crops to grow to their 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 who take part in these festival-ceremonies are clothed for the occasion in women's garments.

Magical notions are also traceable in numerous simple acts which practically every family performs with a view to the well-being of its own members. Such are the hanging of certain plants above the doorway on certain days, and cooking a dumpling of red threads in the queues ofchildren to protect them from the demons of disease, and the affixing of pieces of scarlet cloth to the scrub-oak bushes to attract the protection of the gods and the silkworms against hurtful insects and noxious influences. At the New Year it is customary to cover the outsides of doors and windows with paper scrolls containing sage mottoes, quotations from classical and other literature, and words expressive of virtuous aims or suggestive of material prosperity. These scrolls may fairly be regarded as magic charms which will not only prevent evil from entering the house, but will attract the influences which make for good fortune and happiness. Many of the usages connected with death and burial, the ceremonial summoning of ancestral spirits, and the talking of personal names are also essentially magical, though their intimate connexion with religious beliefs and observances makes it difficult to decide where magic ends and religion begins.

In China, as elsewhere, magic arts are practised for private and personal as well as for public and formal ends, and the methods and mythical reasons by which they are supposed to work are not uncommonly brought forward as reasons why they should be respected. One of them was the Tang emperor Hsuan T'ung, who ordered certain Taoist necromancers to summon before him the pho of his dead consort, the beautiful Yang Kuei-fei. Very similar stories are told of the magic employed by the emperor Hsiao-Wen 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 to play no small part in his success. For—as like the king Solomon of Muhammadan legend—was himself a king of magicians. 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 attainments of the 'Boxers'; and, though the 'Sacred Edict' of the emperor K'ang-hsi bids men aljore all kinds of heterodox teachings and practices, among which the arts of magic are included, and though in quite recent years proclamations have been issued warning the people not to allow themselves to be 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 peasant.

The official attitude towards 'black magic' (to use the convenient Western term) is clearly demonstrated in the anti-witchcraft clauses of the Penal Code of the late Manchu dynasty. The punishments inflicted on persons convicted of this crime were very severe (in some cases, it is said, 40 lashes were imposed only to add in the words of a scholarly student of the subject) that the pages of Chinese history have never been stained by such a mad epidemic of witch-killing as disgraced Europe and America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. 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 quarrelled with the village headman, and had foretold the headman's death. 'And sure enough,' they said, 'the headman died, though there was nothing whatever the matter with him.' Two or three other enemies of the accused subsequently died in the same mysterious way; and, to crown all, a villager, going to the shrine of the guardian-spirit of the village, discovered there a slip of paper on which were written, in the accused's handwriting, the names of various people with whom he was known to be on bad terms. This discovery created a panic among the villagers, who took it for granted that the list of names was a reading of the dead man's spirit, with a foretelling of his death. There is no doubt that the man was a criminal, who, in his magisterial capacity had to perform the somewhat delicate task of differentiating between real and imaginary wrongs and ills.

From the point of view of the student of magic, the special interest of this particular case centres in the unexpected part played by the tutelary deity of the village. Here, it would appear, we have an instructive example of the intermingling of religion and magic, and the junction seems to have been brought about in this way. One of the principal functions of the T'ai-ti, or village deity, is to receive the spirits of the newly dead and to act as their spiritual friend and guardian. Each village has its own little shrine dedicated to the local deity, and this shrine usually stands by the roadside a short distance outside the village. When a villager dies, the members of his family go in procession to the T'ai-ti shrine and 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. Now, at first sight, there seems to be no obvious reason why an announcement of death should be made to a deity.

For some time the exact nature of the ceremony was not quite clear, but one of the villagers who had been forwarded to London to observe the proceedings was told that the taking off of the sun hat at the time that the sun was set might be secured for the building of the Great Wall, see R. F. Johnston, Lion and Dragon (North China Branch) xxxviii. [1907] 95.

For a full discussion of the T'ai-ti and his functions see Johnston, p. 374.
expert in black magic who wishes to bring about the death of his enemies should expect the t'ut-ti—who is regarded as friendly to men and interested in their welfare—to give him help and countenance in carrying out his nefarious designs against their lives. What, then, is the magician's object in placing a list of the names of his intended victims into the little shrine of the village t'ut-ti? The theory seems to be that, when the t'ut-ti perceives the list of names, he will assume that the persons bearing those names are already dead, and will make preparations in the under world for the reception of their spirits. All these preparations will act with a powerful attractive force upon the souls concerned, and will create in them an irresistible inclination to sever their connexion with their respective bodies. The non-arrival in the under world of the spirits of persons whose death had already been announced in a formal manner would cause bewilderment to the well-meaning t'ut-ti, 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'ut-ti and maintain friendly relations with him, the only reasonable course for the spirits in question is to adopt is to bow to the inevitable and acquiesce in the premature loss of their physical bodies.

Magical and semi-religious theories of this kind are hardly likely to find Western parallels: but many of the ordinary magical practices of the Chinese are strikingly similar to some of the particular forms of sympathetic and mimetic magic with which we are familiar in Europe.

The great artist Ku K'uai-chih (14th cent. of our era), one of whose paintings is among the most treasured artistic possessions of the British Museum, was himself a graduate in magic. When admired by the girl whom he loved, he drew her portrait, and to the picture he gave the breath of his own soul. Thereupon the girl, who knew nothing of the portrait and the thor, began to suffer pain in the region of the heart, and next time he saw her she was dead. The artist then withdrew the thor from the portrait, and, throwing it into the deceased girl's heart promptly disappeared, her love for him remained.

That many of the poets and artists of China have been credited with a knowledge of magic is no matter for surprise when we know how frequently their passionate love of wild nature brought them into contact with the Buddhist and Taoist saints and hermits, whose favourite dwelling-places have always been the caves and forests and ravines of the mysterious mountains. These mountain-dwellers are commonly regarded as the discoverers and guardians of occult secrets of various kinds, and, though their disciples and biographers endowed them with faculties which they never possessed and which the best of them never pretended to possess, it is highly probable that there were some who, in the course of their own heart-searchings and their solitary communings with nature, not only made valuable discoveries as to the properties of plants and herbs, but were also successful pioneers in various untrodden fields of psychology and mysticism. To some extent, at least, the popular belief in their supernormal capacities and attainments was justified.

When Buddhism first came to China, and for some centuries afterwards, the relations between Buddhists and Taoists were often strained to breaking point. The victories of the Buddhists—if we may credit the Buddhist historians and believe the frequent and by no means spurious occurrences which non-Buddhists would perhaps describe as magic if not as mere conjuring tricks. It is difficult, perhaps, in some cases, to draw a distinction between miracles and magic. A miracle, as E. S. Hartland remarks, is 'legitimate magic,' while magic is 'a forbidden miracle.'

However this may be, many of the marvelous doings attributed to Buddhist monks and hermits bear a close resemblance to those recorded of Christian saints. But we know from the earliest Buddhist scriptures that the brethren were not encouraged to perform miracles, and it was certainly not by the help of miracles or of magic that the little sect of the village t'ut-ti attained great success. The Taoists, however, did not scruple to ally themselves with various forms of magic and sorcery, and it is their fatal readiness to meet the popular demand for signs and wonders that makes them invaluable for our present degeneration (see Taoism).

If we had space to deal with matters of detail, it would be necessary to describe the various magical uses made of plants and animals and also of manufactured articles such as metal mirrors and weapons. An authority has stated (see E.Br. xvi. p. 572) that magic mirrors are mentioned in Chinese literature of the 9th cent. but they are mentioned and their uses fully described much earlier than that. The curious book known as Poo Po-ti, which was written by the famous wizard Ko Hung in the 4th cent. of our era, contains full accounts of how to detect the presence of evil spirits and other malign influences by the use of magic mirrors. The belief once prevalent in the British Isles that a witch could turn herself into a hare is paralleled by the Far Eastern belief (still extremely common in China) that demons-wan into some of the forms of sympathetic and mimetic magic, as we have already seen.

There is in China a destructive little insect known to Europeans as the silver-fish (Leptisma saccharinarum), which is a most unwelcome visitor to libraries. It is believed that, if one of these insects gets into a Taoist classic and eats the two characters shen-huan ('spiritual-immortal'), its silvery body will become five-coloured. If the coloured insect be subsequently caught and eaten, the man who eats it will have the happiness of attaining the god of Taoist ambition—he will overcome death and develop into a spiritual being.

As to trees, plants, and herbs, large numbers are believed to possess some magical property or to be adaptable to magical uses. The cypress, pine, and similar trees have been credited with the power of bestowing immortality, and, when we learn that a noted hermit was in the habit of sleeping on a bed of pine-needles, we may be sure that this was not done merely as a means of mortifying the flesh. The willow is much used as a rain-charm. In times of drought in Shansi and neighbouring provinces adults and children may be seen going about with willow-wreaths on their heads. The peach-tree is famous for its magical properties, and for this reason peach-trees and peach-blossoms are frequently mentioned in Chinese fairy-love. The use of peachwood for the exorcism of evil spirits is very ancient, for the branding of peach-woods was part of the recognized procedure of the professional wu at 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). Here it must suffice to mention that the principal purveyor of charms is...
MAGIC (Egyptian)—I. The Egyptian view of magic.—If the Egyptians had been more self-analytic than they actually were, they might, from the content of their writings, have described all their actions as either ordinary or magical. But since no such universal system of magic was known, all ordinariness would have been understood as all those simple ways of coping with mundane things and living beings, which were suggested by habit, mother wit, and experience. 

See also arts, DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Chinese), CHINESE AND JAPANESE (Japanese), DIVINATION (Chinese), FORTUNE (Chinese), COMPARISON WITH THE DEAD (Chinese), COMPARISON WITH INNATE (Chinese). 

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MAGIC (Egyptian).—I. The Egyptian view of magic.—If the Egyptians had been more self-analytic than they actually were, they might, from the content of their writings, have described all their actions as either ordinary or magical. But since no such universal system of magic was known, all ordinariness would have been understood as all those simple ways of coping with mundane things and living beings, which were suggested by habit, mother wit, and experience.
Zunciengelch, Leipzig, 1901, pl. 16. 11-13.) Conversely, the Book of Overthrowing Apophis (Budge, Egyptian Hieratic Papyri, London, 1923), a liturgy intended for daily recitation in the temple of Amen- more at Thebes, Apophis being the mythical snake that was supposed to be the eternal foe of the sun-god Re. It was within the reach of all Egyptians to read and prove the greatness of the privilege to the private individual who recited the Book of the Dead, and the god. It may be added that the term 'hiek' is quite common in all parts of the Book of the Dead, as well as in such temple rituals as the Book of Overthrowing Apophis just mentioned.

It may therefore be taken as proved that 'hiek' was as intimately associated with the presumed existence of the gods and the dead as it was with the real existence of the living. But, further than this, a greater or less element of 'hiek' may have been associated with different dealings between men 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 abiding, matter-of-fact means. The very idea of their existence puts a spell upon the imagination, and for this reason set forms 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 what is known as 'ritual,' and the attributes which distinguish ritual from ordinary performances may have been just that attribute which the Egyptians called 'hiek.' The point is not susceptible of absolute proof, for it was morally only in the more extreme cases, where the sense of mystery and miracle-working had to be emphasized, that the term 'hiek' was actually applied; but the view that 'hiek' underlies all ritual is favored by the close resemblance between the divine and funerary rites, on the one hand, and the rites performed by the incantation (well-protective and similar rites), on the other. The formulas of the Book of the Dead differ neither in form nor in substance from the incantations of the Egyptians used to heal their own ailments; and the same general similarity also runs through the daily liturgies of the temples and the tombs (see A. Moret, Les Livres funéraires et la religion (Paris, 1892)).

From the Egyptian point of view we may say that there was no such thing as 'religion'; there was only 'hiek,' the nearest English equivalent of which is 'magical power.' The universe being the battle-ground between the cosmic procession of beings—the gods, the dead, and living human persons—their actions, whether within a single group or as between one group and another, were either ordinary or uncanny ('hiek'). But the gods and the dead were, so to say, under their own tenets, that all dealings with them or performed by them were more or less 'hiek.' It was only when men created them ordinarily, and as man to man, that this quality of 'hiek' was reduced to a minimum, as in the case of spindle-turners, or other letters to the dead—in fact, just in those rare instances where the solemn phrasing of ritual was avoided.

3. Magic defined for Egyptianological purposes as private religion. We shall be able to avoid repeating 'hiek' in English by the words 'magic' or 'magical power'; but, if the Egyptian conception of 'hiek' be taken as the criterion of what is magical and what is not, we shall have little or no use for the word 'religion,' and a multitude of cases in which the conventional phraseology would more naturally describe 'religion' will fall under the head of 'magic.' It is advisable, therefore, in defining 'magic' for Egyptianological purposes, to strike a compromise between the Egyptian conception of 'hiek' and the English connotation of 'magic.' Taking our cue from the former, we shall restrict the sense of 'magic' to those actions which clearly have the implications of mystery and the miraculous; at the same time we shall attempt to maintain the distinction between magical and religion, or, rather, between magic and other kinds of religious acts. It is fully in accordance with the practice of Egyptologists, instinctively adopting, or reluctantly carried out, the contrary definition of the cult of the dead as a cult of the dead in the divinity, and the cults of the gods, as referring exclusively to those rites which deliberately and in the first instance aimed at the advantage of living human beings, the cults of the gods, as referring exclusively to those rites which deliberately and in the first instance aimed at the advantage of living human beings, even if the two forms of divine worship have, on the one hand, implicitly classified together as 'religion.' Magical 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 certain miraculous powers for their performance. Warning must be given against two misconceptions: in the first place, it must be clearly stated that it is not necessarily certain that the gods and the dead may, as indeed they usually do, enter into the same magical power as defined, except in the second place, magic as thus defined did not differ essentially in its magical power from the beliefs of the dead and of the gods, nor was it necessarily regarded with feelings of moral reprobation.

For a similar definition see A. H. Gardiner, 'Notes on Egyptian Magic,' in Travaux, Troisiéme Interventions des Congrès internationaux de l'Antiquité (Berlin, 1893, 1895, 1897, 1905), i. 289-290. Erman (Egyptische Religionsgeschichte, Berlin, 1909), though forming a very different estimate of magic from that here adopted, accepts the same tripartite division of the active aspect of religion into Götterkult, Totenkult, and Zauberkult. Magic as defined here has a wide 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 Kingdom, in the Ramessean find of 1903, still unpublished.

We may describe, therefore, the priest of Hiek (A. Moret, Les Livres funéraires et la religion, Paris, 1889, p. 96; R. Lepsius, Denkmaler, Berlin, 1849-58, ii. 91a). The defined concept of 'hiek' is figured in the form of a man in some sculptures of the Via Sacra at the sanctuary of Khonsu in the Temple of Eleusis, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 20, and of occasional occurrence also in the texts (ib. p. 44; 120, no. 1226, wherein it was sung to counter upon the deceased the powers of 'hiek' himself has recently come to life (P. Lecan, Textes des dieux extérieurs, Paris, 1910, no. 281), has been reduced to a creation of the sun-god in the New Kingdom, where it seems to have a number of different and not infrequent meanings. The Egyptians believed, or imagined, to believe that their wizards could work all kinds of wonders; in a late tale a charmer is made to bring the victory of the Egyptians to Pyrgi, Egypt, at the siege of Canopus, and Pharaos dwells, where he is to be beaten with some hundred blows of the stick, and returned to the land of Egypt again, 'all in six hours thither' (Griffith, Stories of the High Priests, p. 59). It is said to have been related at the court of Charis, 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 (Erman, Die Mysterien der Pacommunications Western, Berlin, 1894, i. 8f.). The magical contest of Moses with James and Jambres (Ex 7:22, 2 Ti 3:8) is thus quite Egyptian in spirit. Tassoing from such fabulous reports to practical magic, we may see that the art of magic under a comparatively small number of heads.

1. Definive. 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 (see the things that happened' (Pap. Petrie, Bibel 116 A (ed. Golenischch, Petrie, 1884, line 145).)

(1) Prophecy.—To avert death, See Petrie and F. Rossi, Papyrus of Turin, Leyden, 1865-76, pl. 120; W. F. Petri, Stier und Riek, Leyden, 1865, pl. 101; Papyrus of Turin, 134. Pap. Leyden 509 against lions, byamen, and "all long-tailed animals that eat flesh and drink blood," Le Papyrus magique d'Amenophis IV., from Egypt (London, 1881; also Budge, Egyptian Hieratic Papyri, verso V. against crocodiles and other dangers of the river, p. 82; for snakes, Stern, Papyrus Ebers, Leipzig, 1875, pl. 97. 17.)
The pigment which was rejoicing, the hearts of multitudes grieves for it; Horus has slain it by his magic. He who is summoned in the sound of the flute, thou who wast prostrate, Horus has restored thee to life. He who came as one carried in gone forth of himself; Horus has brought from the body (prescription of drugs). Ebers, 34, 7, 10, against a complaint named the artifice of spells, Ebers, 58, 13. A book of trumpet and tablets to banish magic from the body.

(2) Counter-charms. —To buy a spell (cf. s) on him whom one fears, Ebers, 473. To cast out baneful magic from the body. Ebers, 5, 50. See also Papyr. Assyr. iii. 5. It was preserved in the Library of Edinburg.

(3) Psychological. —A book for repealing fear which comes to be a man by night or day, from front or behind; Papyr. Leyden 35, recto 2, 1.

(4) Propitiatory. —(1) Oaths of witnesses to facilitate birth, Enuma, Zauberspruche für Mutter und Kind, Berlin, 1901, pl. 8, 6, 5. Papyr. Leyden 52, verso 2, 6; 'to bring milk to a woman who is nursing a child' (prescription only), Ebers, 97, 19, 'to keep a child warm.' Zauberspruche, verso 2, 2.

(5) Weather-charms. —Thou shalt perform these ceremonies when rain clouds are in the east of heaven, or when Rê sets in the West, to prevent storm-clouds in the east of heaven. . . . Thou shalt perform these ceremonies many times against bad weather, that the sun may shine and Apophis be overthrown in truth' (Book of Withdrawing Apophis, 23, 141).

(6) Love-charms. —A spell to secure sexual enjoyment, secondarily used for funerary purposes, has been alluded to in § 2. Erotic charms must have been frequent, but those that are known to us are few; in demotic, see P. L. Griffith 9, 45, H. Thompson, Demotic Magical Papyri, London, 1904, p. 11, and C. W. Budge, Griechische Zauberspruche, Vienna, 1885, pl. 96 I, and 1771.

(7) General. —He who recites this book is blessed every day; he who moves not, lacks not, and is not malnourished. He does not enter into the law-court, nor does judgment go forth against him. But if he enters the law-court, he shall be judged against himself. Nor does his popularity depart from him (Papyr. Leyden 347, 12, 10—12).

Marg. —(1) Obstetric. —To know whether a child will live, Ebers, 97, 12. Or whether a man will live, W. Wreszinsky, Medizinische Handschriften der Berliner Museum, Leipzig, 1900, verso 1, 3, 7, 9, etc.

(2) A number of magical modes of divination are detailed in the Demotic Magical Papyri, ed. Griffith. Thompson (see p. 14), but these instances do not seem to belong to ancient origin. Oracle-seeking does not occur under the head of magic, as here defined.

(3) Bodily-Illness. —In the tale of Unanim (RTAP xxi. 1690) there is a related case of a young man being 'seduced by the god and giving a solemn warning while in this condition. The god may perhaps be brought within the sphere of magic, as it postulates supernatural power in its human mouthpiece, and usually involves the welfare of human beings. There is a book of protective prophecies, in the Petrie papyrus (see A. H. Gardiner, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, vol. vii. p. 54), which is not preserved under the usual magical heading. There seems to be no Pharaonic evidence for horoscopes, charms, and other forms of prophetic magic. The reason may be that they come out in the form of winds (Papyr. Leyden 556 verso 6, 61; cf. especially the word sâr in Ebers, 9, 14, 34, 10, etc.). Or else, again, the hostile power might attack with arrows (Papyr. Leyden 556, verso 6, 61), or might secrete itself in the mummy, for this is the easiest way of extracting the excretions of the body, such as the sweat or urine (Zauberspruche, recto 2, 7—8); or it might manifest itself as a disease (Papyr. Leyden 556, verso 6, 61). All the members of the body were subject to attacks of the kind, whence their frequent enumeration in the texts (see below), here they are not seldom called upon to open their mouths and vomit forth what is in them (Papyr. Leyden 556, recto 2, 8. 8—13).

The malignrant force was sometimes merely informed of its defeat:

'l'ost thou to kiss this child? I suffer thee not to kiss it' (Zauberspruche, recto 2. 1)

Elsewhere, as in the example quoted in § 6, the poison is hidden to slow forth upon the earth. Warnings frequently supplemented and reinforced such commands, as:

'Fall not upon his tongue; it is a serpent at the mouth of its hole' (Zauberspruche, recto 3. 3, in the midst of a long series of similar phrases).

Commands and warnings failing in their effect, a more persuasive means is tried:

'Come, lay thee down, departing to the place where thy
beauties of women are, on whose hair is myrrh, and fresh incense on their shoulders ('Zaubersprüche,' recto 3.-4.).

Or else the demon is made to understand that in delaying the magician he holds the whole order of nature in suspense:

'Re' waits for thee in order to shine, and Atum to set, that thou mayest quell the arm of N of M. The chief of the Westerners waits for thee in order to enter in triumph, that thou mayest quell the arm of N of M' ('Pap. Leyden 255, verso 4.-2.-4).

In the last resort curses are employed:

(1) The greatest Egyptian curse the. . . the little Egyptian curse thee' ('Pap. Leyden 358, verso 1.-3.

(2) 'Thou art in Horus, thou art in the town of Houdn, thou sharp-horned one, who shootest at the mark. . . thou art in thy beauty: destroy the evil that is in my limbs' ('Pap. Leyden 357, 3. 10-13.)

A trait characteristic of Egyptian magic, noted already by Iamblichus (ed. G. Parthey, Berlin, 1857, p. 215), is the threatening tone often adopted towards the gods; examples are very common:

'On the night that the wife of Horus (Selkis, the scorpion goddess) shall bite thee, I suffer not the Nile to heat upon its bank, I suffer not to shine upon the earth, I suffer not the seed to grow, I suffer not cakes to be made, I suffer not jujubes to grow (or be bred for) the 365 gods, who are hungry by day and night, on that night of the burial of Osiris' ('Pap. Turin, 137, 1-4.)

The most daring menace of all is the following:

'I will fire into Buais and burn up Osiris' ('Pap. Turin, 152, 10.; cf. Clerks, 28, 8.)

On such occasions the magician is apt to dislike his responsibility:

'On the night which is it, it is not I who repeat it; it is Isis who says it, it is Isis who repeats it' ('Pap. Leyden 326, recto 11.-7.; Pap. Turin, 156, 8-9.; Pap. mag. Harris, 9, 11.)

Elsewhere the gods are referred to in the third person, and the more numerous they are, the more efficacious the rite is likely to be. Thus, when the limbs of the body are enumerated, it often happens that each separate limb is identified with, or reduced to, some special deity; and the list ends with the words:

'There is no limb of his without a god' ('Pap. Leyden 358, verso 6, 2.)

Orig., [c. Celsus, viii. 58] asserts that the Egyptians divided the human body into thirty-six parts, and placed each one of them under the charge of a god: 'and so,' he says, 'in invoking these, they heal the diseases of the limbs.' The divine names mentioned by Origens are those of the gods of the decans, or ten-day periods.

The magician often speaks of himself in the first person, but sometimes identifies himself with a particular god whose assistance he desires—e.g.,

'I am Re' in this his mysterious name 'He-who-was-In-the-Nun,' shooting his arrows against his foes' ('Pap. Leyden 357, 4. 117.)

or else with some god who, like the person for whom the rite is performed, had once been menaced by some imminent danger:

'Aramt thou, for I am Horus; retire thou, for I am the son of Osiris. The magic of my mother (is) the protection of my limbs' ('Heartad medical Papyros, 11. 41.)

At other times he merely claims to be 'the servant of Horus' ('Pap. Leyden 345, verso F 1; Pap. Turin, 134, 1.)

Often a mythical precedent was alluded to or narrated at length, and the mere mention of a parallel case seems to have been considered a useful expedient for ensuring the success of the rite. Thus the magician declares:

'2. I will banish all evil and evil things which come to fall upon N the son of M, even as Re' saved himself from his enemies, even as Khnum saved himself from Sekh, even as Horus saved himself from Seth, and even as Thoth saved himself from Re'!' ('Pap. Turin, 116, 9-10.)

More often the point of the narrative is merely implied; in the following short incantation against burns even the names of the interlocutors, namely a messenger and Isis, are omitted:

'Thy son Horus has been burnt in the desert. 'Is there water there?' 'There is no water there.' 'There is water in my mouth, and a niche between us: I can come to quench the fire' ('Ebers, 69, 3-4; see H. Schäfer, in ZA xxxvi. [1858]129-133.)

Many valuable fragments of myths have been preserved to us by these means.

Especially frequent are tales that turn upon the revelation of the true name of a god; a well-known instance is the story of how Isis devised a stratagem by which the sun-god Re' should be compelled to divulge his name; this she accomplished by causing him to receive a snake-bite which none could cure save herself ('Pap. Turin, 131-133.)

Less well known is the narrative of the attempts made by Seth to provoke Horus into betraying his real name, which would have given the mischievous god power over his nephew: Horus, however, invents various absurd names, and so manages to elude his wicked uncle ('Pap. Turin, 134, 1.)

The importance of names in Egyptian magic was very considerable; the knowledge of names gave control, whether for good or for evil. It was not a rare proverb that 'a man lives who is conjured by his name' ('Pap. Turin, 133, 6, 11, 134, 7, 9, etc.). Thus to be familiar with the names of the epagomenal days ('Pap. Leyden 367, verso 9.) was a safe method of protecting oneself against their perils. This is a topic which might be greatly elaborated (see art. NAMES [Egyptian]).

Closely akin to the question of the importance of names is that of the importance of things. Certain formulae were supposed to possess particular efficacy, such as the words 'Protection behind, a protection that comes, a protection!' ('Zaubersprüche,' recto 9, 2.)

The magical potency of anything depends in a large degree on its singularity, and it is therefore but little wonder that ebalalistic gibberish ('Pap. mag. Harris, verso C') and foreign spells were held in high esteem (Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus, ed. W. Wresinski, Leipzig, 1912, nos. 27, 28, 32, the last being in the Kelti language).

The significance attached to names and language is an aspect of the doctrine of sympathy, by far the most fertile conception of all those underlying the magical rite. This doctrine attributes to things that have once been associated in any way remains henceforth connected and almost interchangeable for practical purposes; its chief varieties are (1) the principle of contagion, which affirms that things that belong together in one context continue to influence one another even when separated; and (2) the principle of homoeopathy, according to which like has special power to affect like. These and other forms of sympathetic magic are not so easily classified are of constant recurrence in the Egyptian magical books, both in the oral and in the manual rites; the recital of mythical precedents also clearly comes under this head.

The very idea of the oral rite is an instance of homoeopathic magic, for language may be said to imitate and image the things which it expresses, and in so far verbal references to a desired effect may have been considered instrumental in producing it.

Sympathetic magic takes curious forms at times; one or two instances may be singled out. In connexion with the importance of language reference may be made to the significance of penu. A magician says:

'1. I make a charm for him against thee of 'afai-plant, which does injury, of onions, which destroys by its touch, which is sweet to men and sour to the dead' ('Zaubersprüche,' recto 4.)

The virtues here ascribed to the 'afai-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 ḫeday (the vowel is merely guessed), while 'to destroy' was ḫaḏu. In order to tell whether a new-born infant would live or not, its first articulation would have to be noted:

(1) 'Thy head has no power over his head, thy arms have no power over his arms, thy legs have no power over his legs. (A. Gardiner, J. G. Milne, and H. Thompson, Thoth Sanku, London, 1915, p. 145.)

A conditional curse that runs upon similar lines may also be quoted:

(2) 'He who is dead to this decree, may Osiris pursue him, may Horus pursue his wife, and Hores pursue his children.' (H. Sottr, Reference has been made to this, p. 125.)

The mystical potency attaching to certain numbers doubtless originated in associations of thought that to us are obscure. The number seven, in Egyptian magic, was regarded as particularly efficacious. From this there derive many of the seven items in the lists of the barks of Uraia, ‘M. Horeb, Ein Mittelschriltur,’ Leipzig, 1910, p. 71):

(3) 'The seven daughters of M., who stand with and make strong this seven times seven, in the lower world (Pop. Turin, 135. 124); and, similarly, we read of

(4) 'the seven hawks who are in front of the barque of M.' (ib. 136. 31.)

Oral rites have occasionally to be recited seven times (ib. 138. 9, 10), but the more usual number is four (Pop. Leiden 354, versus 3, 3, 4, 10, etc.; Pop. mss. Harris, 4, 4), a number doubtless associated with the four pillars of heaven (cf. degera, M. Macea [Disterich, p. 71]), or, as we should say, the four cardinal points.

A characteristic feature of the oral rite is its complexity. This is shown in various ways, and not least in the love manifested for enumerations. Sometimes it is the long lists of parts of the body, and 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 (Pop. Turin, 132), and of the various evocations through which the demon might transmit his baleful influence (Pop. Leiden 354, versus 6, 64). This quasilegal taunology 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 amulets magic. Sometimes it is the hostile power to be destroyed that is thus counterfeited and done to death; so, in the Book of Overthrowing Apophis, the words of the oral rites are 'to be recited over an apophis, made of wax or drawn on a sheet of papyrus and thrown into the fire' (29, 29; cf. 22, 6).

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' (Pop. Leiden 326, recto 12, verso 13).

Miniature hands, seals, and crocodiles were powerful to ward off evil, doubtless by saying it, sealing it up, or devouring it (Zauberspruche, verso 2, 4; cf. ZA xxxix, [1901] 87). 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 Petrie, Amulets, London, 1914).

The material of which such images and amulets should be made are nearly always specified, and it is evident that this was considered a matter of vital importance. Here we meet with a new aspect of sympathetic magic, namely the doctrine of properties: every plant, stone, metal, and colour possessed its own peculiar virtue, which prompted its use in the diverse cases. Wax and clay were very commonly employed, and perhaps not only because they were easy of manipulation; their plasticity made them the thought symbolic of a wide adaptability. Aetiological myths assign a divine origin to various substances; thus the bees that supply the wax are said to have sprung from tears shed by Isis (Pop. Salt 353, 2, 5-6, unpublished) and the cedar-tree emanated from the sweat of Osiris (ZA xlvii, [1910] 71).

Images were not immediately potent of themselves, but had to be charged with magical power in one way or another. The oral rite is usually recited over them (ib. mako kr, passim), and this transitory and intangible kind of contact seems to have ensured their continuous efficacy.

In a fabulous story the magician Her, the son of Pahsheh, made a litter with four bears and four bulls; writing upon them, gave them breath of respiration, and made them live' (Stich. Book of the High Priests, 16: 13).

Elsewhere the ceremony of 'opening the mouth,' familiar from the funerary ritual, was performed over the magical figure (Pop. Turin, 131. 7), and offerings and incense were presented to it in token of its now animate condition (ib.; Pop. Leiden 354, 2, 3). Drawings upon papyrus or rag were treated in exactly the same way, and seem to have been equally effective (ib.; Pop. Turin, 31, 77. 3); or the figures of the gods whose help was invoked could be sketched on the patient's hand, and licked off by one some (Pop. Turin, ib.). At times the mediating image could be dispensed with: the magician pronounced his spell, and then spat on the diseased limb (Ebers, 20, 17).

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 'papyrus, incised and inked, pi.' (ib.) as a left foot (Pop. Leiden 354, versus 4, 3); but the neck was usually the spot where most charms were worn (Zauberspruche, recto 1, 3, 8, 3, and passim). The string or strip of rag employed for this purpose was usually a crocodile, but, as we see, the linen being the favourite number.

Such knotted strings have often been found and are to be seen in many collections (Erman, Zauberspruche, p. 30). 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 (Pop. mss. Harris, verso A, 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:

'If the poison pass these seven knots, which Horus has made on his body, I will not allow the sun to shine,' etc. (Pop. Turin, 131, 5).

Particularly interesting is a spell where twelve gods were invoked.

These were drawn 'on a ray 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' (Pop. Leiden 255, 2, 3).

Here evidence of the knotted cord under the guardianship of a special deity, and thus formed a divinely protected barrier between the malign influence and its possible victim.
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Initiative or significant actions were frequently performed with the apparatus of the magical rite; we have seen how a waxen image of Apophis was thrown into the fire and destroyed, and similar cases could be multiplied.

At this point may be mentioned the composite stele known as Caryi of Horus; these are of comparatively late date (Satte period and after), and are covered with magical texts of the kind described above, and with sculptured figures, chief among which is the figure of Horus with his feet on two crocodiles. Such stele seem to have been placed in buildings for their protection, and especially in rid them of snakes and scorpions (see Goloniensch, Metternichstelle; G. Darowy, Texte des demiers magiques, Cairo, 1903).

(b) Negative or precautionary elements.—Magical rites could not be performed at any time and under all conditions; strict rules and restrictions had to be observed. Of these some, like the injunction to the magician to stand "with his face to the East" (Pap. Legylon 337, 12, 10), are of so many different types that they elude classification. Times and seasons, like everything else in ancient Egypt, had their own specific properties; some days were lucky and others unlucky, in part at least through mythological association (for papylar see CALENDAR [Egyptian], § 2). Such considerations had to be taken into special account where magical rites were concerned, and perhaps more attention was paid to the question of time than is indicated in the brief instructions usually given for the formulation of the manual rites.

Of one spell we learn that it had to be recited "at eventide, when the sun is setting" (Zauberbepiche, verso 3, 7); in another case seven knots have to be tied, "one in the morning, and another in the evening, until seven knots are complete" (Zauberbepiche, verso 3, 5).

Magical rites were also in demand for safeguarding men against dangerous periods of the year. As in ancient Mexico (Olmec, etc.), just as ch. Iv. of the Book of the Dead (pakhret), it was ordained that 'one part of the man and woman, not 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 (E. Naville, Destruction des hommes, line 79, in TSBA iv. [1876] 16).

Sorcery was essential in dealing with magic. In reference to a spell written on a strip of fine linen the warning is given that "it is not to be looked at (Pap. Legylon 343, recto 2, 25);" of another it is said that it must not be used for any one except him for whom it was prescribed (ib. verso 8, 6). For similar instructions in the Book of the Dead see J. Baillot, Idees necrolitiques dans l'Egypte antique, Blais, 1912, pp. 72-75.

8. Magic and medicine.—Magical spells are often recommended on account of their proven efficacy; "a true remedy on many occasions" is a formula extremely frequent in the magical papyri (e.g., Pap. Legylon 337, recto 2, 25). The appeal to experience indicates a desire to justify magic as a science, and hints at the possibility of a real science arising out of it. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Egyptian medicine is the direct offspring of Egyptian magic, and that it never became really emancipated from it parent. The medical books are seldom free from incantations, and the magical parts of the medical prescriptions (see, e.g., Zauberbepiche, verso 7, 2). In the selection of drugs the doctrine of properties undoubtedly played a great part, though the definitiveness of our evidence and the slowness of progress of empirical science tend to conceal this from our observation. It is no argument against the thesis here supported that many of the herbs and drugs prescribed were actually, and were known to be, wholesome. In the first place, magic itself is not necessarily irrational in its methods, and, in the second place, even the utility of many wholesome things like onions was based upon essentially magical conceptions (see above, § 7 (1)). The exotic and abhorrent nature of many drugs cannot conceivably be explained except as due to superstitious reasons; how else could one account for the use of "the bones of an oxyrhynchus-fish" (Ebers, 6, 3), or "the urine of a male ass that has begotten another" (Griffith, Petrie Papys, London, 1898, pl. 5, 1, 18)? It is significant that the latter medicament occurs in a treatise on midwifery and kindred topics. One can often make a shrewd guess at the meaning of a prehistoric prescription. To enumerations of magical "herbs, scents, and healing of charms" (hunts) the following is prescribed: "A large beetle (hydr), whose head and wings have been cut off. To be burnt and put into fat, and then applied" (Ebers, 83, 13).

The point of this must surely be that, the word for beetle being derived from the verb 'to be a beetle' (hydr), 'to become,' a mutilated beetle would symbolize the frustrated achievement of a purpose; the purpose here to be frustrated was 'the working of charms.'

It must not be imagined that there was no distinction between a medical prescription and a magical rite. The former consisted mainly, not wholly, of what may be considered as a specialized development of the manual rite, namely, the enumeration of drugs and directions for their use. The diagnosis, which is ushered in by the words 'so shalt thou say' (ad-hypr), and which sometimes precedes the list of drugs, may owe its origin to the oral rite of magic—just as the magician sometimes declares that he knows the name of the remedy. A difference is made in the Book of the Dead between an 'incantation' (shuwtet) and a 'remedy' (pakhret); the latter is, in the main, an enumeration of drugs. In the same way the physician (samet) was not quite the same thing as the magician; the physician might be a magus, while the magician was a priest (below, § 9).

That even in the 'remedy' (pakhret) magical ideas were latent may be proved by some additional evidence. The following is explicit enough:

"Formula for digging a remedy: Welcome, remedy, welcome, which destroyest the trouble in this my heart and in these my limbs. The magic (bide) of Horus is victorious in the remedy" (pakhret) (Ebers, 2, 1-9).

We also find formulæ to be recited in applying remedies generally (Ebers, 1, 1-11), in using the medical measures (Pap. med. Hennt, 13, 14), in using animal fat (ib. 14, 4), and so forth. These formulæ seem intended to supply the place of the incantations of which many medical prescriptions have purged themselves; their reintroduction was a reactionary step.

Where, then, does medicine begin and magic end? There is no definite boundary-line. Medicine may be said to begin when incantations are no longer used. At that point medicine becomes a technique, though using means which we cannot understand, and which, if it proves to give ex-
magnelection, it explains by superstitions reasons.

2. 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, wherever there was consciousness of its exceptional, occult nature, it might be said to lapse into the domain of Egyptian mag- 3. new is its sort and The It was at its best in diagnosis and in its physiologically speculative; the materia medica, on the other hand, remained permanently under the influence of magical conceptions.

6. The magician, as before, a philosophical treatise quoted by Maspero (Papyrus XIII. [1891] 520) exactly defines the difference between the physician (eryne) and the practitioner of magic. The former exercises his craft ἀρχαῖα ἱέρατα ... μεγαλώρ, 'mechanically and by book,' while the latter is a 'priest' (τερτεία), 'acting through his own religious feeling' (διὰ τής ἱερατευμονᾶς ποιώς). There appears to be no common word for 'magician' (ἀρχαίος, 'charmer,' e.g., in Ebers, 99, 3, is very rare), and magicians certainly formed no caste of their own. It is in accordance with the homogeneity of religion and magical knowledge, and particularly those priests whose function (§ 2) to be versed within.

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, Aegyptologie, Leipzig, 1889-90, p. 156; cf. C. A. Erman, Aegyptologie, Leipzig, 1899, p. 25). The 'doctor-priest' (χρωμάτης) is especially named as empowered to perform cures (Pap. med. Berolin., 8, 10), as having discovered incantations (Pap. med. London., 8, 12), and as being endowed with the gift of prophecy (Pap. med. London., 6, 41). It is clear that the scribes at the court of Cheops in the tale were all 'chief lectors' (see Erman, Märchen des Papyrus Westcar, i. 21). A passage in the Ebers Papyrus (99, 2) singles out the 'priests of Sakhmet' (σακχομέτ) for special mention as skilled members of the magico-medical profession; this is because Sakhmet was a fearful goddess who manifested her wrath in inflicting disease; her priests were likely to know best how to cope with her. Priests, doctors, and magicians alike had to turn to education at colleges called 'the house of life' (περιοναί); of these we know but little.

A 'chief physician' of the time of Darius describes how he was commissioned by Pharaoh to restore the perioinai (in Sais), 'because His Majesty knew the value of this (i.e. the medical) and because he could not provide this knowledge at Abydos,' apparently attached to the temple (Lower A B 62: 231. [1914] 119). The word perioinai in the bilingual decrees is rendered in the Greek as 'scribes of the house of life' (see Griffith, Episcopal Papyri, Manchester, 1900, p. 81, n. 13, Stories of the High Priests, p. 19). Magic could be learnt at the perioinai (de: Pap. mag. Ostra., 6, 10).

On the whole, we receive the impression that less importance was attached in Egypt than in other lands to the personality of the magician; his power might in some cases be due to special gifts, but, broadly speaking, it was ascribed to knowledge, and not to the supernatural powers of certain men. The instructions appended to magical incantations usually presuppose that private individuals could use them for their own profit if only they observed the right precautions. Thus the magician's presence was not essential, and his authority lay solely in the fact that he was the possessor of magical knowledge; the epithet 'knows of things' (with ἰδεῖ) was commonly added to him (see Griffith, Stories of the High Priests, p. 11; Ebers, i. 19).

This point is well brought out in a passage describing the all-wisdom of the Pharaoh Amenemhat: 1

1. A unique king, whom Seshat taught, praised of the goddess isub, the reverence of Thoth is beside him, and he gives to him knowledge of things, so that he guides serpents according to the true rule: He is one great of life' (Scod, Ueberdie, in, Leipzig, 1896, 191).

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 Hermes Trismegistos (q.v.; see Griffith, Stories of the High Priests, p. 58). The skill of Thoth as a magician is associated with the dominion of the hieroglyphs and the sciences of astronomy and mathematics; in the myth of Osiris he played the part of 'physician of the eye of Horus' (Pap. med. Horrât, 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, 31 + 177, 6; Ebers, i. 12 and passion.). Horus himself was not devoid of magical ability, though it was mainly in his skill in wounding of attacks that this was displayed; the Horus of Letopolis is described as the 'chief physician in the house of Ré' (Pap. Turin, 124, 5). The eye of the sun-god, which was subsequently called the eye of Horus and identified with the Urecs-snake on the forehead of Ré and of the Pharaohs, the earthly representatives of Ré, finally becoming synonymous with the crown of Lower Egypt, was a mighty goddess, Uto or Buto by name; she is often referred to as Woret-hiké, 'the she who is great of magic' (Sethe, Altcitumskunde Egyptians, v, [Leipzig, 1912] 128).

According to Manetho, King Athothis of the Ist dyn. practised medicine and composed anatomical books. Under King Zoser of the IIIrd dyn. lived the wise Iouter, the eldest son of the chief magicians (De exquisite divini, see Sethe, Altcitumskunde Egyptians, v, [Leipzig, 1912] 128). Iouter was in late times worshipped as a god (see art. Heroes A); his son Iouter, a discoverer of various books of hiké incorporated in the Book of the Dead (see Erman, Märchen des Papyrus Westcar, i. 13). 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 Khnumnés, one of the innumerable progeny of Ramesses II. (see Griffith, Stories of the High Priests, p. 11).

In the later Greek and patriarchic literature reference is made to various Egyptian magicians of note, Sochos, Psamosiris, andi, above all, Nectanebo, the last native Pharaoh, who plays an important part in the legend of the Pharaoh, Thutmose III. (see Griffith, Stories of the High Priests, p. 11).

11. The nature of Egyptian magic.—The magical rite, as described in § 7, was by no means wholly irrational in its methods; indeed, granting its premises, namely the existence of gods and demons, the theory of possession, the principles of sympathy, and the doctrine of properties, 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 hiké we stated to rest in magic was the principle of order (§ 11), yet the methods of magic are declared to be simple and straightforward. The fact is that no explanation of the magical rite is afforded by the consideration of its parts either severally or collectively; its explanation can be sought only in the concept of hiké, which is a thing apart from, and, as it were, superimposed upon, the methods and premises of the magical rite, a sort of pervading vital principle making this what it is, etc. The rite of the magical rite would doubtless have seemed to the Egyptians no more than what to us it appears to be, a puerile, though not wholly meaningless,
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combination of words and pantomime. There was
practically no prohibited, thousand
was 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 be very real. In later
hypothesised period magic and science were undifferen-
tiated. Later on, a distinction became gradually
discernible between the simple techniques of ordi-
nary life and the less successful or, at least, less
trustworthy means by which men sought to achieve
their ends. The domain of hikos or magical power, was precipitated. Hikos gathered
round itself just those less matter-of-fact precon-
ceptions which were found unserviceable in ordi-
nary life, and these became its methods. Now,
the simple techniques are always able to detect,
amid the complex environment in which acts
necessarily performed, the actual determining fac-
tor in their results; not so hikos, which is therefore
apt to regard the whole cornor of magic as
essential to the achievement of its purposes. This
is the reason for the meticulous attention that
hikos pays to detail, the set form of words to be
recited, the restrictions as to time and place, the
practical objective by means of which the
power, the domain of hikos became and the less successful
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
laws and rules, and its comprehensible jargon to
impress the wisdom lying behind it. In this context
mention must be made of two more ways in
which it sought to obtain credit for hikos,
namely the appeal to antiquity and the appeal to
authority.

Such and such a rite was found at nightfall in the
forecourt of the temple as a test of the godless (hikos) by a
beater of that fate; the earth was in darkness, but the moon
shone upon this book, illuminating it on every side. It was
brought as a Wunder to King Cheops' (Prop. nec. London,
8. 11-13).

The papyri from which this quotation came was
written in the time of Ammosiris, 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 Gebe on his own
behalf (Prop. nec. Decret. 5, 13) while others were devised by
Nis or Isis on behalf of Ask (ib. 5, 15, 16).

A more reputable way of appraising the value
of a magical rite was by appealing to the test of
effectiveness. If, for example, a certain
spelling that 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 hikos 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. Of general interest are E. A. W. Budge,
Egyptian Magic, London, 1911; A. Erman, Ägyptische Reli-
Kioni, Berlin, 1909, ch. viii; A. Moret, La Magie dans l'Égyp-
tique Ancien (Bibliothèque de vulgarisation du Musée Guimet, xx),
Paris, 1907; A. Wiedemann, Magic and Zauber in altem Ägypten
(Der alte Orient, vol. VI, pt. IV), Leipzig, 1905.

ALAN H. GARDINER.

1. MAGIC (Greek and Roman).—I. INTRODUC-
TORY.—It is practically impossible to extract
anything from the great mass of magic theory
and practice as certainly the particular contribu-
tion of any given people. There is no system or
human thought which, in its unchanging essential
principles, 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, can rarely be
identified with certainty. This is especially true of
the two great nations of classical antiquity.
Here, as elsewhere, magic was believed and prac-
tised by the common man, and even the literary
record of magic theory and practice begins with
Homer and continues with increasing variety and
particularity until the latest times. But, rich as
they are, the records of classical magic are too
incomplete and the possibility of filling the lacuna
is too remote to warrant us in hoping that a search
for the indigenous would meet with any success.
We shall therefore omit all reference to this aspect
of our subject. For this reason, too, as well as on
account of the intimate cultural relations between
Greece and Rome, it seems best to deal with the
two nations as one.

1. Magic and religion.—From more than one
point of view the civilization of classical antiquity
is still quite justified in challenging comparison
with that of any other period in history. No
other civilization has more closely approached,
observing, reflecting, and creating 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—of all things
the most remote and mysterious—was so
warranted, so highly enshrined, as in Greece, as
had such an abiding influence, none in which
men had such a peculiar interest in the subject,
none in which the progress of magic from the lore
of the farmer to the incantations of the philo-
sopher is more clearly marked and more prototypically
illustrated.

The paradox, however, is only apparent. Owing
to its exaggerated conservatism, the religion of
both nations always remained amazingly primi-
tive, 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
discipline of inculcation, with all the conclusions
for which it is ultimately responsible, was never
particular 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 differenti-
ate clearly between a particular act and a spell
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 redoubtable magic
into an interesting but harmless fossil. Their
only course was to cling to the ancient distinction
of official recognition.

According to this distinction, "religion is prescribed, official,
an organized cult. Magic is prohibited, secret; at most it is
permitted, without being prescribed" (N. W. Thomas, EB
vol. 305, summarizing R. Huber). Magic cannot be distinguished from religion by
the doctrine of sympathy, or by any supposed
necessary consequence of cause and effect, or even by its
malevolent character. Religion, then, is the
orthodox, magic is heterodox. It is being understood,
of course, that for the Greeks and Romans the
character 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 State. Other gods, and therefore their
ceremonial, are heterodox. Even orthodox gods must be
approached only by prescribed ceremonies.

This Graeco-Roman retention of the primitive
distinction between magic and religion is our only
guide in establishing meaning and coherence in

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1 Legal oaths are, of course, a fairly effectual way of
guaranteeing truthfulness; but less because the implied cure
is feared than because perjury is a criminal offence.
MAGIC (Greek and Roman)

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 sphere of action. It does not necessarily destroy or even impair the belief in the reality and power of magic as such; on the contrary, from the very nature of the 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. II. 13. 17) 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 promoting foreign cults, and thereby embracing within the sphere of their influence heaven and hell as well as humanity, is several times illustrated in the religious history of the Romans. 1

And these religions, therefore, were classified as magic. The foreign cult, as such, was occasionally despised, but quite as often it was thought to be full of terrible possibilities in the way of mysterious knowledge. This was especially the case if itsประเทศไทย were either in formation 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 they were the Romans by the complicated mummeries of the Etruscans. Nations living far away, particularly those who live at or near the place where the sun rises from the under world in the morning or goes down into it at night, are notable for their knowledge of magic. Under such circumstances as these whole nations may be endowed by nature with magic power, especially for some given thing. Remoteness in time is, if anything, a more powerful factor than remoteness in space. When a faith has been superseded, it thereby becomes magic. In other words, the term magic is known today only to be used as a synonym for 'magic.' So the elder and alien race is apt to be looked upon, especially by those who superseded it in the same country, as a race of formidable magicians—so formidable, in fact, and, by reason of their antiquity, so much nearer the days of the gods, that they themselves are sometimes believed to have been of supernatural origin. But they are still heterodox, they belong to the old order of things, they are more or less allied to the Lords of Mischief.

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 (Theoc. ii. 162 and often), no magic like the imported brand. Helen's nemesis (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 nature of the law lingered with representations as that of its rival who was, or pretended to be, from Egypt, Chaldaea, Cilicia, India, or any other place but Rome. It is true, of course, that 'magic is prohibited, secretly practised,' 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 mysticus, like those Greek cults so much affected by the Greeks themselves. If the principle of holding any operation of magic, it could only have because magic itself was heterodox. So far, then, as secrecy was felt 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. Nor, of course, was magic necessarily malicious; on the contrary, it might be distinctly otherwise. So 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—it was both against the sacred law and for 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, the laws are too incomplete to give a very satisfactory idea of the question. In Greece, however, as in Rome, it concerned itself most seriously with the matter of strange religions—a burning question as soon as communication with the outside world became more intimate and extensive; still more in Rome when, owing to rapid expansion after the Second Punic War, alien beliefs and rituals came pouring in from every side. From the Decemviri 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 importance. And, as far as the legal aspect of magic is concerned, it may be emphasized anew that, whether in Greece or in Rome, the ultimate formation and guide of procedure was always the old criterion of orthodoxy. It is clear, for instance, that the magic 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 alechemy (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 an obvious 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 law®es? as compared with the legal status 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 them and to make such use of them. But, so far as the principle was not called upon, and only by virtue of his office. In the hands of private individuals it was
considered dangerous, and no doubt it was largely for this reason that magic was so rigorously proscribed and its illegality so solemnly kept alive.\(^1\)

The history of legal legislation on the subject of foreign rites begins with the consul Cæsar of its type, the *Soccius consulium de Bucchaulibus* in 186 B.C. (Livy, xxxix, 8-19),\(^2\) in connexion with which it was ordered that all books of magic should be burnt.\(^3\) 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 our plea is 'undue influence.' In Greek law, a case which was specified either as ἐν δίκαια ἐπαγωγή or as γαμοῦ προνείβασις (i.e., 'drugs,' in the ancient sense of the word, or 'persuaded by one's wife').

The best known case of this kind is the one brought against Apelles, the famous poet of the 2nd cent. B.C., by the relatives of the impressive old widow, Porcilla, to whom he had just married. The charge was that he had won her affections by magic, and specified practices were alleged.\(^4\) The local task of the action was perhaps ultimately the Lex *Caelia de Scortaniis et Punctulis* passed by Sulla in 82 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 the knowledge of magic at 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 Hermonice, the wife of a Neoptolemus, with winning his affections by the use of philtres. Her dignified and stinging reply:

> Not of my philtres thy lord hateth thee, 
> But that thy nature is no mate for his.

That witch's broodrigers, nay, but nobblers. (565 B.C.) 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, old as it is, will never cease 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 ordinary Greek words for "magic" are μάγια, μάγος, and μαγία. The last two are old and popular. The μάγος, according to the derivation offered by the Greeks themselves—καὶ μάγος καὶ ἐπέρρει τὸ μάγος τοῦ μάγου—was specifically a necromancer in the original sense of that word, i.e., like the besom-dcipherer, necromancer, theo-nermancer, theo-rondumancer—thing which in all ages has been one of the most important specialties of the magic art. It is true that the modern definition of it contains the derivatives of professional mourners, and, as Hubert observed, the two occupations are not incompatible. But it has been both. As we shall see below, the old etymologist is not thinking of mourners; he is giving a very good description of a special and particular type of magic which itself was doubtless quite familiar. The μάγος was, no doubt, much feared by the population in general, but he was also more or less a respectable charlatan, and in other respects the associations with a person of his type were such that the three ordinary names of "magic," μάγια appears always to have been the most distinctly pejorative. The prominence of μαγία in this connexion is due to the primitive idea that the action of any drug or magic—using that word in its most extended application—is due to magic power. In its original sense μαγία means the science which deals with the magic properties of plants and simples. Hence the μαγία—in all countries the primitive ancestor of the doctor, the apothecary, and the toxicologist (amateur or professional)—was the magician. The magician whose specialty was this particular branch of the subject, and the μαγία, i.e., the 'drug' which he prepared, was a magic charm. As such, the efficacy of a magic charm was enhanced if it was conditioned, by the incantation which generally is associated with some stage of its history. If not properly discovered, prepared, or given under certain conditions or in a certain way. Of course, its effect may be helpful or harmful according to the intentions of the magician. A secondary use of the word in the sense of either 'poison' or 'charm' isomerism, which is the primary meaning of an adjective (Od. iv. 239). The origin and use of μάγια (Lat. magus), from which, through the substantivized adjective (μάγος, μάγοι) our modern word is derived, are an

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1. **Maurice, Let Magie et Contrefaute, p. 100.**

2. **A. Alt., Die Apologie des Apelles von Madura und die antrieb zu Zambieri, in E.T. 2 [1758] pp. 57-64:**

3. **In Darmstadt Sabine, s. l. Mon., 1489.**

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\(^1\) **Maurice, Let Magie et Contrefaute, p. 100.**

\(^2\) **A. Alt., Die Apologie des Apelles von Madura und die antrieb zu Zambieri, in E.T. 2 [1758] pp. 57-64:**

\(^3\) **In Darmstadt Sabine, s. l. Mon., 1489.**
excellent illustration of the Greek and Roman attitude towards an alien faith to which alienation has already been made. In its original and restricted sense psyche meant nothing more than the soul of the Persian Magi (e.g. Plato, Alcm. L. 122 A). It is well known that this faith, which was imported to Greece by the Magi about 515 B.C., entered into the great religious systems of the world. But it was imported, and had no official standing; it even though impressive, it was unauthorized. Between the two religious systems the general term for 'magic' as early, at least, as the 4th cent. B.C., as we see from Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. ii. 17, and, perhaps, Aristotle, frag. 263 (though this last is a later interpolation, Dug. Lect. priorum, v. 3), and thereafter retained no apparent traces of its specific and pretentious application. The word psyche was, however, perhaps, used by sophists, and certainly in Greek philosophy the word psyche was, at least, distinguished from the original and distinctive use, as a pejorative term for magic in the general sense. In Latin, as far as we know, the general term for 'magic' is the verb incantare (pejorative) and whatever may be derived from it is religio. The mystics (e.g. Porphyry, De Abstinentia, ii. 49) differentiation theoretically the use of these words; they distinguish between good and bad magic, and this distinction holds good in another very important and extensive branch of divination, one in which one was interested and which all the schools of philosophy, especially the Stoics, investigated and dissected at great length—this was the identification of dreams (αρτορία; see DREAMS AND SLEEP, vol. v. p. 301, and cf. Artemidorus, Oniricon, a curious treatise of the 2nd cent. A.D. which still survives). The method officially sanctioned for divining dreams was that of the magus, and the word incantation was invented, but the magic ārtpo (esp. the Pat. Lingl. Batem., Leyden, 1813-85, v. vii) are full of artorico, formula and charms for obtaining such dreams. Hubert was also interested in this field, and his theories were revived and found their way into the sphere of magic instead of paganism happening to be the official and standard of comparison. For the Romans themselves—at least, after the 1st cent. A.D.—the difference between the magi and the magus, the enepten, the magus, and the magia was only difference of degree.  

Pliny's opinion (HN xxx. 2) is that magic began with medicine, and that the chief causes of further growth were the admixture of religion and astrology (ars mathematica)—all with intent to deceive. In the same way (or series of such speculations regarding the hierarchy of demons) through whose aid the good or the bad magic, no one may be, is able to accomplish its purpose. The Alexandrian school of philosophers undertook to draw a distinction between psyche and the particularly pretended their own. But the magia (De Civ. Rel. x. 9) is too much a practical, clear-headed Roman not to see the essential weakness of the entire theory. It is the worship of God, he says, is the only simple xed a connecting link, not logisms, and the articius aliens adiunctus also analogous, e.g. quae and presence in any purpose. They are, of course, nothing more or less than our familiar old criterion of orthodoxy, the fact that Christianity as orthodoxy must be the official and local standard of comparison. For the Romans themselves—at least, after the 1st cent. A.D.—the difference between the Pagani and the Christian, the one, the other, and the magia was only difference of degree.  

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MAGIC (Greek and Roman)

Cretes, of Acarnania.⁴ As such, they were all regarded as servants of the gods and, indeed, as themselves more or less divine; and, in some cases, they were all classed as ἀγάμοι (Noun, xiv. 301 f.; Strabo, p. 601).⁵ Indeed, the Telchines are inimical to the gods and spiteful towards men. They use the water of the Styx in their charms (Nonnus, Dionys. xiv. 36); they are malignant sorcerers, who with the plants ruin the crops, 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 servants of Hephaestus, so these semi-divine corporations of men were the first workers in iron from harm (see KOURETES AND KORYBANTES).

The great individual magicians of Greek mythology are Prometheus (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 845; Val. Flac. vii. 335), Agamedes,⁶ Melampus (Apollod. ii. 12, 20; ibid. iii. xv. 14), Agamedes or Perimeide (Roscher, s. c.; Theocr. ii. 16 and schol.), Circe (Roscher, ii. 1193), and Medea (ib. s. c.). The special, though not the exclusive, interest of all is φαρακτεία. Promethes, the father of the deadly word, and the wise Melampus of Thessaly, the distant land of magicians. All the rest (except Enone, and even she 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 of the seed of Helios and Poseidon, both from Corinth, 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, but free dwellers far away in the mystic and trackless seas. Cruel, but no more consciously cruel than the child who separates some luckless fly from its wings, this φαρακτεία, whose special power is metamorphosis, amuses herself with enticing such wandering mariners as come within her reach to drink magic potions which straight-
and commentators—few fail to mention her. Ovid never escaped from her spell. From Homer to the last foible echoes of rhetoric, and again in the renaissance of the modern world, here is a dominant personality, and the story of her love and her lover, her betrayal and her terrible revenge, has never grown less arresting and charming.

As we might guess, Medea is the typical Groeco-Roman enchantress. Her connexion with Hecate, her methods of discovering, securing, preparing, and administering her φάρμακα, and the large preponderance of φαρμακία itself in her theory and practice of magic are all typical of every other enchantress both in literature and in life from Homer to the end of the classical world.

2. Their methods.—φάρμακα are either to be swallowed or to be applied outwardly as salves or plasters. 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 render Jason invulnerable (Αἴπολις βιβλ. ii. 1041 ἐκ.), and still another—in the form of the essence—to put the dragon to sleep (Ἰβ. iv. 150); in the old Lesbian folk-tale Aphrodite gave Phaon a box of salve which, when applied as directed, gave her youth and beauty (Ἔρως ἔρωτος τινα βοηθάων τινα βοηθάων τινα τον Φαώνα). The shirt of Nessus and the robe of Crenxa belong to the same type. Pampylia (Αἴπολις Μερ. iii. 48) went so far as to have a box filled with little caskets, each containing a special salve for a given metamorphosis.

Quite as ancient and characteristic is the φάρμακα taken as a drink. So Helen, herself a sorceress, administered her cup to Nestor (Od. i. 229—232); so Circe effected all her transformations (Ἰβ. v. 237); so Medea performed some of her feats. And here, again, the method is typical of later times. One branch of it—the use of φάρμακα in νομολογία (κ. a. 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 completed until she touches the victim with her ἱδρέα, or wand (Od. ii. 140). In art Medea is frequently represented with a wand; with a wand Athena makes Odysseus look young again (Od. xvi. 172); so Hermes overpower our senses (Ἱ. xxiv. 343; Od. v. 47); and, as every one knows, to this day no national gathering of a public nature is complete without the use of the wand; such a wand seems to be an application of the doctrine of sympathy. It facilitates the transfer of the magician's power to the object upon which he wishes to exert it. But in all cases the wand is a help rather than an actual necessity. Except, perhaps, in the case of the gods just mentioned, who, as such, are too powerful to need it, the really essential thing is the φάρμακα, and, as we have seen, the Groeco-Roman theory of magic presupposes that Circe had already prepared her φάρμακα to the accompaniment of the proper charm, and that Helen and Medea had been similarly treated either by herself or by the specialists from whom she had procured it.

The same rules hold good for φάρμακα in the art of healing. The sons of Antolyos bind up the wound of Odysseus, and stop the flow of blood with an ἱεροῦ (Od. xii. 457); the divine physician, Ἀρεάπης, follows the same methods (Πεν. Πυθ. iii. 52; cf. iv. 217; schol. Ἰσμ. vi. 53; cf. Soph. Ἄνδρ. Col. 1194 (ἐκ.), and at all times the use of inunction with a remedy was no characteristic of any of our richest sources for the study of φάρμακα as magic is the works of the physicians from Hippocrates to Marcellus. Not that men like Hippocrates and Galen were much impressed by the magic of medicine; but their patients were, and any good doctor learns that his most powerful allies are the patient's own determination to recover and his belief that he is getting well. In popular medicine, of course, the survival of magic is much more marked. Here, too, the practice of pre-Periclean times is typical. The case of Iphicles (Ἀπολλ. τ. ι. 12; Ῥοσχέρ., 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 Mopsus the Argyarch (Ἀπολλ. Βιβλ. iii. 156), was the language of birds, consulted the vulture. The vulture said that ten years before, while castrating rams, Iphicles had threatened his father Phyesus with the knife. It was then discovered that the knife had at that time, and presumably by Phyesus himself, been struck into the tree with which the life and well-being of Iphicles were bound up, and men seek the tree ever since. The knife was removed, the rust scraped off and prepared as a φάρμακα, and, when Iphicles had taken it as prescribed, he immediately recovered his powers. Similarly, the wound of Telephus could be cured only by the rust on the spear of Achilles by which the wound had originally been inflicted. The principle is, of course, frequently illustrated in the later history of Groeco-Roman magic. It appears in our own homely saying that 'the hair of the dog cures his bite.'

3. Other branches of magic referred to in this period are engraving and incantation. According to Homer (Od. v. 516 ff.), Odysseus learned from Circe how to call up the dead, and the ceremonial of necromancy, as the poet pictures it, always remained practically the same. Indeed the antics of Εἰμίκλαθα, as described by Diog. Laert. (viii. 53, 62 ff.), show clearly that the type of the ψευδής became finally fixed at a very early period. Again, the bag of winds given by Αἰώλιος to Odysseus (Od. v. 16 ff.) repeats the symbolism of wind and weather magic in all times and countries. The same is true of the primitive rustic magic attributed to the Telchines. Finally, the love-charm known as 'drawing down the moon' was certainly familiar long before the time of Sophron, who, according to Plutarch, was a contemporary of Cicero. Presumably this charm was from the first looked upon as the special property of the Thessalian witches. At all events, the idea was firmly fixed in the time of Aristophanes (Νυφ., 749) and was never afterwards forgotten.

III. FOREIGN INFLUENCES.—We have seen that, in conformity with the law of distance in time or space or both, the early Greeks attributed special magic powers to their alien predecessors, the Egyptians, Babylonians, Synes, and Cyprus; and that the Pelasgi—and that unusual activity and ability in magic were attributed to what at the time were felt to be so many distant countries as Colchis, Egypt, Thessaly, and even the Islands. As time went on and the horizon of the known world became correspondingly wider, such local centres became pari passu more and more distant, and the strange 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 Apuleius, Thessaly was the centre, if not the birthplace, of magic and magicians. The literature is full of it, and evidently the literature was in this respect a faithful reflection of average opinion in the world at large. Numberless passages might be cited to show that in the Athens of Periclean days in the Rome of Augustus and the average professional enchantress found it 'good business' to advertise herself as a 'genuine Thessalian.'

Orphism.—Thrace too, though Pliny (H.N. xxx. 167) gives us no hint that the Thracian Persians were of the right age to have given a Thracian Orphism, tells us that the Thracian Persians were of the right age to have given a Thracian Orphism.

2 W. Mannhardt, Antike Welt- und Feldkulturen, Berlin, 1877, p. 32 ff.
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1.) denotes 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, it was not only a religious movement, but a religious movement of the most momentous importance in the spiritual development of classical antiquity and ultimately of the entire Western world (see ORPHEISM). But it was heterodox and, therefore, "magic." Indeed, it was to be the first great and definite example within historical times of the imposition of a strange religion on Greek orthodoxy. Aristophanes and his fellow poets make all manner of fun of the Orphics and Orphic poetry. Cicero (Natural History, Book 3, 72) mentions the pseudonymous poet Musaeus, who claimed to be the author of the Orphic Hymn to Apollo, which Cicero attributes to Homer. But Orphism itself suffered from the fact that, being a strange religion, it was at once classed as mere magic. As such, it had no standard and inevitably began to deteriorate. It justified more and more its new name of ordinary magic, and its adherents assumed more and more the habits and point of view of ordinary magicians. On the other hand, ordinary magic was enriched and enlarged, its usual, by contact with new principles and methods of procedure. Here, of course, we have one important reason for the incomparable wealth and variety of Greek-Roman magic.

But out of all these foreign influences on native magic the religion of the Persians, i.e., of the Magi, was perhaps the most important. At any rate, in the ordinary opinion of later times it was the type of all such influence in general. And in fact the Magi were the most prominent of all the native rivals of the new combination of magic. 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 Orphic name had, as it were, become a synonym for magic. Afterwards generally accepted, that the original fountain-head of the new combination was Zoroaster, the Persian. The intrusion of Zoroastrian magic is characterized by a refl ected light on the later history of the subject. It was not absent, as it was popularly believed in the ancient world that great scholars and sages—especially if, like Pythagoras, Ephemerides, Democritus, and even Plato, they had also traveled in foreign parts and had been vociferous in the indefatigable mysteries of the Oriental religions—were thereby mighty magicians, if not actually the first to reveal their wonders; they are the world at large [Val. Max. VIII, vii, 7, ext. 2; Solinus, 3; HN xxx. ff., xxiv. 156 ff., xxv. 13 ff.]:

1) B. R. 1349.
2) For formula attributed to Orphus see E. Abel, Orpheus, Leipzig, 1885; R. Wünsch, Rhein. Mus. 14 (1860) 78.
5) Lobecck, p. 625.

Plut. Sympos. viii. 8; Aub. Gell. x. 12; Apul. de Mag. 27, 31; Diog. Laert. ix. 7; Lucian, Neugenteu. 6; Apoll. Tyan. Ep. xvi., we now hear that Pythagoras was a pupil of Zoroaster; indeed, we are told that he was also a pupil of Zara- 

tis the Chaldean (Lobeck, Agygophares, p. 471). Democritus broke into the tomb of Dar- 
amus in order to secure the wonderful MSS buried with the dead; and others say that, after being initiated by the Persian Orphics, he became one of the fountain-heads of the tradition of alethno-

Of these Persian sages associated with the tradition of Greek-Roman magic the most famous was Oesines (HN xxvii. 8, etc.). His special prominence was partly due to the belief that he had committed to writing all the voluminous and unutterably precious but, until his time, entirely oral tradition of ancient magic (ib.). The first book that we know of was that of Oesines (ib. xxviii. 6), and also certain apocryphal books on alethnos.1 Of all the authors on magic he is the most frequently referred to, and his name may be found cited as an important authority in "dream-books" still found in many places.

As we shall see, all this foreign influence on magic was much discussed by the philosophers (Diog. Laert. prooem. 1). One of the most notable contributions was made by the poet, especially the poet of the alleged Orpheus, usually attributed to Aristotle (Frgg. Arist., ed. Rose, frag. 32 fl.). Suidas (s. r. Antithesenes) does well to doubt Aristotelian authorship, for the symphonically childish statements referred to are eminently uncharact eristic of that residuary legatee of Hellenic thought, the hard-headed and highly intellectual Stagryte.

IV. ITALIC MAGIC.—The traditional history of Italian magic is not so well attested, but the assumption that it has been more highly developed than the rest is not without foundation. It is illustrated by Pliny's typical anecdote of one Furins Chreemius (HN xviii. 41), and as late as the 6th cent. A.D. we are told by Agobardus of Lyons, de Grandine et Fontanae, 2 (PL civ. 148), that in his time Satan was so powerful that he himself had formed a sort of trust and were transporting all the crops in air-ships to a land with the significant name of Magoniam.2

A certain amount of magic of this primitive type is preserved by the Varro de Agr. 701, 73, 96, 102, 127, 156-169) and Varro (de Ec. Rust. 1. ii. 27) and is more or less discernible in later authors (e.g., HN xi. 3, xviii. 4; Sen. Quest. Nat. iv. 7; Serv. on Óv. viii. 99; Aug. de Civ. Dei, viii. 10; Pallad. i. 35). It will be observed that the only difference here between magic and religion is that religion is officially sanctioned, while magic is not. The effect of the law of the Twelve Tables is simply to establish this distinction from the legal point of view.

Divination, as usual, occupies a more or less indefinite position between religion and magic. Hence neugenteu. was practised to a certain extent by private individuals, and Creco's accusation of Vaticiniae (in Vatici. vi. 14) is not so extraordinary as it sounds.

1) M. Bertoloni and E. Kneule, COLLECTION DES ANCIENS ALCHI-

MISTRES ROC., Paris, 1888, ii.

2) Brunck, p. 590.
The usual term for a magician is magus, but the word does not appear until Cicero's time. T. Pline (1,1) states that the
name is derived from the verb magere, meaning "to be weak",
and that it was given to a man who had no real power,
which seems to be the origin of our word "magician." The
word magus is doubtless associated with the Persian word
"magus," which means "wise man," and with the Greek word
"magos," which means "wise man." The Persian word is
likely to have been borrowed from the Greek word, and the
Persian word is likely to have been borrowed from the Greek
word. The Persian word is likely to have been borrowed
from the Greek word, and the Persian word is likely to have
been borrowed from the Greek word.

The word "magus" is found in the Bible, and the word "magi"
are mentioned in the New Testament. The word "magus"
is also found in the Book of Isaiah, and the word "magicians"
are mentioned in the Book of Zechariah.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Job, and the
word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of Judges.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Psalms, and
the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of Proverbs.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Lamentations,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
Lamentations.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Zechariah,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
Zechariah.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Matthew,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
Matthew.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Mark,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
Mark.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Luke,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of John,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
John.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Acts,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
Acts.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Romans,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
Romans.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of 1 Corinthians,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
1 Corinthians.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of 1 Thessalonians,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
1 Thessalonians.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of 2 Thessalonians,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
2 Thessalonians.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of 1 Timothy,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
1 Timothy.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of 2 Timothy,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
2 Timothy.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Titus,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
Titus.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Philemon,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
Philemon.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Hebrews,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
Hebrews.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of James,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
James.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of 1 Peter,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
1 Peter.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of 2 Peter,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
2 Peter.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of 1 John,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
1 John.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of 2 John,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
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The word "magus" is also found in the Book of 3 John,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
3 John.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Jude,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
Jude.

The word "magus" is also found in the Book of Revelation,
and the word "magicians" are mentioned in the Book of
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Theoretical philosophy was violently attacked by the Sceptics, Epicureans, and Cynics (Philos. Apoll. Lyric, vii. 39). Among the most important works were the Kæro Megro of the Epicurean Celsus (probably the adversary of Origen, and the one to whom Lucian dedicated his Pseudomantis), and the Παιρων Φύσιν of the Cynic Enomax. The Porphyr Magonides of Sextus Empiricus still survives, and it is usually dreamy reading. Lucian feels that the wandering priests of the Syrian sect were better than any other magicians. All magic is a mere pretence, 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. Dei, xxvi. 6); and in general are far from denying the existence and power of magic (Epiph. Hær. xxxiv. 1; Tert. Apol. 35, de Antim. 37; Ens. Prop. Evang. v. 14), especially in those early days when it seemed necessary to make the sharpest distinction between the Christians and the Gnostics. All heretics in general and Gnostics in particular were magicians and their faith was magic (Iren. Hær. i. 13 ff.; Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 26). Paganism in any form was magic, and ancient philosophy was often nothing but magic. The difference between gods and demons was merely a difference in degree; for the Christians there was an absolute opposition between the two: God was good, all the demons were evil; the pagan gods were all demons, therefore all the pagan gods were evil. Any and all marvels which did not happen to be orthodox were the work of the demons.

It will be seen that this is really the familiar old distinction between the orthodox and the heterodox, with a much greater emphasis on the secondary conclusion, also ancient, that the one was good and the other evil, per se. And the same old distinction carried with it the same old assumption that the one was just as true and real as the other. The Christians never seem to have realized any more than did their pagan forefathers that the difference between their gods and other people's gods might conceivably be the difference between some gods and gods who were, under the old name, demons. The only way to deal with the pagan gods was to classify them as evil demons (Tatian, Orat. viii.). They were just as real as ever; the marvels and prodigies attributed to them were just as real and just as really believed as ever; it was merely insisted that the same had been wrought with intent to deceive. The 'idols' still nodded and gave signs from time to time, just as they had always done; but that was a mere operarius wrought by the demons of the old religion (Iren. Hær. c. 28. 2; Ens. HE ix. 3). The persistence of this old prodigy of nodding, 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 Polimondres of Hermes Trismegistus, Asclepius adversus Dialectus Hermeticus Triunnegati, the Hero-glyphica of Heropollon, and the astrological works.
MAGIC (Greek and Roman)

of Nechepso and Petosiris.\(^1\) The literature of the magic oracles belongs to astrology as well as to magic proper. Another important work is the Tetrabiblos, a work of slightly later date. It is the magic encyclopedia, so many of which have come to light in recent years.\(^2\)

The magical papyri.—But most important of all are the magical papyri which continue to turn up from time to time in Egypt. Ehrilber\(^3\) gives the list of those published down to 1904; for later finds and their discussion, the reader is referred to Von Christ (op. cit.), L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, Papyrologische Mittheilungen (Leipzig, 1912), the Archiv für Papyrologie and the occasional reports in Bietzian’s Jahrbuch der Griechischen Alterthümer.

The magic papyri belong for the most part to the period between A. D. 300 and 500. Their discovery is peculiarly fortunate in view of the fact that they belong to a type which came under the ban of the law, and which some of the later emperors, notably Diocletian, made sedulous efforts to destroy. They are not original and independent works, but merely handbooks of magic, and, as might be expected, the editorial tradition is very poor. There are often different versions of the same thing; sometimes the hymn or formula in one version will be considerably abbreviated as compared with the same hymn or formula in another version; again, certain magical words and magical formulas are often merely indicated. It is therefore extremely difficult to reconstruct any complete and trustworthy text of this type.

The authorities habitually quoted and the sources, so far as can be traced, seem to us naturally to bear out Pliny’s statements in his account of the growth and development of magic. Pliny distinguishes three principal sources of ancient magic: (1) the Persian school, founded by Zoroaster and containing 20,000,000 words of magic, and, (2) the second is the Jewish school, descended from Moses, and (3) the third is a Cypriote school.

It will be observed that Pliny makes no reference to the Egyptian school, which was particularly important. However, so much of it has come down to us in the papyri themselves. One of the most important authorities in magic alchemy is Maria, the Jewess, but the papyri also refer to real philosophers like Thales, Anaxagoras, Heraclitus, and Diogenes. The genuine magicians, i.e., the contemporaries or recent authorities, are generally referred to under such names as Zosimus, Synesius, Olympiodorus, Pelagius, and Iamblichus. Now and then we find such curious and characteristic documents as a letter of a magician to Nephotes to ask his advice, a charm of Solomon, or a letter of Pitys, the Theessalian, to Osthene. This gives some idea of the attitude of the Alexandrian magicians towards the tradition which they followed.

It is no longer possible to trace the Persian, druidical, and Brahmanical elements in this strange compound. Assyro-Chaldean influence must have been strong, but it appears to have been indirect. Jewish influence, on the contrary, was both strong and direct; the magic papyri being strongly affected by Judaism. Jewish magicians were in evidence, and they doubtless encouraged the impression that they were the only depositories of the genuine tradition of magic. That, after all, is the Tetrabiblos, so many of which have come to light in recent years.\(^2\)

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1 See W. von Christ, Gesch. der griech. Litteratur, Munich, 1869, p. 289, for a discussion, etc.

2 See esp. W. S. Fox, ‘The Johns Hopkins Tabellae Defunctae,’ AJPh. Suppl. to vol. xxviii. (1912) and references.

The fundamental purpose of magic is to compel by supernatural means; the primary object and supposed result of every charm is some form of constraint. Possession or obsession (e.g., possession by an evil genius) is a constraint, any form of metamorphosis (such, e.g., as lycanthropy) is a constraint, *fronsinatio* in all its numerous forms is a constraint. The ancients habitually associate the processes of magic with the ideas of binding, tying up, or constraining. A magic act is a *katademos*, a *katakeiosis*, a *defecio*, a *devincio*; the removal of its effect is an *aeloia*, a *soluto*, and the corresponding verbs are, e.g., *katakeiosis*, *defeo*, *aeloia*, *soluo*. The language of charm is full of the details of ritual, and is largely suggested and guided by some form of this fundamental idea. One sees it most clearly in such symbolic acts as the tying of knots, the driving of nails, and the binding of images.

are all founded, are simple, universal, and eternal.

The virtue of lead for certain purposes is due to the fact that it is heavy or cold or indigestible, etc. One of the most important applications of the doctrine of sympathy is the use of symbolism. As we have already seen, symbolism is even more characteristic of magic than it is of religion. Hubert defines two methods. In the one, which is particularly dramatic, the person or thing upon which we wish our magic to act is represented by any notion the magician may choose, and the objects which are supposed to affect the symbol are supposed to form a sort of magic key to the effect. In this class is the use of clay and waxen puppets. The second consists in prefurnishing the desired action and result (Tib. i. vi. 53 ff.; Soph. Aes. 1175—

e.g., apply a stone to a wart (contact and sympathy), throw the stone away (sympathy), and the wart goes away. If, however, you have a pain in the stomach, apply the stomach of a frog to the part affected, and your pain becomes his pain, etc. (I. xii. 149; Marcellus, xxxv. 125).

The same idea of contact and sympathy creates the familiar rule of magic homeopathy, that the cause of a given thing is also its remedy. But, so far as magic is concerned, perhaps the most momentous deduction from the doctrine of sympathy is the rule that the part may stand for the whole, that the two are inseparably connected; the part is able to draw the whole to itself, if aided by magic. What Vergil called the *cercus* of Aeneas had a special function and a special significance in the pretended *soluto amoris* of the unhappy Dido (En. iv. 494 f.). Without assuming the active co-operation of this principle, we cannot appreciate the true inwards and performances of magic in classical antiquity. If, for instance, a magician can secure bones of the dead, he has a special and powerful means of calling up the dead to whom those bones originally belonged (Tib. ii. 46)—which is the important reason why witches were so often accused of haunting the graves (Hor. Nat. ii. 8; Lucan, vi. 590), and in primitive times the principal reason why the corpse was so carefully watched until it was safe in the grave (Petron. 65; Apul. Met. ii. 21). So, too, if we wish to reach the living, it is very important to possess a lock of their hair, the parings of their nails, a garment, or anything nearly or remotely associated with them. Nothing is more intimately and entirely part and parcel of a thing than its real name. 'Rome,' it is said (Tib. i. ii. 57 f., with the present writer's note; Macrob. iii. 9; H. N. xiii. 18, ii. 65; Plut. Quast. Rom. 61 [p. 270]), Sert. and Solinus, 1; Lydiv. de Mens. iv. 78), is only the alias of the great city with world dominion. The true name, i.e., the name which would have enabled her enemies to conjure against her, was a religious secret. So the clay or wax image may be comparatively harmless until it has been

1 Hubert, op. cit. p. 1506.

1 Dietrich, p. 171 f.

2 See esp. GDB, pt. i., The Magic Art, i. ch. 3.

ceremonially named with the true name of the person whom it is meant to represent. The results of the incantation are not 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 action 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. 475 f.), 

εἰς τὴν ἐγκατάλειψιν καὶ μὴν δολοδομησθεν

ναοῦς τε τὰ ἑτερορροιον νεκρῶν,

echoed by Horace (Epist. i. 134 f.) in

'sunt vera et voce quisque hunc lenire deore

discursus; et quum quosque sonum voces

are not true only of magical theory in general, but of the Greco-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., HN xxvi. 93). In the exorcism of disease the incantation is often sufficient in itself. Again, a mere verbal comparison is sufficient, especially if accompanied by a gesture.

'Salutem sit quod tange!' ejaculates Triunachio piously (Petron. 63), to avoid possible consequences when he touches his friend's arm to illustrate where and how the unfortunate character in his story was touched by the witch.

Given, therefore, the right words in the right order and pronounced in the right way, the desired results ensue. But which words? Ancient formulae connected with or naming the appropriate gods are, of course, valuable, but in many cases nothing can compare with ancient words in anutterly incommunicable tongue. The most famous example in antiquity was the so-called Ephasis Gramatov attributed to the Daetylis.

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. Music, e.g., as much is distinctly magical. The great musicians of mythol-

Apollon, Orpheus, Vainamoinen, etc., are always magicians. We no longer attribute the power of music to magic in the literal sense, but primitive man can hardly be blamed 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, one particular concern is with a class of sounds which are anything but musical, but which are mentioned again in the literature of the Empire as being especially powerful and efficacious in magic incantations. Lucan, vi. 686 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 of any great value in a matter like this. Whatever they 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 the senses, and not used for any general purpose. The Romans habitually describe them by stridor and stridere. The sounds to which these words are applied are many, and vary from the flogging of a saw to the cracking of a door and the shrilling of a locust. They are elicited, in being articulated, high-pitched, and disagreeable. The obvious and instructive parallel is the primitive Greek ἀγγέλος. The γοητεῖς were specifically necromancers and, as we saw above (p. 271), they were supposed to have received their name from the most notable peculiarity of their magic, viz., 'from their wailing and crying among the tombs.' So, long afterwards, in Greco-Roman times the charms described by stridor and stridere are very characteristic of necromantia. If so, and we can hardly doubt it, the inarticulate magic charms commoted by these two words should be just those described as 'wailing and crying.' If this be true, then they par excellence should be called up the dead. Such being the case, the two most common and characteristic uses of stridor and stridere outside the sphere of magic itself are illuminating. (1) One of these is that of squawking and shrieking—usually in gathering of the dead to which the ancients so often refer:

'Ecce inter tumultuos atque osse caretvis hastis Umbrarum facies direo stridere minax' (Petron. casii. 182); 'auribus incertum ferialis stridere umbra' (Lucan, vi. 626; cf. Stat. Theb. vu. 770; Sil. Ital. xii. 600; Claudian, in Iul. l. 126; Ovid, Fasti, v. 458; Verg. Aen. vi. 4911; Hom. Od. xxix. 2; and Hor. Sat. i. 8. 405).

By the doctrine, therefore, of sympathy the stridores of the necromancers were an imitation of the wailing and crying of the dead, and owed their efficacy to that reason. (2) Stridor is regularly used to describe the hoot of the strix, or screech-owl—that long-drawn, shuddering scream that suggests nothing so much as the laugh of a banshee, the meaning of souls that can find no rest, the ominous cry of the βασιλίσσα, questing ghosts of those who died before their time (see HECLAH'S SUPPERS). No wonder the strix is the most remarkable of the private witches in most folk lore. Owls, disembodied spirits, or necromancers calling up those spirits—so 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 cry had much to do with the situation. The strix is associated with all sorts of witchcraft in antiquity, but especially and above all with vampirism in its various forms (see the present writer's note on Tib. i. v. 42). The classics are rich in examples of the type which happens to be more familiar to us, especially in the erotic sphere. The return of Proteusia is a case in point (Roscher, s. v.), also the story of the Lamia (Philostr. Apoll. Tyg. iv. 25) immortalized by Keats, and the simple and touching tale told by Phlegon of Tralles (Mireb, i) which is the prototype of Schiller's 'Braut von Korinth' and Gautier's 'Morte Amoureuse.'

But witches are, of course, recognized whenever they like, and they do so regularly, when their object is some form of necromancy.

Ovid, Amor. i. viii. 15-18, speaking of Dipsas, the reh autobalg sage with eyes of different colours ('papula duplex'), says:

'Hanc ego nocturnas versam volitare per umbra

Supplicer et pluma corpus ante tegi;

Supplicio, et hanciter; soleaque papula duplex

Fulminat et genium hunc ab ore miscat;

Erecat antiquis praevos statorne sequemur.'

Et soli auge curante carmine hamann.'

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 Amphitrite in Apuleius (Metam.). She uses her love to persuade a strix to fly to her lover; she neverceome 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 lips. She is the erotic vamp of the Middle Ages—who haunts her victim in his dreams and little by little draws to herself the very narrow in his bones. Hence it is that the Greco-

Roman screech-owl, who, even her name describes as phlegon substantially says (HN x. 34), seems to make no effort to look or act like a well-meaning and self-respecting fowl of the air, behaves quite as


2 E. Rohde, Psyche, Tübingen, 1897, p. 64; often in the paper.

3 See E. Kuhnert, in Paulay-Wissowa, v. 2773-2778, and refer-
much to the kingdom of dreams as to the kingdom of birds. How can one be sure in any given instance whether the steir is a real steir or a witch in the form of one (Ovid, Fasti, v. 111). Indeed, as clearly as Plutarch (Pseudep. 105), Procris (ib. 17), striges always meant ‘witches’ as well as ‘screach-owls,’ and this designation of what is evidently the Roman parallel of the old Greek phober records a popular belief which showed no tendency to diminish in later times.

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 derived or from what sources they were supposed to be derived. For example, as Hubert remarks, the magician was like the priest in being closely associated, if not actually identified, with the god whose power he was utilizing, and perhaps in the ultimate issue this even is so. Particularly notable was the development of this principle among the Alexandrian theurgi. Here, of course, the characteristic Greek-Roman preference for the indirect method afforded a favourable soil, but, without doubt, the chief factor was the direct influence of the Egyptian theory just mentioned.

But, granted that he does identify himself with the god, how does he compass it? Is it a gift, or does he acquire it, and if so, how? The theory emphasized by theurgy that it was acquired, and the methods recommended indicate in themselves the effort to raise magic to the level of a religio-philosophical system permeated with the ideas and ceremonial characteristics of mystic, ascribing even to the initiate the power of the great sage. In this sense, the magician must be an 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 Idol. 91, A.D. 33). Indeed, Plutarch, as Hubert remarks, was instructed by God Himself. 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 ceremonial through which the candidate was supposed to pass in order to arrive at the perfection desired. There were recoveries, sacrificial rites, invocations, and, to crown all, a revelation of the kosmoperas (how the universe was made and the secrets thereof). This put the initiate in relation to certain specific gods, as appears to have been the idea of the Egyptian prototype, but with the stars and planets, i.e., the universal powers. The magician, especially the magician-philosopher, derives his power from the world with which he has in some way established rapport with the universe; and, as there is also rapport between all the parts of the universe, he has extended his power over the entire universe as a whole. This, of course, is the old doctrine of sympathy on a particularly grand and impressive scale. The result of the ceremony is that the magician, the theurgus, is himself no longer a man, but a god.

This is a conception calculated to appeal to any man whose imagination is still in working order, but it does not emerge clearly in ordinary magic. It belongs rather to mystic magic, which was the special development of serious souls, some of them really great, who believed that this world 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 determined the powers of the magician were much the same as those which dictated the choice of a magic object or the construction 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 external privilege. In some instances, the power is transmissible; again, it can be outgrown or easily lost. Children, e.g., merely as such, sometimes possess it. Virginity has always been considered an important condition of the power to prophecy (Geopon. xi. 4. BiA Accurs. 21). We have already seen how important they are in the mythology of Greek and Roman. This is true of all magic. They are less prominent in the mystic and their brethren, but this is itself symptomatic of the ideals and pretensions of the movement. In the genuine, traditional, inerrational life, the day-by-day life in Greece and Rome they never lost their importance. As a phantasia, Medea was typical of her sex. The knowledge and practice of phantasia as a branch of magic were always more or less confined to women.

The distant, the sacred, the uncertain — the unusual, even the horrible, are all important factors. Magic is a primitive name for anything abnormal. Those who come from distant countries, especially it, like the Brahmins (Philostor. Apoll. Tyron. ii.), they are also the seers of strange and remote religions, are magicians. Hence, 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 uncanon gift. Any person who has the evil eye is a magician; so, too, the ventriloquist (schoi. Aristoph. Thesm. 1014; Plato, Soph. 232 C; Plut. de Deucta Orac. 9). Anything abnormal about one's birth or pedigree is likely to give one magic power. The child of incest, especially of deliberate incest, is bound to be a magician. This was harped on continually in the witch trials of the Middle Ages, but it is also prominent in ancient tradition. It is certainly in connexion with certain specific gods, e.g., the god of nature. He has established rapport with the universe; and, as there is also rapport between all the parts of the universe, he has extended his power over the entire universe as a whole. This, of course, is the old doctrine of sympathy on a particularly grand and impressive scale. The result of the ceremony is that the magician, the theurgus, is himself no longer a man, but a god.

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 characteristic of the world as large as it was of Plato and his

2 Dieterich, p. 150.
3 Bertelot, II. 80.
4 Iren. De Oraculis Chaldæis, in Hesiod. phil., v. 1894, p. 56.
5 Dieterich, p. 535, n. 1.
followers (Plut. de Def. Orac. 10). Diseases were caused by specific demons, panic was caused by Pan; such figures as the Eryx, Nemesis, Pallas, Iphigenia, the Major, Arachne, and others are not only popular but very old. There are even demons whose only function is to execute the commands of the magic tablets deposited in the baths, and there are others who are merely divinatios, or divinations. The efficacy, c.g., of the Iex demons, as Hubert observes, the creation of a demon or of a special god—a curious but characteristic retention of the primitive view that nothing in this world can happen or be except by the individual exertion of some supernatural power. The magician may find it necessary or advisable to consider other spirits besides the specific agents of the phenomenon in question. He cannot be sure of success beforehand. He may make mistakes, and fail utterly in a god. ... of the power of a magician as contrasted with its successor was the inability to make a sharp distinction between gods and demons. The obvious criterion would be power or disposition. Neither were trustworthy. Some demons were greater than some gods, some gods were the uncannily malignant as some demons were beneficent. The demons, therefore, were not the only powers to whom the magician addressed himself. The dea Trinomia, for instance (Greek law, III. vi. 8); indeed, Pindar says (Pyth. iv. 213 ff.) that it was Aprodite whom she taught Jason how to "draw down the moon"; and so the magician would naturally turn to them (Apol. de Mag. 31). The preference is, of course, for the dea Inter—Hades, Demeter, Persephone, Bank, the Praxidikai, the Eryxines, Gaiya, Cybele, especially those who, like Hecate, Selene, and Hermes, habitually pass back and forth between the two worlds. The greatest of all, the dead souls or resurrection of magic and magicians throughout antiquity, is Hecate—Selene, the Dea Trinomia of the cross-ways, and the queen of the ghosts, who sweeps through the night followed by her dreadful train of quaking spirits. Her power is universal, but she is specially connected with the magic of love, metamorphosis, and φάρσαλαι. The most famous and dramatic incarnations of antiquity are associated with her. The ἱματις, the ὑπάτα, the σελενία, the rerobolnay, the messengers—a regular hierarchy of demonic officials, whose rank and functions are established and fixed with meticulous exactness. The only private citizens in this government are the ordinary human man and woman, sometimes attributed to the success of some magic rite. The magic charms of the later period are full of invocations to demons—demons of all kinds and descriptions and exercising every imaginable function, but all of varying degrees of infernal character. Some of them occur only in the tradition of magic itself, but the large majority are common to both magic and religion. Most important here are the demons, Plato himself (Sudios, s. v. sychia), as well as the aversion of his may be nearly human and therefore so much in sympathy with the magician himself as to take a really personal and lively interest in furthering the matter in hand. All this question of rank and functions was carefully discussed by Proclus and Porphyry (de Mysteriis, Kegygi), and, in fact, the prominence of it is perhaps characteristic of their school and period. This school, it may be observed, made a distinction between good demons and bad demons, attributing the errors of others to the latter. The magic arts have much in common with the Jewish angels in their function of divine messengers, and even the old pagan gods, reduced to

7. Huenen, p. 21 n.

the rank of demons, became messengers of the universal deity (Aug. de Civ. Dei, ix. 19), while the archangels, Michael, Gabriel, etc., take rank with the gods. The archontes, the Cereri, as the planetary gods of the planets (W. Anz., TU xv. [Leipzig, 1857] passim). With Christianity the old gods became demons, and all were considered evil. But magic, the conservative of conservatives, never gave them up, though as the nouveaux riches without distinction were in the service of the devil.

One of the most important classes of demons connected with magic are the spirits of the dead, the νεκροδιανευστη, especially those who, like the ἄνουργα, died violent deaths or survived their time, or never received proper burial, and therefore cannot rest in their graves. The heroes, so to speak, have a somewhat higher social position, but they too are important in magic.
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this was more or less concealed or defaced in the magician's characteristic effort to get at the true name, the name of power for the now somewhat vague supernatural force which he wished to utilize. Having the name and also the image of the god, he could use the force for anything desired, it being understood, of course, that such accompany ceremonies had been performed as were appropriate for realizing the mystic presence of the god.

4. Rites and ceremonies.—Thanks to this habit of pluralizing for power, of summoning from the living all kinds of strange and, therefore, particularly irresponsible forces, a magic ceremony was even more complex than a religious ceremony. Especially notable in all ages is the number of conditions and precautions which have to be observed. This is characteristic of any cult in which the theory of incantation still survives. Under such circumstances the immediate conclusion always is that religion is a perilous pursuit. Any man who approaches gods with an invocation so worded and presented that it is a command which must be obeyed knows that he is handling an edged tool able to cut both ways. The gods resent the imperative, especially from an inferior, and will destroy him if they can. The human account of the death of old king Tullus shows how dangerous it was in their opinion—even in religion, much more in magic—for an amateur to start the complicated machinery of invocation. There was an old belief that the charm against the draws down the moon finally draws it down on herself.1 The saying reflects the general idea, afterwards so strongly emphasized in the Middle Ages, that the magician, of all people, is foredoomed to something like a Tullus Herminius in the end. The Greek is also apt as a specific illustration. It was generally held that of all charms one of the most difficult and dangerous was 'drawing down the moon' — so dangerous, in fact, that the magician deemed it wise to arm himself in advance with a protective counter-charm against the very power whom he was about to invoke. The Δημοκλῆς τοῦ Σελήνου preserved in the Papyri E. P. x, line 3622 f., is an interesting example of what was considered efficacious against the wrath and vengeance of Περσεφόνη Σελήνου, 'Our Lady Moon,' a suggestive forerunner of the 'magic circle' of which we hear so much in the more pretentious magic of the Middle Ages. The magician must also observe certain rules, likewise characteristic of religion, which, to a large extent, are suggested by the nature of the powers with whom he has to deal.2 He, or the person in whose interest the charm is being performed, or both, must be in such a condition that contact with the spirits evoked shall be without danger. Regulations vary, but among the most common are ἀγγεία, 'purity,' abductions at stated intervals, anointings with oil, avoidance of certain foods (esp. fish), fasting, temporary chastity.3 (cf. Tib. II. 1. 1 f.; the regular secunditas so often referred to by the elegiac poets, etc.) More rigorous and more numerous are the conditions attending the penthexis of the rite itself, and most important is the observance of nudity or its ceremonial equivalent.4 The costume must be flowing, i.e., without knots or fastenings of any kind, or it must be coarse, or of linen, and in the last case, either white or wool. There are also some distrusts of cerimonial significance of colours has already been referred to.5 Having gone through the preliminary purifications and donned the appropriate raiment, the operator must then consider the attitude to assume. This is vital. In most cases there are gestures which cannot be omitted.6 Equally important is the magician's own state of mind. He must have faith, he must put all his soul into the accomplishment of the rite (Virgil's 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 magical connexion with Selene, sunset and the few minutes just before sunrise are very favourable; so, too, any phase of the moon, but, above all, the new and full moon. The stars and planets for the most part became important only after astrology gave greater precision to the sort of influence supposed to be exerted by each. As a matter of course, night is a better time than day.7

The place is quite as important as the time, and the choice of it is again a direct deduction from the law of sympathy, as regards either the god to be addressed or the person to be affected. Roads, streets, boundaries, and the threshold are all sacred in both magic and religion. The cross-roads suggest Hecate, the house corners suggest her; mystic stones or favourite spots so far as the magician is concerned.

Finally, as we have just seen, there are ceremonies which the operator does not venture to perform unless he is armed with some sort of protective counter-charm. It is a safeguard for him, or for any one who might interrupt the ceremony, or against the effect of possible counter-charms.

The best and clearest description of the ceremony, properly speaking, is given by Hubert.8 It involves the use of two hands, or of a ring; the purpose of the one is to accomplish the object itself of the ceremony by a logical application of the principles of magic action; the object of the other is to manufacture or, at least, to assure the presence of the actual magic power sufficient to work in the way prepared and thus to accomplish the purpose desired. In other words, to state it in terms of modern electrical science—the theory of which is curiously near to that of magic—he must construct the proper machinery and establish the proper connections; then, before turning on the power, he must see to it that the power is really there.

The first class of rites, the machinery and connexions, calls for the use of a certain number of objects or parts which, in the absence of more to be considered magic in themselves. One of the most common and dramatic is the magic wand, which is really a conductor of the magician's mana. The divine 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. e. 'Aquilex'), and, as the writer of this article can testify from personal observation, as late as twenty years ago a similar method for discovering the best place in which to dig a well was still used occasionally in the American countryside. In addition to the magic wand and the divine rod, we have the apparatus of doudikyamia (A. B. M. X X X X . i. 29 f.), the lamps of Ichnomantia, the basins of water in lecanomantia, keys in their symbolic use, cymbals, the various substances referred to above, threads of different colours, portions of the dead, the four winds, the famous rhombus, turbo, or vertigo, i.e., the 'witches' wheel,' the rotation of which, by imitation and sympathy, was sovereign to influence the will of the person whom one wished to gain, etc.

1 Deubner, p. 206; Wichter, in R F P . i. 1 [1890].
2 Cf. Febr. loc. cit.
3 J. Heckebach, 'De Nuditate sacri sacrave vincula,' in R F P . i. 2 [1891].
4 See Abi, op. cit. pp. 148, n. 3, for literature on this point.
5 1 Deubner, p. 206, for examples.
6 1 Deubner, p. 206, for examples.
8 The examples of its use in classical literature are collected by F. Norden, Jabu. f. Phil. Phil. Suppl. Bd. xvii. [1854] 217 f., 319 n.
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 accomplishment of some magic purpose. The ceremonial 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 wishes of the patient. And, excepting that the nature of dreams was never quite clear to the ancients—and perhaps will never be quite clear to any one—the nameless theorists and thinkers by whom these conditions were first discovered and formulated appear to have been quite familiar with the results of J. Bömer’s famous dissertation afterwards incorporated and extended in W. H. Roscher’s Ethnologie: eine pathologisch-phantastische Abhandlung über die Alpträume und Alphnatur als Vorgänge der Geisteshaltung. Bömer showed that, among other things, in a healthy person nightmare is usually due to partial suffocation caused by burying one’s head in the pillow, coverlet, etc., that the rapidity with which the dream appears, the matter it is made of, the manner in which it is done to the person who is being the case, though L. Lessing 9 goes too far in his theory that the Umbels in the primitive nightmare, the father of all mythology, we may at least suspect with Roscher that Pan’s legs were the inevitable result of the style of bed quilts used by the primitive worshippers (cf. Latins’s method of securing an interview with Fannus in Verg. En. vii. 81 ff.), and, for that matter, that the incubi, succubi, stripes, and all their monstrous brood must have entered this world in the first place by the Ivory Gate. If so, it is certain that some of our most cherished legends, our best and most thrilling stories, and our finest poetry are literally the stuff that dreams are made of.

In primitive magic operations none is more common and characteristic, more dramatic and impressive, or a better illustration of the doctrine of sympathy than the casting of spells (cf. Heliodorus, xi. 14, and the examples noted below). The special feature of this operation is due to the theory that, if the person whom we wish to reach with our magic is absent or far away, his place be filled by a puppet, or some symbolic substitute for him. If, then, the ceremonial is appropriate, whenever we do to the puppet will be exactly repeated, literally or symbolically, as desired, on the person whom the puppet represents. Consecration of the one is immediately followed by consecration of the other (Verg. Eld. viii. 74 ff.), binding of the one by the desired condition symbolized by it in the other, running needles into the heart of the one by some effect on the other symbolized by such a process—e.g., wasting away to death with no apparent cause (Ovid, Amor. iv. 29 ff., Heroides, ii. 65, and others). Sometimes one figure may stand for an indefinite number, as in the spells of Nectanebo (pseudo-Calisthenes, i. 1). One may cast a spell on spirits as well as mortals by this means (Ens. Prop. Evng. v. 12 ff.).

Hence we have cases in which two puppets are used, one representing the person to be acted upon, the other the spirit by whom the action is to be performed (Hor. Nat. iv. 25 ff.). Occasionally, even three—i.e., one designated to the spirits, another to men, the third to thieves—(Eurip. in Verg. Eld. viii. 75). Often they were hollow, and their power was enhanced by putting written incantations inside. As a rule, these puppets must be made of clay or wax, but occasionally other substances were just as rigorously prescribed. Eusenius (loc. cit.) speaks of such an image of Hecate 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 considered sufficient. 2 The value to happen of cem the eurit ce have already been mentioned. But one may use such arbitrary substitutes as the body of a bird, a sprig of myrtle or of rue, etc. 3 Indeed, as we have already seen, the name is sufficient in itself. On the same principle, a written incantation placed in a tomb has the same effect as would a puppet 4 (Apul. Met. i. 10, dc. Mag. 53). The verbal portions of a magic rite are of the highest importance. In many cases they are the operator’s magic formulae, 5 in order that he may make no mistake as to the meaning and object of the symbolic rite. The puppet is inscribed with the name of the person whom it represents, and sometimes this is accompanied by a prayer 6 or incantation 7 addressed to him. So, when one gathers a medicinal plant, one should be careful to utter the name of the patient who is to be benefited by it. Again, in constructing a decret or, one should specify in order each and every word, as it is desired that the proposed victim shall suffer. 8

The indirect method is also directly responsible for the conclusion that incantations are a special help to the operator in the accomplishment of his special task—the creation of magic power. Hence the use of the magic hymns and litanies, the object of which is to ensure the presence and active participation of the appropriate spirit, to indicate his duty, and, if necessary, to frighten him into doing it. 9

We have seen how various objects, plants, simples, etc., originally selected as facilitating in some way magic rapport, finally came to be considered magic in themselves. Names and incantations underwent precisely the same 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 length, by abstracting certain syllables and decorating them with adlives and suffixes, by rearranging them in different combinations, and especially by disposing them so as to form certain figures. Examples still surviving are 'alacanabri,' and 'sator arepo tenet opera rotas' 10 (see Theaurus Ling. Lat., s. v. 'Arepo'). The Ephesia Grammatici belong to the same type (Orphyr. de Myster. vii. 4). Mystery and power were further enhanced by the use of magic alphabets, by certain sacred inks, and so on. Numbers pass through the same experience and acquire the same magic power per se—

e.g., there are seven planets. If, therefore, we wish to invoke them, there is nothing so compelling as the pronunciation of the seven vowels or a sevenfold repetition of a ceremony,

1 Cf. Ilias, op. cit. p. 90.
2 K. Wünsch, Sitzungsb. der Verren, a. A. 1898.
3 G. Knaup, Rhein. Mus. xxiv. (1894) 310.
4 For clay and waxen images see Abt, op. cit. p. 153 ff., and L. Fehr, in It. U. 17 (1890) 127 ff.
5 See esp. Fox, op. cit.
7 See L. D. Pfluger, in Litt. X. (1866) 184.

1 L. Deucher, Die Incubation, Leipzig, 1901, is the standard work on this subject.
2 Abt, op. cit. p. 233.
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gesture, or word (Eos, Pheo, Eovv., v. 14). Odd numbers have always been significant (Verg. Ec. viii. 75, and often), three and multiples of these are sacred to Hecate, and certain specific numbers—like four, ninety-nine, etc., have a special importance.

In magic 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 the rites are material rather than spiritual. As a rule, the gods addressed are common to both and of equal importance in both; in fact, it is perhaps safe to say that, so far as sacrifice is concerned, the usage of magic and religion is a fact, if the magic, is quite natural. The preference of magic for black victims is not distinctive of magic. It simply means that, in accordance with the naive analogy set forth, for instance, in the old hexameter quoted by Eusebius (Porph. frang. 9).

The gods to whom magic habitually addresses itself are the gods of the under world. So wine, honey, milk, perfumes, meal (Theoc. ii. 18, 33), certain cakes dear to these same gods, a cock to Hermes, a white dove to Aphrodite, etc.—all common to human religion and magic—are frequently employed. The use of blood is defined by Hubert 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 sympathetic magic (Loeban, vi. 544) and, for that matter, for magic and its secret rites. The Christians in their time were charged with such abnormalities as infant-sacrifice and promiscuous incest at their meetings—precisely the same charges which, a millennium later, they themselves preferred to wear their regularity during their long persecution of witchcraft, especially in connexion with the 'witches' Sabauda.

In most cases the charge of human sacrifice is as conventional as it is untrue; but it would be unsafe to say that even in such an outlaw, such a striver for extraordinary effects, as magic to abstain altogether from what was quite regular in the religion of more than one savage race, and which—in accordance with the fact that the catastrophe is exceptional and certain special 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 the incantations, names of the gods, etc., mentioned above, the things sacrificed, whatever they were, soon passed into the secondary stage of being the object of magic pot.,

One important aspect of our ceremony—quite as important in relation to 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 relation is abnormal and distinctly perilous. To get out of it safely is, therefore, quite as important to 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 routine 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 decrédé), must be disposed of ceremonially. One may deposit them at some prescribed spot sacred to the god to whom the sacrifice itself was offered. The καθάρισμα, for instance, the ceremonial remains of the sacrifice to Hecate (see HECHTE'S SUPPESIUS), 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 the sea (Verg. Ec. viii. 102, with the notes of Conington and Forbiger). The Mauéra Koons (Purp. Paris. 3005) shows that, at least in some cases, the ceremony closed with a prayer to the god in which he was invited kindly but firmly to go back to where he belonged:

'Ανέβας, ἄρα, τοιν πατριῶτα, καὶ γέρων αὐτοῦ τίνος ἱδών τὸν θάνατον, εἰς τὸ συμμετέχειν τί πάντα. 'Ανθρώπινο το φροντίζω.

It will be seen, therefore, as Hubert observes,1 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 formulae and terms. 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, some 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 inegal gods. The worship of these gods, whether in religion or in magic, is visibly influenced by the universal idea that the under 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 Jesuit order. (Iren. Harr. 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 seemed to have been no such parodying of religious rites—above all, no such deliberate and malignant desecration of things considered divine as that 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 Bois2 and as utilized for purposes of fiction by J. K. Huysmans.3

Sprouvey.—In so far as there was any real and essential difference between magic and religion in Graeco-Roman paganism, the ultimate cause of it was largely, if not entirely, the steady maintenance of the ancient distinction of official recognition as defined and explained at the beginning of

2 Ibid., p. 1206.
3 La satanisme et la magie, Paris, 1891. 9 La Magie, Paris, 1891; cf. also G. Leguë, La Magie morse, do. 1903.
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 the doctrine that sympathy in all its forms—which are supposed to enable it to use the imperative successfully in addressing the gods. It is also the business of magic, partly because it is an outlaw and bound to assert its importance 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 magic provided practically everything from a cure for warts to a receipt for personal immortality—all tried and true. Magic, therefore, was obliged not only to retain but to develop in every possible way those primitive aids to its imperative. It pluralized for power. And religion had done the same. But magic was an outlaw, it had no position in society, it was free at range to will, to gather into one portentous plural strange and terrible gods from the four corners of the earth, to combine them with the native gods to re-arrange, re-interpreted, disguise, mutilate, etc., in the ways described. In the long run, as we have seen, the pantheon of Graeco-Roman magic was a pandemonium, and confusion worse confounded, and the historian of magic reports to us that the fact that the doctrine of sympathy in all its forms has been pushed to its uttermost limits.

To the very end magic was obsessed by the old imperative and, therefore, by the time-honoured manner of expressing it. Whether it was expressed in the social scale, it merely learned to be pretentious. Even when it had been adopted, so to speak, by some distinguished family like the mystics, had changed its name, and had been careufully educated and rationalized, it had not been able to lose its legs, or to free itself. 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 cent., the number of strange religious forms available, not to mention the semi-detached religious theories, had increased to an indefinite extent. The result was that from being a thing which, at least, could appeal to the imagination and the aesthetic sense, it steadily degenerated into utter absurdity as pretentions and complications 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 calibre and training may 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 the practical magic of the day were always keeping before us, and, as we have seen, the charge of magic was always kept alive in the courts. Hemionus 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. v. 41; Propert. iv. 10. 33). Pseudo animari were a regular specialty of the lena, or go-between, and they actually were so frequently administered 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. Examples in point are the traditional account of the death of Lucretius and the contemporary explanation of the vagaries of the melancholic Cato’s tormented brain (Jerome, Chron. Euseb, 1924; Sueton, Cato, 50).

VI. MAGIC IN LITERATURE.—The more or less familiar presence of magic not only in folklore and legend, but also in ordinary everyday life, is reflected to an extraordinary extent in the written word. It is continually turning up in the arts, in science, in philosophy, in the writings of the mystics, in the literature of the Roman poets, in the tragedies of the Hellenic age, the time of Augustus and his immediate successors, and the Sophistic revival of the 2nd century. This use of magic was essentially characteristic of poetry and of such types of prose as that of the classical and some of the early Christian writers. But the characteristic and interesting aspect of Graeco-Roman magic is the deliberate exploitation of it in the interests of conscious literary art. It is inclined to assume, and perhaps justly, that this was particularly the case in the classical and perhaps in the Hellenistic age, the time of Augustus and his immediate successors, and the Sophistic revival of the 2nd century. This use of magic was especially characteristic of poetry and of such types of prose as that of the classical and some of the early Christian writers. But the characteristic and interesting aspect of Graeco-Roman magic is the deliberate exploitation of it in the interests of conscious literary art. It is inclined to assume, and perhaps justly, that this was particularly the case in the classical and perhaps in the Hellenistic age, the time of Augustus and his immediate successors, and the Sophistic revival of the 2nd century. This use of magic was especially characteristic of poetry and of such types of prose as that of the classical and some of the early Christian writers. But the characteristic and interesting aspect of Graeco-Roman magic is the deliberate exploitation of it in the interests of conscious literary art.
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. Epip. 571; Lucan, vi. 728). As we have seen, the literary use of nekyomantia begins with the famous passage of the Odyssey (xi. 24 ff.). The essential details of Homer's descriptions of the ghost of Thetis (VII. 728 ff.) was the masterpiece of its kind. And so it is. It would be hard to find a more glaring illustration of what can happen to literature in an age when a furious lust for effect is not restrained by any principles of common sense. Nekyomantia had a long and brilliant tradition in the drama. Examples still surviving are Aeschylus, Persae (the ghost of Darius), and Seneca, Oedipus, 560 ff. Indeed, ghosts were as common, it would appear, in the ancient as in the Elizabethan drama. The name, in Greek, 'Charon's step-ladder,' was the popular name for the regular staircase by which the ghosts appeared on the stage as if from the underworld (Nekyomantia). The term was also quite as characteristic of comedy. In the later days of the Roman Republic Decimus Laberius wrote a mimic entitled Nekyomantia, and we know that this and similar themes were characteristic of the mimic as developed by Philistion and his successors during and after the Augustan age. Brilliant examples in the satirical sphere are Horace, Sat. i. viii., and Lucian's Nekyomantia.

If we choose to emphasize the literary influence as such of the Homeric Nekyomanteia, we may say that this is responsible for one of the most notable developments in classical literature. This is the theme of the Descent into Hades. The Homeric passage is directly responsible for the 9th book of the Aenid and its numerous imitations, both epic and narrative poetry both ancient and modern. Nor was epic the only department to be affected. The theme was a favourite in the Old Comedy of Athens, although, as it happens, the Frogs of Aristophanes is the only example now surviving. The same is true of the satirists and popular philosophers of the Alexandrian and Hellenistic ages. It was characteristic of their didactic methods to appropriate for their own purposes the traditional forms and the current modes of literature; one of the most notable was the Kardiai eis Aiax, which practically became conventionalized as a mime-scene for the presentation of doctrines and opinions. Allied to it are such examples as Horace, Sat. i. vi., Seneca, Apocolocyntosis, such works of Lucian as the Dialogues of the Dead, and Claudian's attacks on Entropius. The Epicharmus of Ennius and probably certain of the lost satires of Lucretius and Varro were illustrations. The poet Sotades used it to a not inconsiderable extent.

But, while nekyomantia is the most prominent and pervasive aspect of literary magic, the most famous and picturesque was the love-charm known as 'drawing down the moon.' It is first mentioned in surviving literature by Aristophanes, Nubia, 750, again and again by later writers, and still survives, it is said, in modern Greece. It was the theme of no fewer than four masterpieces: a lost name of Sophron in the 4th century BC; the lost Thetis of Apollodorus (HN xi. 7, the second Ibyl of Theocritus (found on Sophron), and the eighth Elegy of Vergil (found on Theocritus). Certainly, too, Lucian, Philostratus, I.4, is a masterpiece of its kind. The atmosphere reflects to the life that aspect of the 2nd cent. which the theme of the moon, e.g. 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, Glaucus, was saved by the great 'Hyperborean' magician. 'It seems that Glaucus, a rich young orphan whose father had left him a fortune, but Clio, the muse of history, fell in love for the disdainful Christian—a genuine prototype of Jenny Grove and crue Barbara Allen. His condition became so desperate that the 'Professor', as he says, 'felt it his duty' to secure the services of the great Hyperborean. Four minor hadro-sacri were paid in advance—stuns Philistion and was listened more if the operation was successful. By way of preliminary—which showed that the specialist was not only a great man but also a just and scrupulously conscientious moralist on having an elaborate rite of nekyomantia, to call up the boy's late lamented father and ask his consent. The old gentleman was furious at first, but finally told them to proceed. A dramatic description of the ensuing ceremony follows—how the masterpieces of Homer, of the Odyssey and of the Iliad, of the Theogony and the Hymn to the Iphigeneia were read. Some charming passages follow, how the ghosts found around, how, at the psychological moment, the distinguished operator 'told the sort of little figure of Cupid which he had fashioned out of clay to go and fetch Chrysa.' Away flew the tiny thing at once. A few minutes later there comes a knock on Glaucus' door, in rushes Chrysa, throws the arms around him, as he transitoria amores ('like a girl utterly crazy with love'), and there she stays till cockcrow! Then up rose the moon, from the heavens, down sank Heraclea, and the ghosts disappeared.

But the 'Professor's' listener is not duly impressed. Besides, he knows the trick. He has been told, he says, of calling on one Hyperborean magician, one goddess, and one clay ambassador to unite in overcomely designing the things of the world; but who, as every one knows, is ready to follow a man to the North Pole, and beyond for twenty drachmas.

Such books as the Metamorphoses of Ovid and the lost poem of the 1st cent. by his predecessor, Nicerand, show that change of form was quite as characteristic of classical mythology and folklore as of the Thousand and One Nights. Transformation was Cire's speciality, and the Homeric account of her methods (Od. ii. 21 ff.) and Lucian's account of hers (in Elegy i. 10) was the most famous literary account of the performance. Apart from the Homeric passage, the most vivid and circumstantial accounts of transformation by magie are those in which Apuleius (Met. iii. 21 ff.) and Lucian (in Elegy i. 10) describe how the son of the last of the Roman, who was not a son of the last of the Roman, was a son of the last of the Roman, was a son of the last of the Roman of both the last of the Roman of Patras] tell how the witch, Pamphile, made an owl of herself, and how, immediately afterwards, Potis, her maid, 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 feat the dramatic point is the transformation scene, and all else is likely to be subordinated, even in those cases where it is due to magic. Vergil's sorceress, c.e., says that she has seen the wervolbek transformation with her own eyes and that it was done by magic:

1 Has herbae acque hoc Fonto nihili lecta venas
2 Sue dedit Morias (auscultans plurima Pontos);
3 Hic ego saepe Iupum ferit et se condere silvis
4 Morias (Cid, vii. 49 ff.)
5 Vorbek am, in the Cid, vii. 49 ff.,
6 But in all the famous wervolbek stories of antiquity, as in most of the stories told by Ovid, the magic element is either absent, ignored, or referred to so slightly that it calls for special notice here. Magic command of the wind and weather is often mentioned, and nothing in the way of magic was more common in everyday life, but the one famous passage is that in which Alcestes gives the bag of winds to Odysseus (Od. x. 190 ff.). Also, a full and dramatic description of her charm for re-creating the youth of Jason's father. This was the famous was her pretence of doing the same favour for the aged Pelias at the instance of his daughters (Apollod. i. ix. 27; Hygin. Fab. 21; Maerob. v. xix. 91 ff.). Also, it was the theme of the lost Palaemon.

of Sophocles. Indeed, the best plays of the Greek tragic poets would have been a wonderful field for the study of the use of magic for literary purposes.1 Creusa's robe was a famous theme. Euripides (Medea, 1156 ff.) merely described the evil effect of it upon the woman; Seneca (Medea, 740 ff.), the punishment itself. It is true, more striking 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 witchcraft 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 Triumphant's story in Petron. 63, and the dramatic experience of Thelyphron as told by him after dinner in Apuleius, Met. ii. 21 ff. So, speaking in terms of magic theory, the dreadful scene of Horace, Epod. v., was only a means to an end; the object of the witches was to secure the strongest possible love-charm. The liver is the seat of desire (Hor, Odes, iv. i. 12) therefore the liver is sovereign in a charm to arouse desire. Now, when a savage wants snake-poison for the purpose of the snakes was to be killed, it is killed, so that it may secres more poison and that the poison may be more virulent. So, here, the idea is that the more the liver feels so much the more it actually accumulates desire, as desire, and stores it up within, if therefore, we can secure a liver still containing a maximum of desire so accumulated, we have a charm of maximum power for arousing desire in others. Hence, in this scene, the poor child who has been kidnapped what the witches for this purpose, is buried to the neck and left to die of a prolonged agonizing intense desire for food and drink, which is deliberately aggravated as much as possible by always keeping food and drink before his eyes. After the child was dead, his liver was removed, and, upon being prepared with the appropriate ceremonial, became a love-charm of superhuman power, a φιληρος secured in a special way for a special purpose.

The gathering of herbs is another preliminary of φαρμακεία, which was fully appreciated for its dramatic possibilities. In literature the process is regularly associated with Medea (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 849 ff.; Valer. Flaccus, vii. 323 ff.; Ovid, Met. vii. 222 ff., and all was as before—all the probabilities laid on the theory by Sophocles in his Περίοδος). She went out at night and by the light of the full moon cut her plants with a brazed sickle held in her left hand and behind her back, i.e. συμετριπτεί (see HECATE'S SUPPERS).

So far as philtres are concerned, the most influential contribution to literature is what might be called the case of Beauty v. Magic in the court of Love.2 Its first appearance is in the scene between the Sieve and the Power (a female who was the probable name of the Power) in Apoll. Rhod. (vii. 235 ff.), to which attention has already been called. The subsequent tradition of the question at issue is a striking and characteristic illustration of the methods and development of ancient literary art. The topic was announced from the stage, discussed in the boudoir, argued in the schools of philosophy, enlarged upon in the schools of rhetoric (Menander, frg. 616 K.; Aelian, 376 L.; Lycret. iv. 127 ff.; Tib. i. 45, viii. 25; Ov. Fast. viii. 262 ff.; Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxviii. 102). And some time in the unrecorded past it was given a new turn and made the basis of a properly illustrative and sprightly anecdote in which the appropri-

1 Myth. op. cit. p. 173 ff.
all seemed like a nightmare to the prisoner at the bar, and his impressions are fully shared by the reader. What surprised him most was the sight of the manial girl, and the hair was led in th

## MAGIC (Indian) — I. HINDU.

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### MAGIC (Indian).

The magic of the ancient world is essentially the profession of certain castes, though magical rites may be practised by laymen and magical properties are attributed to countless objects.

The caste which is peculiarly devoted to magic as a vocation is that of the Brahmins, primarily Hindu but has Muhammadan elements-allotted 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 austerities, but the common diagnosis of 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 Brahmin to the Occasions.

The Brahmins are said to have secret books on the subject which contain over 50 jatius, or figures, consisting partly of numbers and partly of mystic symbols, cabalistic words, and geometrical figures not unknown to freemasonry; these are used for all kinds of purposes, including the causing of abortion, success in gambling, etc., as well as to ensure easy parturition.

The Yogi in particular claim power to transmute base metals into silver and gold—a claim which enables them (and those who believe them) to reap a great harvest from the credulous.

This power is said to have been discovered by the Yogi Dina Nath, 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. Bountifully and honestly, the Yogi proving to Vijnati lake the boy's back, bade him collect all the copper coin he could find in his father's house, and then, melting it down, recited mantras, sprang it, and sprinkled a magic powder over it, whereby it was changed into pure gold. This occurred in the time of Sinth Mahannath (A.D. 1250-30), who witnessed the process. The Yogi's presence was marked by a similar effect, and in commemoration of it had gold marbaks struck with Dina Nath's name on them as well as his own. These Dina Nath mubaraks are said to be still found. The secret of the mantras and the powder has been handed down, but is known only to the initiates. Secret books on the subject contain over 50 jatius, or figures, consisting partly of numbers and partly of mystic symbols, cabalistic words, and geometrical figures not unknown to freemasonry; these are used for all kinds of purposes, including the causing of abortion, success in gambling, etc., as well as to ensure easy parturition.

### 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 Dalija caste performs a mimic ploughing ceremony, thus simulating the magic employment of the swindler, or magician, to get his crowd, and to test the presence of a similar real, and in commemoration of it had gold marbaks struck with Dina Nath's name on them as well as his own.

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seed on some white-silt 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—
down the well to ensure their fertility. An Indian couple sow nine kinds of grain in seven trays, 3 and the Malá groom digs with his knife a few
furrows, which his bride fills with grain and waters after he has covered it up. 4 Apparently the widespread custom of sowing grain at weddings has a similar origin. This is done by five women, e.g.,
in Bombay. 5

The grinding-stone is also used among the Bhondári in Madras; the bridegroom stands on it, while women take off the millstones from the wedding and use the pans containing nine kinds of seedculls 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 woman. 6 The grinding-stone is also used in Bombay. 5

The future offspring of the union is symbolized among the Konati by a doll which is rocked in a
cradle, but both the prospective parents profess
to bear a cradle to look at it. 7 The Pariváryans use a stone rolling-pin to represent the child, which the husband hands over to the wife, who accepts it as 'the milk is ready.’ 10 The Konga Vellála bride-
groom takes some fruit and a pestle to a stone, where he worships it. It is supposed to be the Konga king whose sanction to every marriage used to be necessary, and the pestle represents the villagers; but the fruit is not explained, and the
myth is probably etiological. 14 A newly-married
Bédar or Bóya couple sit on a pestle, and are anointed after rice has been showered over them. 12
In Bombay the rice-powder is used to perspire
the baby. 13

Fertility can also be communicated to a bride by placing her bed or lap on a grinding-stone, as an effective substitute for one. 14 On the same principle women whose husbands are alive are admitted to take part in marriage rites, 15 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. 16 Similarly, widowers are excluded from certain functions. 17 Unmarried
women may, however, take the place of married
women: e.g., among the Badaga, married women of
virgins, preferably the bridegroom's sisters, go to a stream in procession to bring water for cooking
purposes in decorated new pots. 18

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 Aitkár of Bombay a couple already married bring pots from a potter's house to the place of each party to the marriage, and after an elaborate rite the boy pours water from a

jear. A jar also plays a prominent part in other
rites, including a widow's re-marriage. 1

Fish being an emblem of fertility, they are often caught by the bridal pair—e.g., among the Guigára
of Madras. 2 An immortal couple sow nine kinds of
grain in seven trays, 3 and the Malá groom digs with his knife a few
furrows, which his bride fills with grain and waters after he has covered it up. 4 Apparently the widespread custom of sowing grain at weddings has a similar origin. This is done by five women, e.g.,
in Bombay. 5

The grinding-stone is also used among the Bhondári in Madras; the bridegroom stands on it, while women take off the millstones from the wedding and use the pans containing nine kinds of seedculls 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 woman. 6 The grinding-stone is also used in Bombay. 5

The future offspring of the union is symbolized among the Konati by a doll which is rocked in a
cradle, but both the prospective parents profess
to bear a cradle to look at it. 7 The Pariváryans use a stone rolling-pin to represent the child, which the husband hands over to the wife, who accepts it as 'the milk is ready.’ 10 The Konga Vellála bride-
groom takes some fruit and a pestle to a stone, where he worships it. It is supposed to be the Konga king whose sanction to every marriage used to be necessary, and the pestle represents the villagers; but the fruit is not explained, and the
myth is probably etiological. 14 A newly-married
Bédar or Bóya couple sit on a pestle, and are anointed after rice has been showered over them. 12
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the baby. 13

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1 Thurston, i. 296. 2 Ji. ii. 530. 3 Ji. iv. 364. 4 Br. iv. pt. i. (1901) 159. 5 Ji. 219. 6 Ji. 13. 7 Bh. xvi. pt. i. (1885) 194. 8 Ji. xi. 158. 9 Ji. li. 429. 10 Ji. li. 502. 11 Ji. li. 216. 12 Ji. xii (1898) 117, xvi. pt. i. 217, xx. (1844) 132. 13 Ji. li. 216. 14 Ji. i. (1893) 141. 15 Ji. i. 13. 16 Ji. 164 f. 17 Ji. 107. 18 Ji. 212, 213.
Quite distinct from this Brahmanical rite is one observed in the seventh month in Travancore.

The woman goes to the foot of a tamarind tree, where she records threats seven yards long. This she entwines 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 handful of tamarind leaves. On putting the leaves into a pot, she also gives her tamarind juice to drink, pouring it through his head, and then employing in this rite a few plucks of his hair on her head, and from the summer of its fall divines the child's sex. As she drinks the juice, the woman leans against a range, which is then planted; and, if it fails to strike root, the child is doomed to adversity.

Among the polyandrous Kamalpan the woman's brother gives her rice gruel mixed with juices of the tamarind, mango, and Hibiscus.2

In protracted labour the washings of a brick from the fort of Chakulub or Chakrabhun Anum near Velika are potent, or it suffices to draw a plan of the fort and drink the water into which this picture has been washed off.2 The origin of this rite is obscure. The 'fort of Chakulub' is a game played by children; they make a maze on paper, and one child runs through it with a pencil. A dot within represents the treasure which it is supposed to contain. Vaisnavas of the Vallabha sect, or school, often make the child do this shape.

Difficult labor is dealt with in parts of Madras by calling in 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 with an incantation from hand to hand until it reaches the woman, which is the 'easy time.' This she gives some of it to the sufferer. Here the luck or quality of the one woman is transmitted to the other.

In one caste, the Malas of the Telugu country, who are Pariahs, the placenta is put in a pot in which are nim leaves and the whole is buried, lest a dog or other animal should carry it off, which would make the child a wanderer.

A magical rite of resuscitation is practised by the Dasisars, a class of priests who minister to Sídaras, in Madras. If a Dasisar 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, their display their magical powers by frying fish which come to life again on being placed in water, by joining together limes cut in two, and, finally, by bringing the suicide to life again. The rite can fail only if the victim's wife is in pollution or when the rite is not carried out reverently.6

2. Agents.—First-born children have power to stop rain. Muslims 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.7 A first-born son leaning against anything will, it is believed in S. India, attract a thunder-bolt to it.8 Girls born in the asterism of Mula 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 acaana 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 is a charm that is not unlawful.8

The spirit in the tree appears to endue it with magical properties; a man who conveys himself in servitude to the spirit of this tree will get all that he wants, but only at the risk of his life. For twenty-one days he must take a pot full of water daily to the tree, and on his way back cast half of it upon a particular tree; on the twenty-first night he will be irresistibly drawn towards it; the devil will appear to him, and, if he escapes death, he will get all that he wants as the price of his bondage. The tree cured, bakhkar (Celtis cambogia) 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 Punjab, and in that very part the Gajara use amulets of bakkar (its usual Indian name) to ward off the evil eye (nazar) from both men and cattle, and its fruit is also much relished.

To cure scorpion bite the insect should at once be caught and burnt, and the smoke allowed to touch the bite. To cure sanya, or consumption, in a child (said to be due to consumption caused by ashes taken from a burning plane and absorbed over or near the child) the parents should give away salt equal to the child's weight.4 Toothache is cured by a magical rite which consists in spreading sand over a clean piece of board and writing on it the first six letters of the Arabic alphabet. The patient then holds his aching tooth between his thumb and index finger, and touches each letter in turn with a pointed instrument. When he reaches the sixth letter, if not before, he 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 Gáro, in Assam, collects a reed-like grass and is beaten with it by a priest, who repeats certain exorcisms. Then they carry a cock to the nearest stream, kill it, and let its blood fall into a toy boat; the boat is launched, and as it starts the dreamer bathes in the water. The prayers, the chanting, and the sacrifice appease the spirits, and the boat is allowed to carry off the ill-luck.6

On the first day of sowing sugar-cane, sweetened rice is brought to the field, and women smear the outside of the vessel with it, after which it is given to the labourers. Next morning a woman puts a necklace 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 90 lengthways cures quartaneague; one totalling 100 every way causes excess of milk in cows and women and of gbi in a charm; one totalling 130 every way will, if worn round one's neck or in one's pagri (turban), bring any person under one's power;5 and one totalling 15 each way brings luck and is commonly found on shops. Squares totalling 55 and 20 each way should be placed under one's seat to ensure success at play.5

1 NIVQ vi. [1894] 727. 5 NIVQ ii. [1894] 274, and Selection Calcutta Review, viii. [1899] 124 (Calcutta Review, Ixiv. 1892).—In the latter, C. T. Temple identifies the bakhkar with the bir, vata, or banyan-tree, but describes the bakkar as a large shrub of the caynna, or junghe, family, the fruit of which is the 'true paradise' in Arabic poetry—on which account the tree is much prized in Tripoli and Tunis.


5 NIVQ i. [1891] 114, 465. 9 T.J.D. i. [1894] 579.

6 NIVQ vi. [1894] 373. 10 T.J.D. i. [1894] 579.
The power of magic is so great that by mere assertion of its potency a îhr, or demon, may be brought into subjection.

Fact the whole of a ninth lunar day falling on a Friday, and in its midst is set the ring of red clay, which is burned and made a circle of red clay on the ground. Sit in its centre with four cardinal points, with eyes fixed on eight points. Give a jump fed with clarified butter and say: 'Incantation can break down the stairs' 5000 times—and a demon will be at your service.

II. ISLAM. — Muhammadans classify magic as high (âli), divine (raûbânî), low (sîfl), and satanic (shaîtañî). In divine magic perfection consists in knowledge of the greatest of God’s names—the Ism-ûl-Al-îmân, which is imparted only to the elect, and which the dead cannot raise. But God’s other names, and those of Muhammad and of the good jîmûn are also efficacious, and written charms are composed of them or of passages from the Qur’ân, as well as of mysterious combinations of numbers, diagrams, and figures. Satanic magic is condemned by all good Muslims. It depends on Satan’s aid and that of the evil jîmûn, who ascend to the lowest heaven and hear the angels so that they can assist magicians. Enchantment (al-âhla) is the essence of this art, and may be studied with good intent and with the aid of good jîmûn, there is a science of enchantment which may be regarded as lawful. Enchantment results in death, paralysis, afflicting with irresistible passion, poisoning, and the like. Metamorphosis, or transfiguration, is effected by spells or invocations to the jîmûn accompanied by the sprinkling of dust or water on the object to be transformed. Against enchantment and other evils a talisman (tîlûn), i.e. mystical characters, astrological or otherwise magical, or a seal or image on which they are engraved, is effective. When rubbed, it calls up its servants.

Divination (al-khâhana), which is also practised by the aid of Shaîtañ, is obtained by magic, by invoked names, and by burning perfumes. Its forms are: dârth al-mandal, inscribing the enchanter’s circle; darth al-rayn, the moving of sand, ‘aln al-najjâm, astrology;2 and al-zîjar, or augury from beast and wind.3

The Imam Zainûn rupee is said to be dedicated to that imâm, and is worn by Muhammadans on the right arm when starting on a journey.4

The names of ‘Ali and the imâmûn are used in magical squares according to the âujîr, or letter-valuable, order of composition. Notices of the custom are not uncommon in Indo-Persian histories as having been practised on the Moghal court-ladies.5

Islamic medicine is acquainted with the olive of Ben-Israil, a stone found on the banks of the Indus. It is black with a little red and yellow, or olive-colored 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 general of the spirits, ‘Yâhû, or ‘stone of Jahweh’, or the haçar al-Hûnish, or ‘stone of the Hindus’, in Arabic. Jasper (in Pers. yashâh, Arab. haçar al-bashof, 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 is tied on the right eye of a baby, it will have good eyesight, and the evil eye. Tied to a woman’s thigh, it ensures painless labour; and, if by the light of Îslad al-qâjîr (the night when Muhammad spoke with God) a man be sketched over it and the picture born over the head, the wearer will be safe from wounds in battle.6

III. MAGIC AND RELIGION.—It has been held by many scholars that in ancient India the confusion of magic and religion was rife, just as it has survived among other peoples that have risen to higher levels of culture. II. Oldenberg7 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 Levi8 observes of the sacrifices prescribed in the Bràhmanas that they have all the characteristics of a magical one, and it has been demonstrated that they are independent of the divinities, and capable of 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. It is further shown that the Sûtrâs of the Vedas, or incantations and sorcery, as is the Adhûthâ Bràhminya portion of the Sûdayâna Bràhmanya, M. Bloomberg9 also holds that witchcraft became intimately blended with the holiest Vedic rites, the broad curse, or otherwise magical, or a seal or image on which they are engraved, is effective. When rubbed, it calls up its servants.

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On the other hand, J. G. Frazer7 also points out how in India, from the earliest times down to the present day, the real religion of the common folk is a mixture of magic and religious belief, with a multitude of spirits of whom many, if not most, are mischievous and harmful. This belief persists 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 Vedic 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 earthy 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

1 NISâq, v. 214.
2 Mandala in doubtless from the Gr. μΔνας, and not connected with the m. mangata, a circuit or group of villages. The m. is a kind of drum used to conjure up demons; hence an incantation’s circle.
3 It was taught by the two fallen angels Hašît and Mûari, who became the adepts of priestesses Zûba, who ascended to the sky and mingled her splendour with the star Zubra (Venus).
4 H. Wilshire Clarke, Divina-Hûfûth, Calcutta, 1894, ii. 264. The cistern of the Madalûn, ii. 304, 354, 390, and Mûari al-zûbûn, i. 1. For a charm to divine which of two rivals will be chosen, see the Sûryy al-rûdî by Mûamîl Bûdîî Abî and the Mûây bid-rûdî by Muhammad Abî’l Wasîl Müsûf, loccib, London, cited in Divina-Hûfûth, ii. 451. It consists in writing the two names in alchemical and divinatory characters. Then, if both be said, the quotations be odd or even, the lesser in number will conquer; if both are equal, the lesser in age; and, if one be odd, the other given in greater number will prevail.
5 NISâq, i. 695.
6 Pâg. i. 686.
with the most minute precautions against their sinister influences. Every point in sacrificial ritual is symbolical, but the guiding principle in it is not magical, but religious. By the part of the stake which is burned 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 the three worlds is conditional on his success in averting the onslaughts of evil spirits. In the whole ritual of animal-sacrifice at the stake (*yipa*), as prescribed by the *Sutrapatha Brāhmaṇya*, there is no trace of magic or of magical practices.1

A question of minor interest is whether Indian magic was derived from or has influenced that of Arabia and the Near East. The Skr. word *śilpā* (lit. 'black magic'), may be the original form of *ṣiṯī* or, conversely, the Arab word *ṣiṯī* may have been transcribed in this form. *Śilpā* illustrates the spiritual basis of belief in magic. When performed with the object of destroying an enemy, it is known as *ekel*, or *ghālīf*, in the United Provinces. A vessel is filled with iron nails, knives, etc., and the wizard, through certain incantations, drives these through the air until it descends on the victim's head and kills him. But, if a river intervenes, a sacrifice to the spirit called *ghatūri* (lit. 'ferryman'), which is supposed to guard the river, must be made in order to induce the vessel to cross the river.2 Thus black magic has to reckon with the spirits, however it works and whatever its origin.

**LITERATURE**—1. The Hindu literature is vast, but mostly unclassified. It comprises many treatises on special topics—e.g., the *Kathakā* (*Sādhanā*), a Gargjūgīya which contains only magical squares for all kinds of ailments.3 It commences with the *Aṣṭāvakra*, upon which and which is based Alfred Hillebrand, *Ritual litteratur* : *Vedische Opfer und Zauber* (GLAP iii. 2, Strassburg, 1897).

2. The Brahmans, who are prone to asceticism, have six books on magic: the *Jaṭākā Jāna*, *Jaṭākā Gautājī*, *Ṭhāthāl Ādivacak*, *Mahāt Ādavās*, *Mahtār Adhakhaśi*, and *Aṣṭādīl-Naśakha*. The Sunnis also have books on magic: such are the *Avajjér Middle Brands* and the *Naśik-Saśir*.

H. A. ROSE

**MAGIC (Iranian).—1. Religion and magic.**—Although religion and magic are two essentially different things, the interpretation of the two is fairly common; but nowhere are they so intricately conuningled as in Mazdaism. The first clear line of differentiation has to be traced between the real doctrine of Zoroaster, as it is expanded in the *Gathās*, and the later Avesta.

In the Gāthic hymns we find a religion of a highly moral character. It admits of no deity besides Ahura Mazda except personified moral entities, and it expressly undertakes a struggle against the lower beliefs and the magical practices of the people of the time. The cult of the *dōrēs* in general and the nocturnal orgiastic sacrifices in which *huço* (q.v.) was drunk by the worshippers were specially condemned.5

The Later Avesta also anthropomorphizes the sorcerers (*gīțā*), and witches (*pātrikā*), but many of the beliefs and practices which Zoroaster had associated with them have found their way back into religion. The whole subject isrendered more the more intricate that the fact that a coherent system has been formed in a combination of the doctrines of the *Varāṇ* and the *Zoroastrian creed* (sophisticated to a great extent by adaptation to a lower standard of religious thought) and the popular and inferior beliefs of the Iranian people, including much that is in origin magical. As well known, this is the system called dualism, by which the number of dualism (q.v.) is based on the assumption that there are two cosmic elements, the one created by Ahura Mazda, the real god, and the other by his adversary, Angra Mainyu. Every creature of the wise lord is good, but all that has been created by his foe is evil; each is communicated to his creatures its own specific nature and power. His creatures both share in their lord's natural and supernatural power and must assist him in the incessant struggle which is going on between the good and the evil spirit—a contest which will not be settled before the end of this world.

It follows that good creatures have a power over evil ones and evil over good. Of course, we may imagine that a good being, when he realizes the evil deeds of his opponent, acts, after all, as a depository of his creator's power; but in practice it is as though he had a real and effective power of his own against demons.

A good work is an act of war, capable of helping effectively towards the triumph of good over evil and having, therefore, an efficacy of its own to conjure and oppose the noxious activity of evil creatures such as evil spirits; and this is very much like the efficacy ascribed to magical rites.

The only difference between such an activity and magic is that, with the latter, material interests are generally at stake, whereas, in the majority of Mazdaean religious acts, the concern is mostly spiritual and supra-terrestrial, let the vessel cross. Thus black magic has to reckon with the spirits, however it works and whatever its origin.

**2. Purification.**—For the Zoroastrian the normal means of getting rid of an impurity acquired by sin is to outweigh it by merit—a process which, of course, is far from being magical. Sin, however, being in Iranian 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, pollution—a moral disease like a bodily illness—and death likewise results from some mysterious contrivance of the originators of all evil. A material means of removing that pollution is therefore requisitioned, just as a remedy by its beneficial properties, as a piece of good creation, earns an ordinary disease. The power of purifying man from impurities belongs to the highest degree to water—an eminently good element of Mazda's creation. Besides water, other substances—e.g., *gromatza* (urine of cattle)—are supposed to have great power to purify. The rites of purification by means of substances are strictly fixed, as in a magical proceeding: the priest has to sprinkle every part of the body in a daily order, beginning with the head, till the *dōrē* is expelled from the left toes, which are the last refuge of the evil spirit. Dogs have a specially powerful wholesome influence. More intricate ceremonies tending to the same result existed besides this relatively simple one—e.g., the great purification of the nine nights (*Pahl. Zoroast-* *šīl dī ḵī*), in which the head, the ground is prepared, holes are dug, and furrows are drawn, according to a strict ritual: *gromatza* is put into the holes, the patient rubs the ground, and is sprinkled with water and religious purity of the last degree, a spoon and a stick of a fixed size, etc. The proceeding cannot, however, be completely identified with magic, because, however material the concept of purity may have been in the thought of the Iranian people at that time, it was, after all, a duty not confined to human interests in this world, because the activity of the purifying substances and acts derives from an essentially beneficent power, whereas the counter-spells, although tending to

neutralize noxious influences, are regarded as possessing a power of the same kind as the one which they oppose, and, lastly, because the rites, in spite of their magical tendencies, are devoid of all mystery. They are a public and accepted procedure, assumed—wrongly, of course—to date back to the Prophet's teaching and forming part of the sacred struggle of good against evil. Man is supposed to make use of the weapons which Mazda has put into his hands for a contest in which he is serving the lord's interests. Nevertheless, it is clear that a real degeneration of magic has taken place in these ceremonies, and also that many an ancient magical prescription for averting evils may have been introduced. This process is analogous to that which we observe in Mazdaism from Zoroaster to the Later Avestan period.

Moral beings, like the asuissca spents (g.v.) justice, good spirit, piety, etc., have been turned into—or, rather, identified with—the genii of fire, earth, etc., and brahma, '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. 33).5 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. Oldenberg6 is quite right when he says that sacrifice is in Vedic times a gift to the god, but in the way of compulsion, not by way of influence to secure his powerful goodwill. This conception, however, was likely to degenerate, and did. Indra and Agni are sometimes stated as being the hemavat by the sacrificers. 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 Sutapatha Brahmanga7 says that the sun would not rise if the fire-sacrifice did not take place. A similar process can be traced in Iran, where the sacrifice is given its place in the general cosmic conflict, so that it 'is more than an act of worship; it is an act of assistance to the gods. Gods, like men, need food and drink to be strong; like men, they need praise and encouragement to be of good cheer. When not supplied by the sacrificers, they fly helpless before their foes.'4

Sacrifice has thus a value of its own independent of the will of the sacrificer. It is an act of war, helping God in His struggle against the evil creation, so much so that gods also have to practise cult:

5Asha aitahzd performed the spiritual Yasnav ceremony with the instruments (anahagpani) in the Bap in Gah, and in the Yasnav he supplied every means for overcoming the adversary.

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 (gana) of merits.8 The sacrifice of the haoma ( = Ind. soma), although not itself really magical in principle, was specially prone to develop in that direction. The haoma = soma, in the thought of the Prophet, was a plant wherein resided an extraordinary strength of life capable of giving immortality to the gods, who were supposed to live on it like the Homeric gods on ambrosia, and of giving a superexaltation of life to man, in whom it caused intoxication. As was said above, the haoma orgiastic sacrifice had been banished from Gathic religion in company with the magical procedure of the daeva-worshippers. In the post-Gathic period we see it reappear, but it has been deprived of its savage character and turned into a mystical drink.9 Not only was it found fulfilling partly the sacred function of purifying man of evil but also of elevating and intensifying all the vital powers of life, for it was regarded as a highly beneficial spirit, imparting to man the gift of spiritual life and a title to the supranatural reward.10 It led to a division into two haomans. The first, the haoma magha, is the haoma, the other, supranatural, called the white hauma, was identified with the tree gaokerena (Pahl. gokhard) 'that stands in the middle of the sea, Vaeura-Krahe... that is called the "All-healer"—an asuissca spents—that has been made the principle of all life and of all goodness, and is supposed to receive its healing power from Vohu Manah, and to be the son of Ahura Mazda. This mysterious power of the drink of life is an approach to magic, although it is extended to domains that are rather those of sanctity.2

Thus we have here to do with a real amulet.

4. Spells.—If the sacrifice is apt to degenerate into a magical rite, prayer may become a spell. The message of Zoroaster to man is a mundah, a noble word which properly means 'utterance,' 'word,' 'orders,' the will of the highest, and it has the meaning of 'spell' and, indeed, the sermons of the Prophet, instead of being a subject for meditation, are chanted in a dithematic order for ages, and have degenerated into mere spells, the exact pronunciation of which is all that the author sought by pure life and diligence in a noble calling. The finest Mazdaean prayers, such as the Ahuna Vairya (g.v.) Parsi, hurwag)—a kind of profession of faith—have still remained in a mechanical repetition of formulae, and have acquired an infinite power of their own, so much so that they become a weapon for the Creator Himself. The Bundahish (l. 21) narrates how Ahuramazd, having recited the Ahunavart and uttered its twenty-five words, crowned the evil spirit and secured the victory over him, in the first days of creation. The power of the same prayer and of some others is also expended in Vend. xii. (cf. also Yt. xvii. 20). Recited as many times as is prescribed on every occasion, they help as a spell the purification of man, which is

5. Bund. ii. 9, tr. West, SBE v. (1890) 14.
6. Castellani, p. 250. The Varus is the ritual reading of the haoma.

2. C. P. Tiele, Godsdienst in de Oudheid, Amsterdam, 1895-1905, ii. 222.
4. Yt. xii. 17.
5. So Cod. as an angle carries away the wind. The verb Rjnd was supposed to have shot off a feather of the eagle (Oldenberg, p. 271).
primarily attained by the marvellous power of the sorcerers and magicians mentioned above.

No wonder, therefore, if the manthra is mentioned as a regular means of curing diseases. It is distinguished by healing plants, by the knife, and by the manthra, the last being the most powerful. A manthra, however, is to Dahaka, as is the prayer, to both diseases and evil beings. The prayer contained in Vend. xx. 11 is supposed to be peculiarly powerful. It is directed to Ahiraman, the healing god par excellence. Vend. xxii. 18-25 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 Ahiraman has at his disposal for curing the 99,999 diseases created by Angra Mainyu for the baneful purpose. It is said, however, that the manthra is an old Indo-Iranian god: in the Vedas he is an aditya (Aryaman) 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 same footing as the manthra for healing diseases must, of course, be put the numerous incantations and magical formulae for removing the pollution inflicted upon anything which has come into contact with a corpse. Vend. viii. 14 ff., e.g., places that a road where the dead bodies of dogs or men have been carried cannot be traversed again by men or flocks, till the yellow dog with four eyes or the white dog with yellow ears has gone three times round it, saying aloud the hallowed words of the hovener. Vend. vii. 28 ff. contains the method of purifying wood which has been in contact with a corpse, and a formula for all kinds of good elements infected with the pollution of the dead. In such cases the Gathas 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 Mazdean system, and conviction of mankind that death, like illness, cannot occur without the maleficent intervention of some spirit, which has therefore to be averted. For a Mazdean to die was to pass into the power of the dreg Naun. 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 soon as possible, the beings or substances that had fallen into its hands. The intervention 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. xxi. 8, 12, 16), or when some accident occurred to cattle. 

5. Fire.—Among the elements which have to be kept safely from any pollution, fire occupies a prominent position. It is well known that among the Parsees it enjoys 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 belief which is common to many nations, but which is especially Indo-Iranian (cf. art. FIRE, FIRE-GODS, § 6 f.). Fire is the great purifier, which illuminates the night, keeps off bitter cold and wild beasts, and, as such, is the great enemy of demons and the friend and ally of man. It repels diseases, and it plays an important part in the proceeding of Indian magic, as is expounded in the Atharva-veda—a name which is taken from the atharvan, who were originally priests of fire. The Iranian myth of Artas victory over the serpent Az Dusha (Vr. xix. 45 ff.) is for repelling both diseases and evil beings. The prayer contained in Vend. xx. 11 is supposed to be peculiarly powerful. It is directed to Ahiraman, the healing god par excellence. Vend. xii. 18-25 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 Ahiraman has at his disposal for curing the 99,999 diseases created by Angra Mainyu for the baneful purpose. It is said, however, that the manthra is an old Indo-Iranian god: in the Vedas he is an aditya (Aryaman) 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 same footing as the manthra for healing diseases must, of course, be put the numerous incantations and magical formulae for removing the pollution inflicted upon anything which has come into contact with a corpse. Vend. viii. 14 ff., e.g., places that a road where the dead bodies of dogs or men have been carried cannot be traversed again by men or flocks, till the yellow dog with four eyes or the white dog with yellow ears has gone three times round it, saying aloud the hallowed words of the hovener. Vend. vii. 28 ff. contains the method of purifying wood which has been in contact with a corpse, and a formula for all kinds of good elements infected with the pollution of the dead. In such cases the Gathas 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 Mazdean system, and conviction of mankind that death, like illness, cannot occur without the maleficent intervention of some spirit, which has therefore to be averted. For a Mazdean to die was to pass into the power of the dreg Naun. 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 soon as possible, the beings or substances that had fallen into its hands. The intervention 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. xxi. 8, 12, 16), or when some accident occurred to cattle.

6. Influence of stars.—Astrology, as is well known, was the chief concern of the Magi, as the Zendavesta describes; but it is evident that 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 Tistrya, which is referred to as a good genius that brought rain after having slain the drought demon Apsaun (Vr. viii. 20 ff.). It is a very good genius which, at the dawn of creation and before man was created, destroyed the noxious creatures by an effusion of beneficent waters. It would be an exaggeration to treat as real magic such beliefs concerning the part of Tistrya as we find in the Avesta. There is reason to believe, however, that in some parts of Persia rain spells were in use. The Great Bundahishin says:

'The plague created against Sasanian is abundance of witchcraft; and that character appears from this, that all people deem that place practises astrology: those who play upon the stars, are said to be those who play, as the Zoroastrians say, on the stars, snow, hail, spiders, and locusts.'

On the other hand, it was a current belief among Iranians that planets had a malign influence; but this does not obligate us to admit that they had any belief in the influences of stars upon men's fate (cf. art. FATE [Iranian]).

7. Recent superstitions.—Among the superstitions prevalent among the Parsees and the Muhammadan Persians many customs, no doubt, go back to old Mazdean practices or, more probably, to popular beliefs which persisted beside the official creed. The great power assigned, among the old Mazdeans, to planets in general, and in particular to some specially marvellous ones, as well as the extensive practice, among the Babylonian Magi, of natural or magical treatment of diseases by herbs, probably explains the important part played by plants in the superstitions customs attached to the ancient Persian festivals as described by Persian writers—e.g., rubbing with olive oil on the day of Naturz as a riddance from sorrows during the new year, planting a pomegranate on the feast of Mihir (Mithra) to avert dangers, hitting
an eating animal with an orange on the day of Ablat in November as a way of securing happiness, giving garlic to one's friends on the Gôs râz (14th Dec.), and boiling herbs on the same day, in order to get rid of demons, purification with licorice on the fourteenth day of the month to avoid stagnation or misery, eating apples and Dollakios on the same day in order to secure success in one's enterprises, placing betel, walnuts, etc., on a pregnant woman's bosom, to make her fertile, etc.

Over the most ancient of these rites, we have a story in which a certain pretended priest of Darmesteter consequence, Modi, was brought to trial for magical element—were certainly composed at a much earlier date, even before the most ancient mythico-historical works, the Kojiki and the Nihonoki, which were written in the 8th century. By glancing over these stories, we find that the priest of the Kojiki and the Nihonoki or in other equally ancient sources, rather than by abstract classifications, we shall gain a vivid idea of what Japanese magic was in its most ancient and most original form.

The old rituals seem to have been not so much prayers as magical formulae, solemn incantations, and we shall see that at the same time they were enclosed in the language 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, Toshigô no Matsuri, which was said every year at sea-time in order to obtain a good harvest. The chief priest (matsutomi), who recited it in the name of the emperor, addressed the gods in these words:

'If I believe in the presence of the sovereign gods of the Harvest, H the sovereign gods will bestow in many-hundred ears and in innumerable ears the late-ripening harvest which you have bestowed, the late-ripening harvest which will be produced by the dripping of foam from the arms and by drawing the sword together between the opposing thongs, then I will fulfill their praises by setting up the firstfruits in a thousand ears and many hundred ears, raising high the sake-jars, filling and range

Other offerings are then enumerated, among which we notice a white horse, a white pig, and a white cock. Now, a 9th cent. document, the Kogoshibi, gives the legendary origin of this detail: Mitoshi no Kami, 'the god of the august harvest,' had cast his curse on the rice fields; but the diviners obtained from him, by the gift of these same white animals, the secret of a magical process which enabled them to save the important rice. The ritual is, therefore, based on a history of magic. The main point to remember from this first text, however, is the conditional character of the offerings which are to obtain the desired result. The same precaution is taken by the Japanese towards the end of this document, where the officiant 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 sovereign and his court. We may also observe that, of the four gods worshipped in the temple of Kasuga, the first two, Take-miku-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi, were represented by magical swords (cf. Kojiki, tr. H. H. Chamberlain, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1896, p. 50), and 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 (Kojiki, 64).

There is the same spirit in the 3rd ritual, Hirose Oho-tomi 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, Teninun no okese no Kumi no Motoni, is just as characteristic, and, moreover, relates its own legendary origin. For several years unknown gods have bungled all the crops, and the diviners have not been able to discover who these gods are. To one of them, in the hope of conjuring them, and they revealed themselves to him in a dream. They are 'Heaven's Pillar's augustness and Country's Pillar's augustness,' the gods of the winds who maintain the order of the world. They require certain offerings, the announce future gods and, in the first instance, at Tsutsu, and a liturgy, by means of which they 'will bless and ripen the things produced by the great People of the region under heaven, firstly the five seeds of grain, down to the least leaf of the barley. How? It is the gods who state their conditions. The people hasten to fulfil them without omission,' but evidently the recollection of past calamities has left some mistrust, for, when making the present offerings, they announce future gifts: if, be at night and then, the gods have deigned not to send 'bad winds and rough waters,' but to 'ripen and bless' the harvest, they will grant them the firstfruits of it. This is the announcement.

We shall pass over the 5th, 6th, and 7th rituals, which are not so interesting, and come to the 8th. Ototo-Hogahi, i.e. 'Luck-bringer of the Great Palace.' This title itself indicates the magical character of the document, and, in fact, we find the ritual defined in its own text in the words, ama tsu kusuiki itahiki-goto, 'the celestial magical protective words.' It is a formula the recitation of which wards off all calamity from the palace, as an annual custom. This is shown by the importance ascribed to the perfect regularity of the words pronounced; for, in another passage, certain 'correction-gods (nako) are begged to rectify all the omissions that they may have seen or heard in the rites of the ceremony. This ceremony itself throws abundant light on the magical character of the ritual of which it was a part. We have a description of it in the Gi-shiki of the 9th cent. (see E. Satow, in TASS, vol. ix. pt. ii. [1881] p. 348) in the present ceremony, the shichishu chief the nakotom, the itume (abstaining priests), and the vestals, go through the palace in every direction; and in different places, from the great audience-hall to the bath-room, even to the kitchen, the ceremony, the coming of the nako, while the itume hang precious stones on the four corners of the rooms visited by them. We observe here an application of the custom, called sumanai, 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—in the vast majority of the magical ceremonies practised in Japanese magic. Rice was scattered inside the hut in which a woman was about to be confined; in the divination at cross-roads (takuri-wa; see art. DIVINATION [Japanese]), a boundary was sometimes marked on the road, where rice was also strewn, in order to take afterwards as an oracle the words spoken by the first passer-by who crossed this bewitched line; and an old legend tells how, when the son of the gods descended from heaven to the castle, a temple was set up for the nako, and thrown at random in the air to disperse the darkness from the sky. Just the same is the magical use of jewels to combat evil influences. Through the whole of Japanese mythology there is the sparkle of jewels, some of which are talismans—jewels which, at the time of an eclipse, the gods suspended to the highest branches of the sacred elyers, and whose brilliance recalled the sun (Kojiki, 64); jews which, in another form of the story, enabled their possessor to make the tide flow or ebb at his will (ib. 150); jewels which even aimed at resuscitating the dead, as we shall see below. We can, therefore, easily understand the magical character of the ritual. The nako, paraded in the imperial apartments, caused the dark threats of the invisible everywhere to retire before their brightness. Still another point to be remarked is that, according to the description cited, the itume recite the liturgy and the Polynesian sorcerers also said their prayers in a low singing, perhaps even hissing, tone, similar to the hissing, whispering voice which they attributed to their gods; and even in Japan, in the divination by the larp (koto-uru), one of the practices of the officiant was a complicated whistle. All this magical atmosphere which surrounds the ritual suits its text very well. It points out, first of all, the propitiatory rites which the itume have accomplished in hewing down the trees intended for the construction of the palace. Then it recalls the mythical recollections which assure beforehand the efficiency of the formula recited. Then the protector-gods of the palace ward off certain calamities, several of which—e.g., serpent-bites, or the droppings of birds falling through the smoke-hole in the roof—are ritual 'offences.' Lastly, in the same way as it invokes the protector-gods, every possible omission, the text insists on this fact—that the 'immutable strings of luck-bringing grains' have been made by sacred jewellers 'taking care to avoid all pollution and to observe perfect cleanliness.' The care in all these matters shows the magical importance by attaching to each of the rites of the ceremony, and to the most insignificant words of the incantation.

We shall omit the 9th ritual, Mikado Motoni, 'Festival of the Sublime Gates,' devoted to the gods who guard the entrance of the palace against the evil influences of the 'crooked' gods (waigo), and come to the 10th, which is much more important. This is the 'Ritual of the Great Purification' (Ohe-horakhi). This ritual was recited by the chief of the nako, the priest who in the 11th month, and the 12th months, to blot out all the transgressions, both moral and ritual, that the whole people had committed in the interval. The choice of these dates is in itself significant; the summer ceremony recalls the lustration in the months of St. John in different countries of Europe, and the ceremony at the end of the year corresponds with the need of renewal experienced by the majority of men at this time, and which, in Japan, still takes the popular form of a dramatic enactment called temuna, 'expulsion of the demons.' The Great Purification included various rites; but the ritual is often mentioned as if it itself formed the whole ceremony—which proves the magical power ascribed to it, for the ritual itself contains clearly that it is the emperor who 'deigns to purify and wash away' (horakhi-tamahi kiyone-tamafu) the offences committed—from which we see that the gods who, a little later, are to be invoked to intervene really play a part inferior to that of the emperor, and act only, so to speak, at his command. The right of absolution which he exercises thus arises from the general sovereignty conferred respectively' upon him by the celestial gods at the beginning of the year, and the text immediately recalls. Then follows the enumeration of ritual crimes, voluntary or not, which are to be effaced (see Revon, Anthologie de la litterature japonaise, Paris, 1910, p. 28 l.). We may select from this list at least two offences con-
nected with our subject. The one is the 'planting of wandes' (kashi-shidzue) in rice-fields, probably with instaurated purpose or process; native interpretation explains as the casting of magic boundaries on the field of which one claims to be proprietor, though perhaps it is an example of pointedly stuck into the mud to hurt the bare feet of a neighbour. Amongst the Malayas, a person in flight recounts the pursuit of his adversaries by this means. The other offence (amiy-com-sarasvati) is 'the performing of witchcraft,' either in a general way (cf. Kojiki, 326 ff.) or in particular against a neighbour. It is magic (wii) we connect this passage with the expression semono-tafushi, '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 twigs in a certain way, doubletless intact, and form a sort of purificatory broom, then to recite 'the powerful ritual words of the celestial ritual' (tsa fi norito no futo noritogdo). The native commentators tried for a long time to explain what caused these 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 ancestor of the emperors, and whose 'powerful words,' it has already been said, cannot be repeated—an expression intended to recall the intrinsic virtue of this formula. When the high priest recites it thus, according to the text of the ritual itself, the gods of heaven and earth will approach to listen, and all offences will disappear, being washed off, carried away by the ocean by the goddess of the torrents, swallowed by the goddess of the sea-currents, driven to the nether regions by the god whose breath chases before it all impurities, and when they will be seized at last by a subterranean deity who banishes them for ever.

Clearly these deities are only the four wheels of the machine which the emperor sets in motion by the hand of the great nakatomi, the magician who knows the sacred words which even the gods obey. As for the rest, to the meaning, curiosity, they belong, horse whose erect cars will incite these gods to listen attentively, just as the crowing cocks, the lighted fire—all these magical processes of the myth of the eclipse (Kojiki, 62-65)—would recall the sun, or as it were, the holy mouth of the emperor himself (Nihongi, tr. W. G.aston, London, 1896, i. 118), 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 marked the whole of it.

We may mention the 11th ritual along with this one. It is an invocation which the hereditary scholars of Yamato pronounced 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 which he breathed before it was taken from him, with the same intention of driving away, by this magical transfer, both the sins committed and the material support.

Another ritual which is plainly magical is the 12th, the title of which, Ho-shidzume, "Appeasing of the Fire," shows that its purpose was not to worship the god of fire, but to banish him from the palace. As for the 13th 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 the gods. Then it recounts this 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 Isunmi herself, caching this son who had caused his mother so much distress, offered to give birth to the water-goddess, the gourd, the river-plant, and the princess of the clay mountains, four divine things whose magical use against fire she immediately taught. Then, in order that this might be done, many demons not to be terribly lively in the palace 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 lightening of a fire by the urabe in the four outside corners of the precincts of the palace, with the primitive apparatus (hi-kiri-umi) of which a specimen may be seen in the University Museum, Oxford.

The 13th ritual, Mikichi-abe, 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 was encrusted with a sworded head (sake no baikin) against the epidemics sent by the demons. The ritual begins by reminding these protector-gods, without great reverence, that their duties were inaugurated in heaven itself, where they already served the son of the gods. It then dictates to them what they must do:

'Whenever from the Bottom-country, the Bottom-country, there may come savage and unearthly beings, consort not and parley not with them, but if they go below, keep watch below, if they go above, keep watch above, protecting us against pollution with a night guarding and a day guarding.'

In return they are presented with offerings, which they are to enjoy while defending the great roads 'like a multitudinous assemblage of rocks,' and, finally, the celebrant insists once more on the 'powerful words' of his formula.

The next ritual, the 14th, was devoted to the Ohonihe, 'Great Offering of Poo.' Before eating the new rice of the year, the ancient Japanese performed a ceremony called Niki-name, 'new tasting,' which had a propitiatory purport towards the spirits of the magic season. The Ohonihe was a more solemn Niki-name, celebrated some time after the succession of the emperors, and constituting a sort of religious coronation for them. The ritual relating to this festival contains nothing very curiously magic, excepting that we find it to be 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 Mitama shidzumu, which shows that its purpose was 'to appease the august spirit,' i.e. the spirit of the emperor, that is to say, that which keeps the imperial soul in his body, of recalling if it seemed to wish to escape—in a word, of renewing magically the vital force of the sovereign for the coming year and thus prolonging his life. This is the meaning of the ceremony which called Mi-tama. The Ohonihe was celebrated at the end of the year in the sanctuary of the priests of the court (see Nihongi, ii. 273). Now, the gloss identifies this festival with an ancient ceremony called Mi-tana farashiti, 'shaking of the angst jewels,' which again plunges us into deep magic. The Kojiki (11. 2) says, in fact,
that, when the sun-goddess gave the investiture to the ancestor of the emperors, she bestowed upon him ten precious treasures:

- one mirror of the earring, one mirror of the shore, one eight-handed brass sword, one jewel of birth, one jewel of return from death, one perfect jewel, one jewel road-returning, evil things to it, the road they came, one scorpion-ear, one bee-ear, and scarp of various things.

She added: 'in case of illness, shall be repeated to the words: Hi, su, mii, po, shen, mi, sena, ga, kohiko, faris, and shake them pursura (cosmatopilia). If thou doest so the dead will certainly return to life.

The objects enumerated by the sun-goddess are talismans, several of which occur in the most ancient Japanese mythology (see Kojiki, 86, 159, 234, etc.). As for the inscription, 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 inscription was recited at this festival by young ladies.

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 formula of the 25th ritual, for the installation of a prince or princess:

'The offering of a sacred princess of the blood imperial to serve as the deity's staff, having first, according to custom, observed the rules of religious purity, the young princess, for three years, in the end that thou mayst cause the Sovereign Grandchild to live peacefully and firmly so long as Heaven and Earth, the Sun and the Moon may last. I, the Great Nakatomi, holding the sacred spear by the middle, with deepest awe pronounce this dedication of her by the Mikado to the end that she may serve as an august staff.'

We have here evidently a survival of the 'abstainer' of primitive Japan, whose asceticism necromanced against the health of the village, in the same way as here the sacrifice of the imperial virgin is to guarantee the happiness and long life of the sovereign (cf. art. Ancient Japan).

The 25th ritual, of a more general interest, is entitled: Totari-gami wo usukashi-tatematsuru norito, 'Ritual for the Respectful Removal of the Gods who send Plagues.' In the 13th ritual the usual offerings of fish, game, vegetables, rice, and sake, but also in a novel form, 'as a thing to see plain in, a mirror; as things to play with, leather; as things to shot off with, a bow and arrows; as a thing to strike and cut with, a sword; as a thing which gallops out, a horse.'

Lastly, after having thus loaded them with numerous toys and abundant dainties, which they beg them to accept 'with clear hearts, as peaceful offerings and sufficient offerings,' they earnestly ask these 'sacred gods' to be good enough, 'without desiring to be fierce, and desiring to hurt, to remove out to the wide and deep places of the mountain-streams, and by virtue of their divinity to be tranquill.'

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

_Itzumo no kuni no miyako no kuni yugoto_, 'The Divine Words of Good Fortune of the Chiefs of the Country of Izumo.' These local chiefs, after having lost their civil sway, had been reduced to religious power. It is they who to this day in the old province hand down the primitive fire-kindlers which their legendary ancestor, the god Ame-no-hohi, had received from the sun-goddess herself, and which each chief of Izumo bequeaths to his successor by the ceremony called Hi-taomari, 'perpetuation of fire.' In this ritual the miyako first announces that he will recite the formula, after many ritual preparations, to bring happiness and prosperity to the reign of the gods; how he then divided his life by counting:

He then relates how Ame-no-hohi and, later, other celestial ambassadors were sent to earth to prepare for the descent of the son of the gods; how Onahmochi, the divine king of Izumo, who achieved the 'making of the country' with the help of a stranger magician, and who was the first to found a government in this important region of the archipelago, was persuaded by the celestial envoys to abandon his temporal rule to the son of the gods; how he then divided his life by counting:

We have here, therefore, a typical case of the action of like upon like, which is one of the essential doctrines of primitive man, as also, in the present case, attaches to the different jewels a power corresponding to their colour. The formula continues by other applications of this principle of imitative magic:

'As this white horse plants firmly his fore-paws and his hind-feet, so will the pillars of the Great Palace be set firmly on the upper rocks and frozen firmly on the lower rocks; the pricking up of his ears is a sign that your Majesty will, with ears more erect, rule the Under-Heaven, etc.'

It is possible that at some time these rites may have become symbols; but it is impossible not to recognize in them, especially at the beginning, practices inspired by that primitive logic which has always and everywhere constructed magic on the same universal principles.

Ancient Shinto, together, as it appears to us in its most authentic liturgies, is a religion in which the magical element still prevails over the religious sentiment. The rituals are essentially formulaic, addressed to magician gods (as is demonstrated by all their mythical exploits) by magician-priests (the nakatomi, the mimiku, and the urahe), and encircled in magical rites. Magic is, therefore, at the base of the national cult of the Japanese, and it appears there with all the characteristics familiar to the student of comparative religion.

To finish with a vivid illustration, which, after the necessarily short descriptions given above, will show this magic in application in a typical and exact case, we shall choose as an example sovery,
as it was practised in the most ancient times. The following is the curious account of the subject given in the Kojiki (326 f.).

*The Deity of Idzushi [the country of the "sacred stones"] had a daughter, whose name was the Deity Maiden of Idzushi. So eighty pairs of young people were chosen to obtain this maiden of Idzushi in marriage, but none of them could do so. Therefore there were two Deities, brothers, of whom the elder was called the Younth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains, and the younger was named the Younth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains. So the elder brother said to the younger brother: "Though I beg for the Maiden of Idzushi, I cannot obtain her in marriage. Will you be able to obtain her?" He answered, saying: "I will endeavor to do so." Then the elder brother said: "If thou canst obtain this maiden, I will take off my upper and lower garments, and datil liquer in a jar of my own height, and prepare all the things of the Mountaineers and the rivers, in payment of thine wager." Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said.

Fortwith, the mother, having taken wistaria-dye, wove and sewed in the space of a single night an upper garment and trousers, and also socks and boots, and likewise made a bow and arrows, and clothed him in this upper garment, trousers, etc., made him take the bow and arrows, and sent him to the maiden's house, where both his apparel and the bow and arrows all turned into wistaria-blossoms. Thereupon the Younth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden's privy. Then, when the Maiden of Idzushi, thinking the blossoms strange, brought them, he followed behind the maiden into the house. She had just set a tub, and asked him: "And will you pay the things he had wagered?" Then when the younger brother insisted on his mother, his august parent replied: saying: "During my august life the Deities indeed are to be well imitated; it must be because he imitates mortal men that he does not imitate the gods!"

Fortwith, in her anger with her elder child, she took a one-pointed bamboo from an island in the River Idzushi, and made a coarse basket with eight holes, and took some wistaria-dye, and mixing them with brine [taking in the sense of 'hard salt'], wrapped them in the leaves of the bamboo, and caused this curse (tsoku) to be spoken [by her younger son]: "Like unto the becoming green of these bamboo-leaves, do thou become green and wither! Again, like unto the flowing and ebbing of this stream, go thou (in the word shika, let it be here with the meaning of 'sea-water'), do thou flow and ebb! Again, like unto the sinking of these stones, do thou sink and be prostrated." Having caused this curse to be spoken, she placed the basket over the smoke [apparently on the hearth of the house]. The elder brother dried up, withered, sickened, and lay prostrate for the space of eight years. So on the elder brother entrusting his august parent with lamentations and tears, she forthwith caused the curse to be reversed. Thereupon his body was pacified. This is the origin of the term "a divine wager-payment."

In this text we have a case of original soecery, founded on sympathetic magic (a notion so well expressed by the Japanese word for 'magic,' manja, which conveys the idea of 'to mix'), but before the time when the progress of the arts and foreign influences could have given the idea of such soeceries to the effigy of an enemy. (For this later development, see, e.g., the popular ballad of Shuntoku Maru, in TASS, vol. xxii. pt. iii. [1894] pp. 291-308.) 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 aqueous element. With this bamboo she weaves a basket, in which she takes care to have 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 river-pebbles, which, even more than the bamboo, come from the water. But it is from fresh water that brine is obtained, and this natural demand that they should assume a maritime character. They are, therefore, put among brine; by this union the assimilation is made, and the soecery is accomplished. The only thing that remains to be done 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, 238), the magical imprecation (tsuku) of a chief had made a great oak-tree suddenly decay; or, better still, in the same way as, by the effect of a general maldelegation, man, formerly immortal, was condemned to the cherry-tree fade (Kojiki, 140-142). Then, as the high water falls back, the guilty one will be abused. Lastly, he will be seen foundering as a stone sink when disappearing under the waves. This curse pronounced, the basket of perdition is placed in the smoke of the hearth; the green leaves become black; the threat is executed. Yet in the end the mother's heart bears the remembrance of her son. She reverses the curse, i.e., the terrible magical formula is this time pronounced backwards (cf. Kojiki, 238), and immediately the body of the young man is 'pacified'; he returns to health, to life.

In this soecery the most curious point is that which is connected with the sea element. The fate of the young man is, in fact, connected with the ebbing of the tide. We have here an interesting illustration, among the insular Japanese, of the belief so wide-spread among primitive races, according to which a mysterious harmony exists between the rising and falling of the sea and the course of human life. In this belief, it is when the sea is flowing in that one is born, becomes strong, prosperous; it is when it is ebbing that one loses his energy, falls ill, and dies. The Japanese soecers, the deposition of primitive traditions, as is well aware of this secret agreement. She knows that, even far from the sea-shore, an artificial connexion can be formed between these two manifestations of a single force. Consequently she brings into connexion with the soecery just considered, into which the consecrated words will bring the very existence of her son; and the cursed one is immediately delivered up to the enchantment of the waters; he becomes like a pebble on the beach, the tide carries him away, drags him towards the brightnesses of life, then lets him fall back and roll in darkness and death. This story of witchcraft has, therefore, given us at one and the same time a typical case of Japanese magic and a new proof of the straemcon of the most curious beliefs of humanity in general.

LITERATURE.—This has been cited in the article.

M. RYEO.

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 documents of the OT and Jewish tradition allow us to what is to be understood by the term.

It must at once be pointed out that divination and charms (see DIVINATION [Jewish] and CHARMS AND AMULETS [Jewish]) are not part of Jewish magic, which, purposely strict in character. The difference between witchcraft and other forms of magic is that the magician has nothing whatsoever to do with forecasting the future or with preventing any occurrence that is sure to happen in the ordinary course of nature. He has nothing to do primarily with spells or incantations, nor is the writing of any formula an indispensable condition for magic. Magic can only be 'performed'; no magic is effective unless the nature of the rite demands that they should assume a maritime character. They are, therefore, put among brine; by this union the assimilation is made, and the soecery is accomplished. The only thing that remains to be done is to pronounce the formula whose powerful words will act on all these things.
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. In the technical literature he is described as producing 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 expected to do good; he will be the agent for vengeance, hatred, and everything that makes for strife, death, and destruction. But he cannot carry out his intention without an 'operation'; he must do something in order to bring about the desired result. Unlike the certain spells, songs, formulae, and written amulets, the magician must perform a whole set of ceremonies quite independent of signs, omens, and spells. It is a new definition that is here offered, which, by circumventing much more narrowly the field of superstition, is an endeavour to give to magic its real meaning. The magician's work, again, is not expected to be of a permanent character; it is temporary, and it can be undone by other means, or by the actions of others who are skilful in such an art. In order, then, to disturb the laws of nature, to transform existing things, to shape and mould new creatures, the magician requires the help of supernatural beings who are skilful in the art of magic; the magician must be able to command the services of spiritual powers—demons, gods, or ghosts—malignant in their disposition and willing to do mischief.

Magical means 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 theologial views in the course of development and transition. It depends also upon the nature of those spirits and upon the theological attitude towards them—whether they are considered as forces of super-negative forces that are also creatures of God and yet unwilling, by their own innate wickedness, to do good. The conception of a rebellious angel who has been cast down from the heavenly heights because of his 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 will of the magician and willing to do his behest.

The Hebrew term for 'magic' is 'kushef', which, like all technical expressions connected with superstition, is of obscure origin; though many attempts have been made to elucidate its primitive meaning, no one has yet proved satisfactory. The primitive meaning of 'kushef', 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 spell, inscribed, as it has various derivatives, occurs twelve times in the Bible. It is to be noted that all the references in the Pentateuch are to Egypt, while the references in the Prophetic writings some are to Assyria as well as to Palestine itself. In 2 Ch. 33:20 Manasseh is described as having practised witchcraft as well as other forbidden things (cf. also Mal 3:8); the wizards of Egypt are mentioned in Ex 7:11-22; in Babylon there is only one allusion to them, in Dn 2.

The LXX translates 'kushef' by φάρακος, which does not mean 'poison,' but, as in ancient Greek, a 'spell' cast by a magician. 'Kushef' has remained the technical term. The art of witchcraft is called 'kishef' in the Mishna and Talmud, and there was no magic' is exactly witchcraft. It is clearly stated (Sanh. 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 jugglery.

The fact that the term, with its various spells, songs, formulae, and written amulets, the magician must perform a whole set of ceremonies quite independent of signs, omens, and spells. It is a new definition that is here offered, which, by circumventing much more narrowly the field of superstition, is an endeavour to give to magic its real meaning. The magician's work, again, is not expected to be of a permanent character; it is temporary, and it can be undone by other means, or by the actions of others who are skilful in such an art. In order, then, to disturb the laws of nature, to transform existing things, to shape and mould new creatures, the magician requires the help of supernatural beings who are skilful in the art of magic; the magician must be able to command the services of spiritual powers—demons, gods, or ghosts—malignant in their disposition and willing to do mischief.
magic with idolatry, noted above). In addition there was the lighting of candles and the use of a knife with a black handle which is mentioned by Rashi to Sanh. 101a, and which can be understood only as a symbolical sacrificial knife. Philtres must be served to a goat (Ber. Meid. 20a). Fasting and other ceremonies are all intended to propitiate the evil spirit, and this is what made magic and magical operations objectionable to Jews and an ‘abomination’ to Judaism. Yet Rabbis made old phrase 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 notion of the skethim and maszahim 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 became the belief that these demons were harmless, and, though they were looked upon as evils inclined and malignant, a friendly intercourse with them does not appear to have been considered contrary to Jewish law. Thus a Rabbi once assisted a woman to kill many men for destruction and sorcery. 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 that was ranked as paganism, and which probably would fall under the category of the witchcraft for which the death penalty was prescribed by law. Here we find the angel Raphael himself helping, by means of fumigation, to counteract the work of a demon who, falling in love with Sarah, had become an invocans, and would, therefore, kill any one who intended to approach her. The spirit thus exercised was Asmodeus, who is recognized in the later demonological hierarchy as the king of the evil powers. The position of Belial, or Beelzeboul (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, Subject to the character of Satan in the book of Job (cf. Belial, Beliar). 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 Dt. 22:18, ‘they sacrificed to shedhim,’ says that the gift most acceptable to the evil spirits was blood, and that their will was obtained by giving them the blood of the sacrifice as 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 best understood 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, who are not sufficiently materialized to enjoy material food (cf. the Biblical parallelism of

1 For an Egyptian parallel to this legend, see the literature of enchantment of a demon who had fallen in love with a woman see M. Berthelot, Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs, Paris, 1868-69, 1, 51.

2 For the legend of shedhim and other rulers and princes of the dead Asmodeus (cf. Jer. Shch, v. 40, Gen. Rab. 29, Levit. Rab. c. 6, and apocryphic compilations).

3 For this, see M. 56.

4 This is one of the earliest invocations of a lion-headed god, 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 ḳēbdūti of full magical use. angel names, angels, rulers, evil names, planets, and sublunar worlds. Still less could the Rabbis 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  ḳēbdūti—a legend which relies on a peculiar interpretation of the word ḥēlālah, occurring in Ec 2:4. So firm was the later belief in Solomon's power over the  ḳēbdūti—and whatever was allowed to Solomon could not be refused to any other Jew—that Josephus has preserved for us (Ant. viii. 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 Acanthus is mentioned as their king, and Lilith, Mahalath, and Agaron are also described later as leaders of evil spirits, while even a demon Meredimma has been evolved out of Ps 94:16. Once the grouping of spirits was considered somewhat from that given by Ezekiel and was swelled by additions from various quarters to swell the host. Among these we find reference, in the Talmud, to the princes or rulers over oil and eggs, rulers over the skull or, rather, thumb-nail, and over crystal—all shining objects used, no doubt, for their magical properties. They are named syncretically, in everything 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 were accessible only to the adept, whence much of the practical operation is almost lost to us. What has survived is, with few exceptions, the accompanying formula by which these various spirits and invisible powers were invoked and either, for evil, as in most cases, or for good. In the Greek magical papyri some fragments of the formule are extant, but very little of the operations. Much more seems to have been published in the Hebrew Sword of Moses (ed. and tr. Caster, JPS, 1896, pp. 149-198), of extreme antiquity, and in some MSS of practical ḳēbdūti, or practical occultism, mostly in the possession of the present writer (one of the prescriptions in the form of an incantation). A large number of bowls, many of them dating from the first centuries of the Christian era, have been found in Babylonia with Hebrew and Syriac inscriptions, these vessels being used by the ancient magicians for the purpose of making vessels or canopic jars for the use of the deceased. The inscriptions in question contain whole lists of demons and spirits who are in the service of the magician or whose power he is expected to check. A large number of them have been published by J. A. Montgomery (Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur, Philadelphia, 1913), and one (no. 32) may here be reproduced as showing the state of mind and the beliefs of the people. The translation is independent and different. The statements which form the text of the bowl are doubtless a product of the time of Dinni, son of Ishpardarmid, and from that time to the present there has been a practice of writing them down and then erecting them into a sort of temple in a room, on a shelf, or in a place where it will be seen by the people. The idea of a witch or a sorcerer, who can control the spirits, is found in the ancient world, and the practice of invoking evil spirits is found in all parts of the world, and particularly in the Orient, where the practice is still common.

3 A bowl is prepared for the sealing of the house and the wife and the children of Dinni, son of Ishpardarmid, that the Terrifer (frail) and evil dreams may depart from him. The bowl is made of clay and has been baked in the sun and is of a red color. It has a hole in it which was established by Rab Joshua bar Peraylah, who wrote against them—a ban against all Demons and Devils and Satans and Liliths and curses which are in the house of Dinni, son of Ishpardarmid. Again: he wrote against them a ban which is for all time, in the name of Aran, Aron, written in the name of 7 place, &c., the name a scroll within a scroll. Through which are written human and earth and the mountains; and through which the heights are raised (lifited) up; and through which are fettered the magician, Demons and Devils and Satan's and Liliths and curses; and through which he passes over from this world and climbed above you to the height (of heaven) and learned all counter-charms for hurt and for good, forth from the house of Dinni, son of Ishpardarmid, and from everything that belongs to him. I have dismissed you by the ban, and it is bound and sealed and countersealed and is a ban in the name of Aron, Aron, and of Yarava, Yurva, Amen. Amen, Amen, Selah.

Sealed and protected are the house and dwelling of Dinni, son of Ishpardarmid, from the Terrifier (frail) and evil Dreams and the Curse. And sealed and protected be his wife and soul from the Terrifier and evil Dreams and Curses and Vows and Yellings.

This inscription has been selected because it contains the name of the famous Joshua bar Peraylah 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. Sheṭah, 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. Peraylah, who had fled to Egypt, where he was believed to have learned the art both of working and of combating magic.

The Jērus. Talm. (Sanh. vii. 19, 10, col. 325) tells a curious legend concerning this same R. Joshua, who is made the contemporary of R. Eleazar. He came to a place where they found a young man whose manhood had been taken away by a witch. R. Joshua wrote the words on the table, and they appeared: and when the young man got up, out of the midst a woman with dishevelled hair suddenly appeared—the witch. R. Joshua seized her and ordered her to drink the potion, but she drank, and the young man was restored and was allowed to divulge her name. She then answered that she could not undo the spell, because the things had been done by Solomon. R. Joshua then ordered the angel of the sea to throw them up, and thus the young man was restored to health, and later because the father of R. Joshua, b. Béthah, was a seer.

In the light of the Babylonian bowls, it is not improbable that this is a story of Joshua b. Peraylah, but, as nothing was known of his magical powers, it was transferred later to another Rabbi also named Jērus. b. Sheṭah.

The Rabbis had no doubt as to the origin of witchcraft: it came from Egypt. According to Kaddishin, 490, ten measures of witchcraft have come down into the world, nine of which have gone to Egypt, while one has spread throughout the rest of the world. The Talmud names one or two witches who are said to have practised in Jerusalem, among them being Yōnā, the daughter of R. Ethī (Sēd. 22b), famous as a witch affecting child-birth.

One day, whilst she was assisting a woman in a travail, a neighbour came into her house. Hearing a noise in a vessel like that of a child in the womb, she lifted the cover and saw that it had ceased, and the woman was easily delivered. Hence it was recognized that Yōnā was a witch. Evidence of the same origin is the word witchcraft and the fact that, if put to the proper test, it vanishes—i.e., is seen in the Talmudic story of Zērāf. She was said to be the first witch in the world, and to have had the power of controlling the spirits of the dead.

He bought an ass in Alexandria, but, when he attempted to cross the river on it, it turned into a plume and then instantly 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, Jamāi, being offered a drink of water, poured some of the liquid on the ground, whereupon the rest turned into scorpions. He then compelled the witch to drink and she was transformed into a woman—this given by R. Jonathan. R. Jonathan, recognizing her, broke the spell, and the Rabbi was then seen to have the witch for his steed (Sanh. 676).

As soon as magical operations came to be regarded as diabolical, the extraordinary power of the world's greatest magicians was noted. Theatres or temple, to which stood one of the foremost opponents of magic being R. Simeon b. Sheṭah, who lived in the time of King Jattan and Queen Alexander (1st cent. B.C.). He went to Ashkelon, where, with the assistance of eightyjudges, he caught eighty witches actually practising their magical arts, and he hanged them all in one day.
And they are called "the princes of bêliûm." Take bêliûm and write upon it with olive oil 1 'Asouz (nori) & Azouz; 2 and take a boy seven in the middle of the night, and put the bêliûm into his hand and put the boy between thy knees so that his car shall be against thy mouth and you shall turn your face towards his car: "Amãg, I adjure thee in the name of the Lord God, God of Truth, God, Keeper of the hosts, Aphi, Aphi, 3 that thou shalt send from thee three angels. And the boy should stand upon the top of the thumb to the end of the finger: and put the bêliûm into his hand in the pointed place and seal his hand; and you shall sit upon the ground, whereby she lost her magical power, the reason given for this procedure being that no harm could befall a witch as long as she stood on the earth.

It was, however, found necessary to bring some order into the chaos of magic, for the Rabbis could not transgress a clear prescription of the Bible, and a sin which was punished with death could not be passed over lightly. Other than the ground, whereby she lost her magical power, the reason given for this procedure being that no harm could befall a witch as long as she stood on the earth.

MAGII (Jewish)

The details are of much interest, for they show a complete continuity of practice from that day onward. The woman procured food and drink in a miraculous manner, and in the midst of their feast did not disdain to invite the Rabbi's pupils to share in their banquet. Each of the young men then took one of the bottles, and when he drank from it, a light appeared over the ground, whereby she lost her magical power, the reason given for this procedure being that no harm could befall a witch as long as she stood on the earth.

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scribed in an anonymous chapbook, between a bishop magician and a red Jew, who had come from beyond the waters of the mysterious river Sambatu, for upon the issue of the struggle depended the life of the Jewish communities in Germany. To this very day the Jews in Syria perform such magical operations as fumigation, libations, and offerings of oil, bread, and lighted candles, which are put in the four corners of an empty house to precipitate the šédékin before the people venture to enter the dwelling and make the proper dedication. Gradually, however, the belief in the šédékin is waning, and the literature of practical ḫalalátah is slowly but steadily being discarded. Indeed, much of Jewish life to-day is, in reality, little more than a concession to ignorance. When a Rabbi was asked why the aid of a magician may be invoked in case of serious illness, he replied, according to Joseph Karo (commentary on Tūr, Yoreh Deyyōv), "We no longer invoke him, except in cases of extreme need." LITERATURE.—In addition to the books mentioned in the text see the Literature at Arta, Charms and Amulets (Jewish), Divination (Jewish), and Birkot (Jewish). M. Gaster.

MAGIC (Slavic).—The Slavic countries are a peculiarly rich field for the study of folk-lore, as they were not Christianized until the 10th cent., remained isolated from Western influences, and have conserved 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 freak. But to the Slav peasant nature was business, his everyday surrounding, people which he never asked why they continued to believe in the harm done by demons, and in magical operations intended to propitiate them and to obtain relief and safety. It is merely a temporary comfort to those who are loath to give up old beliefs which are considered as vain imaginations.

The Norsemen and the Greeks created mythologies out of natural phenomena, the Slav, in the dreary monotony of his plains, fell into neither the deep religious enjoyment of the Mediterranean—nor the bright imagery of the Greeks; he simply saw that the sun ripened and the sun scorched; that the earth was moist and fertile or parched and frozen; that he was envied by unknown powers to be obeyed or to be subdued; he addressed prayers and incantations to them in a prose, almost rationalist, attitude of mind, without adoration, with merely a recognition of inevitable dependence. His spells and invocations (the bastard descendants of heathenism) are unformed science, but good rationalism. A. N. Rambaud says that the primitive Slavs adored matter and never felt the incentive to personify, idealize, or philosophize it; perhaps it was a mere acceptance of necessity.

The Pomeranian 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 greatest oracles and pilgrimages were in the Isle of Rügen; these pagan shrines were destroyed by Valdemar I. of Denmark in 1168.

The recollection of this sacred island has strongly influenced Slav myth and magic. The word Rügen is derived from the same root as the English rough, and is called in Early Russian Ruyan. Now the word Bayan comes from a miscellaneous root, and looks like a transliteration of the Teutonic name Rügen; and it is thus a safe and probable theory to identify the fabulous island of Bayan with the historical shrine of Rügen—all the more so as the mysterious stone Nalyyr is thought perhaps to mark number, 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, conquering and dominating her, and mastering her secrets. Fragments of the old ritual, degenerating into incomprehensible patter, continued to be used at the old sacred haunts, but these incantations were clandestine; though the beings invoked were believed in, they were considered illicit or hellish; heathendom had changed into magic.

Every village had its magician or witch-doctor. These practitioners certainly possessed great knowledge of healing, as healers and masons; but, where all nature consists of discontinuous miracles, such curés had to be accompanied with the ritual that was calculated to conciliate the powers and convince the patient.

The Russian sorcerer lived alone; he had learnt the magic formulae, and had been instructed by the wood-sprites (těšil), the goblin of the hearth (domojev), the fairies of the fields and the water (pelėvja, vodnyjev). Such practitioners are known by many names—e.g., Enaktauer, holstygur, kihol, mikołaj, polvan, vodnyjev, etc.; the women-witches are called vedina; and to them more extraordinary powers are attributed. These magicians hand down their wisdom to their youngest children—a custom signifying that this magical knowledge was derived from non-Aryan peoples, and taken over by the Aryan conquerors.

It is said that the znakhar has physical marks—a troubled eye, a grey complexion—that he suffers, has a hoarse voice, and so on. Unless he communicates once a year, earth will not receive his body, and then he wanders after death as a vampire, sucking others' blood. Witches are credited with the power of flying, and are supposed to have wings or claws instead of hands; and a spotted skin. They are said to forget in the gusts and whirls of snow at cross-roads; a pious man should cross himself when he comes upon such swirling columns, for in them the witches manifest themselves. If a kavarnia saw the bright imagery of the Greeks; he simply saw that the sun ripened and the sun scorched; that the earth was moist and fertile or parched and frozen; that he was envied by unknown powers to be obeyed or to be subdued; he addressed prayers and incantations to them in a prose, almost rationalist, attitude of mind, without adoration, with merely a recognition of inevitable dependence. His spells and invocations (the bastard descendants of heathenism) are unformed science, but good rationalism. A. N. Rambaud says that the primitive Slavs adored matter and never felt the incentive to personify, idealize, or philosophize it; perhaps it was a mere acceptance of necessity.

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smile with thy invisible might the hostile weapons. If they shall shoot from their guns, may their bullets not hit, but strike the moist earth, the open field. May I be whole and miniplured in so much water as I shall wish, and my head shall shine with the moon, not fiercer than armour. I close my eye with a lock, and I hurl the key into the flames, on the burning stone Alatý. And, as if it were the sea to dry, as the stone may not be seen, the keys not be reached, so may I not be hit by bullets for all my will.

A charm against fever runs as follows:

"On the Mountains of Athos there is an oak, and under the oak there is a spring with the Sage Pafniiti. To them there are twelve maidens, fair, with simple trusses, and simple belts. And the Sage Pafniiti with the thirteen sages says: 'Who are those who come to my garden?' And the twelve maidens say: 'We are the daughters of King Herod, we journey across the sea, against the sins and torture the body.' And the Sage Pafniiti spoke to his sages: 'Break off three rods, and we will beat them on for three days and three gleanings.' The twelve maidens bestowed the thirteen sages with the Sage Pafniiti; but in vain. And the sages became begging them, saying: 'Half, ye twelve maidens! Be ye turned into water-sprites, and weakened, and live in the chilled water; nor enter the world, nor afflict bones, nor torture bodies.' The maidens fled into the cold water as water-sprites, etc.

These charms contain weird mixtures of legend: beyond the sea of Khvalynsk (probably the Baltic), on the isle of Buyán, on the mystic stone Alatý, or on the sacred oak magical maiden sits; or there is a mighty sword, a man with a huge bow, a giant, or a woman, or a castle with seven locked gates. In fact, the epic portion of the incantations is a medley of all the ancient myths, the one common feature being the locality of the island, and, occasionally, distinct recollections of the Ritual practised at Rügen by the Pomeranian Slavs in the 12th century. These incantations also contain, as necessary parts, an invocation in which the 'serving of God,' the supplicant, states his request, and a conclusion, such as 'my word is sealed' and the like. And in the course of these, it were, and assert the mastery over nature ensured by the spell.

Incantations must be pronounced in the traditional manner and at the right time and spot—e.g., on midsummer's day, facing east, on the threshold, etc., during the offices at church (to contrive murder, a candle should be held upside down during the hearing of Mass). The professional enchanter expresses his desires forcibly and effectually to the natural powers whom he has under his sway, by means of formulae which are a farrago of ancient Finnish magic, Aryan folklore, and Christian apocalypse. The incantations contain words of action, such as 'I stand up,' 'I was born,' 'I shall offer sacrifice,' 'I am surrounded with the sun' and the expression creates an illusion of the reality of the action.

Among the incantations against toothache, one invokes the dawn-goddess to cover the aching teeth with her veil against the attacks of the fiend Limar; the epic part goes on:

"In the field there is a hare, in the sea there is a stone, in the depths there is Limar."

Another invokes the horned moon to ease the affliction. A third invokes, literally in the same breath, the Chris-tian saints Martha, Mary, and Pogaleas, and the water-demon. A fourth runs as follows:

"I go neither on the road nor on the street, but on empty lanes by copes and canals. I meet a hare. Here, where are your teeth? Give me yours, take mine. I go neither on a road nor on the dark forest, to be dark forest, to be a grey wood, I meet a devil, a wolf, a devil, where are your teeth? I will give you mine, give me yours. I go neither on earth nor on water, but on ends and means, the Bow-pudding, I meet an old woman, where are your teeth? Take out your wolf-like teeth, take out my falling teeth."

By its incantation to stay the flow of blood the znakobar squeezes the wound and recites three times in a breath:

"In the Ocean, on the Isle of Buyán a fair maiden was weaving silk; she did not leave off weaving silk; the Moon ceased flowing.

Again, in another formula, the Holy Virgin is depicted, like Svantovit, one of the principal gods worshipped at Rügen by the Pomeranian Slavs, or St. George, as riding across the golden bridge on her horse—a unmistakable reminiscence of the chariot of the sun on the rainbow.

There are charms to dull men to sleep, and these sometimes invoke mysterious beings—Kriks, Plaks, and Sękotuna—as well as the dawn, coupled with the names of Christian saints.

To save a man from drunkenness a worm is taken out of the belly of the earth, and then steeped anew in wine, whilst this formula is recited:

"Lord of the sea-depths! Carry the mettle some heart of thy servant out of the shifting sands, the burning stones; breed in him a winged brood."

The following examples illustrate the lyrical quality occasionally found in these strange compositions, especially in some of the spring invocations:

"Then, Heaven, nearest, then, Heaven, seest what I wish to accomplish on the body of the servant X. (There follow four words unintelligible. An unintelligible pat is sometimes found, which looks very like a tradition of a lost language.) Then Moon, turn away the servant of the 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 be there water from the mountains-still, dry, do ye mean X, the servant of God, from wine. My word is potent."

"Then bright Moon, come into my net! But in my net there is neither bottom nor cover! Then 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 Sakharov and his generation; but it should be particularly noted that there are extant songs of witches in a meaningless gibberish, which some philologist might very possibly interpret and so assign definitively 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 initiatory ballads of the same period; in form they copy the mediaval spells.

Summary.—The history and decline of Russian magic, it would appear, traced the following course. The primitive vague and inchoate nature-worship of the Slav was in the clouds, deflected by the subject races of the Finns, Cuts, and other Tatarian races, who became typical magicians and had mystic powers ascribed to them. The elaborate ritual of the Pomeranian Slavs originated in a greater intermixture of races and, when suppressed, was soon forgotten; but it lingered on in tradition and folk-lore, in the incomprehensible patter of the spells, and especially in the legend of the isle of Buyán and the stone Alatý.

As Christianity spread, the ancient gods of thunder, spring, and prophecy, the sun and moon, etc., were duly canonized, whilst the pagan soul and the pagan adoration of nature remained the same, and the festivals were held, often on the same day in the same place, and with similar ceremonies.

In the second medieval stage, merged in and with the incantation are village science and medicine, village poetry, and primitive religious lore. The specialization of the medicine-man, the healer, the priest, and the minstrel 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.

L. A. MAGNUS.

MAGIC (Teutonic).—In all ages and in all localities the belief in magic is found to have sprung from the same roots: panvitalism, i.e. the conception of nature as alive in every part; the incapacity of primitive man to distinguish persons or things from their names or representations; the belief in the transmissibility of the powers of nature and of human souls; and the dread of souls or demons, as also of such hostile persons as were in league with these supernatural existences. We need not wonder, therefore, if the means by which the various peoples of the earth have sought to defend themselves from all sinister influences of the kind should likewise show a large degree of uniformity. Naturally the most effective mode of securing immunity from the magical influence was to be careful to disavow it, or, if possible, by a magic still more potent. From the earliest times the amulet and the spell have been specially resorted to as protective expedients.

While the former, however, was employed exclusively as a magical formula, the latter was used in the practice of other kinds of the occult art, whether its design was beneficent or the reverse.

With reference to the ideas and customs associated with the belief in magic, there is no exception to the general rule. Among them, as among other races, are found the belief in the soul and the various forms of superstition developed from and dependent upon it. The souls of the departed were believed to pervade and animate all nature; they could assume at will human or animal forms, and bring good or evil fortune to men. From the soul of the sorcerer came the powers of the witch whose devices could work injury to his enemies. The latter were mostly of many of the nature-demons, whose place of origin was the physical world, regarded as being endowed with magical powers. Among the Germans, likewise, the practices of soulsaying and magic were intimately connected. The prophetic faculty was attributed to women as well as men. In the north of Europe the Völfin had a great reputation as prophetesses and sorceresses. The practice of magic was on the whole more fully developed among the Northern Teutons than in Germany, being fostered in the former case by the shamanism of the neighbouring Finns, a people famous over the whole north for their magic. The most powerful and formidable sorcerer of all the Norse sagas belong, for the most part, to the Finnish race, which, again, in its religion, its demonology, and its magic, is very closely allied to the ancient German peoples. It is possible that many elements in the magic and demonology of the Northern Teutons were borrowed from the Finns. At all events, the practice of resorting to the latter people in order to acquire their magical arts became so prevalent that at a later time the Christian Church found it necessary to enact laws prohibiting it. But this was not the only channel by which the Teutons became acquainted with the magical ideas and usages of foreign, and especially of the Roman, Greek, and Oriental, peoples. The Northern Teutons visited the Mediterranean Sea both as Vikings and as peaceful merchants, while the Southern Teutons were the near neighbours of the Romans, and were sometimes in their pay as mercenaries. In point of fact, however, the occult art and its adepts are found among the Teutons from the outset. Here, just as on Greek and Roman soil, the idea prevailed that it was possible to work changes in the condition of objects simply by the magical virtue of the spoken word, incantation or of the symbol. The magic utterance and the magic rune—the engraved talismanic symbol—were used for the most varied purposes. According to the nature of the ends they pursued, and their origin to Odin, while the rune-master of the Hávamál knows the right method of engraving the characters, as well as the songs which effect cure, restrain enemies, render weapons harmless, quench fires, subdue winds and waves, call up the dead, and awaken a maiden's love, though the words of the songs are not given. Other magic songs are referred to in the Sigrdrifumál. That a similar profusion of magic songs was to be found among the Southern Teutons is shown by the Hénelot de sacrelogique, which came into existence in the Southern Frankish Kingdom under the Merovingians. Alas in the North and in the South these songs were in great part employed as expedients to cure the sick and to assuage the pains of love, but it is 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 figurines. There was not the slightest misgiving as to the efficacy of the appropriate amulet. Discoveries in tombs furnish ample information on this subject. The objects specially in request as amulets among the Teutons. Thus, for the protection of the dead, blemurites, amber rings, stone arrow-heads, and hook crosses were laid in the grave along with the body. Amulets were also fashioned out of all kinds of objects bearing figures and drawings, while a special vogue was enjoyed by the so-called bracteates, which were imitated from Roman coins, and brought to the North in the early centuries of our era. These were metal images of 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 met with the same resistance as had previously prevailed in pagan Rome and its provinces. Accordingly, they sought to apply the same procedure as had been previously resorted to, i.e., they incorporated the deities of the pagan Teutons into the system of demons whose existence the Church recognized, while they forbade all worship of them, as also the practice of magic in general, and inflicted severe penalties upon the disobedient. From the early centuries of the Church's history, we find reports extending from the 8th to the 13th, of the eradicating the objects specially in request as amulets among the Teutons. Thus, for the protection of the dead, blemurites, amber rings, stone arrow-heads, and hook crosses were laid in the grave along with the body. Amulets were also fashioned out of all kinds of objects bearing figures and drawings, while a special vogue was enjoyed by the so-called bracteates, which were imitated from Roman coins, and brought to the North in the early centuries of our era. These were metal images of gods which served as amulets likewise date from the period of Roman influence.

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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, 'somnia, 'mathematici, 'emissores temperamentum, and especially against 'divinationes diabolicae, 'Bacteria, 'and 'ligatures.' As yet excommunication was the extreme penalty for transgression. The Venerable Bede (HE iv. 27) relates that, during a time of pestilence and high mortality, recourse was had to adjurations 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 Synodalibus Canis (A.D. 906; PL cxxii. 157 ff.), and from that work much has been borrowed by Burford of Worms, who wrote about the beginning of the 11th century (PL excl. 557 ff.).

That similar ideas and usages were still flourishing in England at this period is shown by Efric's Passio S. Bartholomaei Apostoli, with its injunction that no one shall seek to regain health by using a ligature of medicinal herbs or praising a herb in a 'magic song.' The ecclesiastical ordinances of Eadgar and the Northumbrian priests-laws regulate regulations to the same extent. 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 offenses and amulets and the evils arising from them. Thus can. 9 of a papal bull enacts for the Lateran Council of 1514 that sortilgia made by invoking demons, by incantations, or by other superstitions practices are unlawful, and that such offenses as had been punished by the discretion of their superiors, and laymen are to be excommunicated or visited with civil penalties.

In dealing with such offenses, the national codes of the various Teutonic peoples do not show the same unanimity as the Church. The Teutonic nations that came into existence on Roman territory found it necessary to base their legislation against magic directly upon the ordinances of Roman law. The earliest Teutonic code, the Lex Visigothorum, enacted (bk vi. tit. 2, 4) that those who 'quinbusdam incantationibus' bring hailstorms upon the fields and the vineyards 'dextemeri flagelli publici verbenerut et decalvati deformiter deceper convivias possessiones circulate cogantur inuria.' As late as 1700, it was still prohibited the belief in cannibal witches. Among the Germans, as among all other races, the feeling prevailed that one who practised malefic magic must at all costs be got rid of, whether by expulsion from the tribe or by death. But, on the other hand, we have a variety of testimony from Northern Europe which seems to show that the practice of magic was not in all circumstances deemed criminal.

In the civil law of the Anglo-Saxons, from the 7th cent. onwards, we find penal enactments against superstition and magic, and in particular against the employment of spells and amulets. The laws of Alfred the Great dealing with magic are founded mainly on the Biblical denunciations of the practice. Of similar character are the legal ordinances directed against the occult art among the Northern Teutons. The older Icelandic canon law of the 12th cent. ordains that those who tamper with incantations or witchcraft shall be punished by banishment. The evil 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 with the only exception being the belief in the 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, notwithstanding all its exertions, was by no means successful in ridding men of these beliefs and practices. Both continued to flourish abundantly in the department of medicine, thanks to the recrudescence of the old neo-Platonic—in reality, the Babylono-Egyptian—doctrine of demons. At an early period medicine had become the monopoly of the cloister; the demons of disease were exorcized by the priest; and to relics, to the rosary, and to the 'Agnus Dei' were ascribed the greatest virtues. Those who in sickness and trouble applied to the priests were treated by means of the amulet and the incantation, so that as late as the 16th cent.—at a time, that is, when a medical profession in the proper sense existed—adjudgments were still resorted to by doctors.

The attitude of the Church towards the belief in magic was twofold. On the one hand, it accepted magic as an indisputable reality. On the other hand, it ranged itself with the civil legislation in an uncompromising opposition to certain dangerous superstitions, especially against popular squares and the like. An important change took place in the 16th cent., when the doctrine of Satan was now made the basis of the doctrine of magic and witchcraft. The nightly journeys of witches, the transformation of human beings into animals and amulets, the operation of witchcraft against malefic magic in the religious function—all these things were now accepted as facts not to be gainsaid. Then in the 14th cent. the two currents of heresy and witchcraft, which had hitherto been amalgamated with each other, and merged in the belief in witchcraft. While among the Teutonic tribes the practice of magic had hitherto been penalized—to speak strictly—only because of the mischief which it might work, in the 13th cent., the civil legislatures in Germany likewise resolved upon a new policy. The Old Saxon code (Sachsenreichtum) sent those who practised magic of any kind to the stake, and its example was followed by other municipal and territorial codes. In spite of the rigour of the Inquisition, it is true, the earlier penal law (which threatened with excommunication the user of incantations, amulets, or other magic devices) was still pleaded for by the councils and by certain Long-barls, even when the belief in the Inquisition at length silenced every stricture against its competence to deal with magic. By the civil legislation of the 16th cent. those who dealt in magic and soothsaying were punished mainly by fines; the death penalty was scarcely ever mooted. On the other hand, the Hamburg criminal code of 1508 enacts that the punishment of malefic magic shall be death by fire, and this clause was taken over by the Imperial legislation—the 'peinliche Gerichtsordnung Kaiser Karls v.'—while we find that the criminal code of the Electorate of Saxony (1572) sentenced witches to death by fire, and its example was followed by the legislation of the several States. The persecution of witches was gradually introduced into the various territories of Germany during the second half of the 16th cent. In England the earliest processes of this kind seem to have been trials for real or alleged attacks upon the person of the sovereign, as from the reign of Henry viii. In England, the laws against witchcraft were in general much more lenient than was commonly the case on the Continent. Witch-persecution in England dates from about the middle of the 16th cent. In Scotland cases are still rare through the second half of that century. With regard to Sweden, we are not in a position to say whether witches were burned
before or during the Thirty Years' War. These measures, however, were incapable of extirpating the belief in magic—just as the Reformation itself failed to destroy it, though the delusion certainly received a stimulus to grow from the Reformers. And the question whether sorcery has a foundation in fact, the Reformers themselves shared the ideas of their age, and the final deathblow to the belief in witchcraft and sorcery was administered by the mechanical and experimental sciences of modern times.

Even in the earliest ages a clear line of demarcation was drawn between lawful and unlawful magic. The latter was treated by all races with the utmost rigour, and not seldom punished with death. Among the Teutons, as elsewhere, incantations and amulets were utilized as a means of securing protection and profit to the individual and its belongings, and also to work injury upon others, and their possessions. The magic spells of the Teutons may therefore be arranged in two main divisions, according to the purposes that they were intended to serve: (1) magic formulae supposed to secure protection and advantage; (2) magic formulae 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 might be either (a) to drive away an existent evil, or (b) to avert a possible evil by means of a 'blessing.' This dichotomy of the former main group, however, will not be found exhaustive, and it is necessary to mark off another subdivision. Magic formulae were used not only for the purpose of driving away present and averting future evils, but also as a means of inducing spirits to throw light upon the future, and upon hidden things generally. In so far as this (c) prophetic magic (as it may be called) had often to do with things which lay in the future, it came into the class of magic formulae designed to prevent possible evil. But, while the received spells can for the most part be assigned to one or other of these four genera, many particular species may be differentiated within the larger groups. The number of different varieties will in general correspond to that of the various purposes which the formulae were meant to serve.

Magic can be overcome only by counter-magic; such was at one time the universal postulate of the occult sciences. Present and future evil, occurring in words and symbols, are generally joined with actions. Thus, with reference to the Germans, Tacitus (Germ. x.) states that, when the deity was consulted by means of the lot, the priests held a magic spell in their hands, and muttering incantations the while. Sundry Anglo-Saxon spells specify the appropriate action to be performed. Thus the incantation for bewitched soil gives precise directions regarding the requisites of magical actions and sacrificial usages. For the formula against the machinations of witches the instruction runs: 'wil ffar-thce fefelfufge and seo rade netcge, Se þæm ærm inwxyz, and wegbredge: wyll in buteran; þen at the end, 'nim þonne pet se, ad on wætun.' But word and action had already been frequently employed independently of each other, and it is not surprising that the word came to be used apart from all accessories or symbolic actions. The Teutonic conviction that magical effects could be directly produced by the spoken word must doubtless have found expression in the particular form of the spell. But the simplest—and hence, no doubt, the oldest—vehicle of direct influence is the express command, and, accordingly, such must have been the nucleus of the Teutonic incantation. Two examples of Teutonic spells may be given here. The first is a formula from the 9th-10th cent., which has come down to us bearing the title 'contra vernem' (C. von Müllenhoff and W. Scherer. Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa, i. [1882] 17):

'Gang at, nesos, mid nigan nesslcolm
Ut fana themo marge an dei an,
fan themo an that berw,
Ut fan themo älle on this hold,
At fan themen is on this hold.

With this may be associated the Anglo-Saxon 'blessing of bees,' the 'wyrd yule,' from a Cambridge MS of the 11th century. After a direction regarding a magical action, and a verse explanatory thereof, it continues (G. W. M. Grein and K. F. Willecke, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, i. [1883] 319 f.):

'Sitte ge, sigewit, siga an eorpam
tære ge wile, weon seorogan,
Beo ge swaegumdinga mid helces,
swe by花纹 genähet metes and eperes.'

It is quite conceivable that spells of this kind should exist independently, and unattached to any preliminary narrative. This has been observed also by Schroeder in his article 'Über das Spell' (ZDA xxiyi. 259):

'Probable as it is that at a certain stage of civilization the action of the gods, i.e. the spell in the proper sense, or of certain species of it, was produced in connexion with the narration of a particular event, it is a matter of fact, that the slightest doubt that in other periods the epic narrative and the magic formulae are disjointed, and may each maintain a separate existence.'

Besides these adjurations strictly so called, which were complete in themselves, and which may be regarded as the earliest Teutonic incantations, there were others which came down to us from the same age another species—that in which an epic narrative is prefixed to the formula proper.

The classical examples of this type are the two Merseburg incantations, and the Anglo-Saxon spell against the practices of the witch is constructed on similar lines. The substance of the introductory portion—the narrative—was generally borrowed from the existing mythology. The procedure was to relate some incident traditionally associated with an effect identical with or similar to that which the formula was meant to produce. It was not necessary to say in so many words that the spell should now operate with like efficacy; the bare recitation of the story invested the formula with all the potency required. But this dependence of the formula upon the narrative certainly indicates a change of view regarding the power of the formula. The performer has lost his earlier reliance on his own capacity, and this must, accordingly, be reinforced from without.

While this epic type of spell is often referred to as the primitive Teutonic form, the facts would seem to imply its secondary character, though its root may indeed lie in paganism, but in any case the recitations of the short narrative, 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. It was certainly known to the Romans and their neighbours. But, as a matter of fact, there is evidence to show that it was not even a distinctively Indogermanic usage, since it is found also among the Babylonians and the Egyptians. An Egyptian papyrus of the XXth dynasty (now in Turin), for instance, contains a spell which in its whole design shows a striking resemblance to the Merseburg incantation for fracture of the leg. In the Babylonian and Egyptian spells, too, precisely as in the Teutonic, the scene of the narrative part is always laid in the upper world. But, in view of the vast influence exercised by the Oriental, and especially the Babylonian and Egyptian, magical ideas upon the nations of the West, it is a tempting conjecture that Oriental models may have been largely instrumental in popularizing this narrative spell among the Indogermanic peoples 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 in nothing more than an incantation followed by a rhythmical formula, as adopted by Schroeder (loc. cit.), is beside the purpose. The primordial element was certainly the formula, the narrative being added later; and, as we have seen, each could.
be used by itself alone. We find, moreover, that in Christian times quite different introductions were made with regard to the spell. We must therefore think of each part as distinct in itself, and in no degree the less so because in the recitation 'saying and singing' came alternately. In all probability the spells were simply muttered in an under tone, there is a large mass of evidence—and not from Teutonic sources only—pointing to this mode of recital.

Thus the missionaries who came to evangelize the Teutonic tribes formed two types of indigenous invocations, viz., the purely imitative and the narrative. As the Church was unable to put an end to heathen customs and practices, or the use of magic formulae, it adopted the policy of assimilating everything that could in any way be reconciled with its own views, hoping that by the device of clothing the objectionable thing in a Christian garb, it might succeed in eradicating the superstitions of the heathen. It likewise endeavored to transform the ancient formulae, and here probably its first, as also its most urgent, task was to eliminate the heathen characters from the narrative spells and put Christian ones in their place. These new formulae were generally composed in verse, and were embellished with rhyme. Their use was also confined to actual situations 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 traditions exhibited in such cases as that of the 'conscriptions,' or these were simply translated into the vernacular. This species is probably not older than the 13th century.

From this narrative species of Christian spell, again, was in part evolved a new type. This took the form of a composition by the clergy and its ritual was thus: 'As such and such a result was brought about then, so let it be produced now.' Very few of the surviving spells of this type are in metrical form; the great majority are in prose.

A further form of blessing, for the use and diffusion of which the clergy must again be regarded as mainly responsible, derives its origin from the special Roman Catholic ceremonies known as the sacramentals. New formulae were formed on the present footing, the 'exorcism' was composed by the clergy and its ritual ran thus: 'As such and such a result was brought about then, so let it be produced now.' Very few of the surviving spells of this type are in metrical form; the great majority are in prose.

Further the monks played an intermediate role. This group consists mainly of formulae handed down in ancient medical writings. The design of most of these is the cure of diseases, but adjurations for use in digging up medicinal plants were also transmitted in this way. These formulae 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 Sumerian magic. This group, accordingly, comprises the most ancient type of spell, which, it is to be observed, always exhibits an unintelligible jumble of words. From the earliest times, indeed, this very unintelligibility was the indispensable condition of the efficacy of the spell. From the 13th cent., however, we must take account also of another contributory source of the superstition which is concerned with words and letters—and, it may be added, numbers also. This was the relaps into the use of the Incantation, as set forth in the works of the Kabbalah (p. c.).

These leading types will suffice to classify the great majority of magic formulae, 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 formulae of the Church are usually of considerable length, and in their full form would have relatively little vogue among the common people. From these large spells, accordingly, certain typical portions were excerpted, and then used independently. The popular mind laid the main emphasis upon the melodies of the spell—the formula proper; and examples of this type became numerous from the 16th century. In these the strict parallelism of the earlier ecclesiastical blessings is to some extent abandoned. It was now considered sufficient to say: 'As surely as this act has taken place, so surely may this effect ensue.' Sometimes, in fact, the place of the parallel is taken by the antithesis. It became the practice, further, to draw upon still more remote quarters for the conclusion of the blessing, and to introduce formulae which in themselves had formerly done duty as spells, so that the formulae of blessing, being supplemented by invocations of God and multiplied petitions, often actually approached the character of prayer itself.

When we consider the mass of Teutonic formulae—even with their very obvious Teutonic character—still in relation to the purposes which they were meant to serve, we see that the multiplicity of forms mentioned in the Hervoua, the Sigehriffnaud, and the Homilia de medieolos, is by no means an exaggeration. These caused disease certainly constitute the largest class. Many maladies were believed to be due to malignant demons and unfriendly 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 remedies employed in such cases were supposed to acquire peculiar efficacy by having a spell uttered over them.

Nor was it human beings only who in their distresses were benefited by spells. As had been believed from the earliest times, protection was equally indispensable for the lower creatures most closely associated with human life, viz., the domestic animals. From this point of view magic formulae were used to ward 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 wild beasts. People were very specially careful to guard against the bite of mad dogs. A certain blessing, 'ad pullus de molo,' was supposed to help the growth of chickens. The purpose of the somewhat numerous 'bee-blessings' was to keep the insects from swarming.

There was, besides, a multitude of adjurations for animals other than the domestic. People tried to rid their houses of flies, mice, and rats by appeal to the power of the formula; wolves were adjured not to hurt the cattle in the fields; serpents, to be easily caught. The bite of the serpent was averted by spells, and by means of adjurations the reptiles were induced to yield up the potent opiate stone, and to be obedient to all commands. The tooth and the right forepaw of the badger acted as charm against all kinds of injury, and with the shoulder of a toad a man could win the love of whomever he chose.

In the therapeutics of ancient and medieval times an important place was assigned to medicinal herbs. It was of vital moment, however, that these herbs should still retain their supposed virtues after being plucked, and certain magical formulae were believed to ensure this. The practice was to adjure either the whole world of herbs,
MAGIC (Vedice).—1. Definition.—The sphere of cult and ritual has two aspects in Vedice literature—religion and magic. The former (see art. VEDIC RELIGION) represents the relation of man to the gods and lesser divine beings. Its object is to cultivate their goodwill by means of hymns as well as sacrifice, and thus to induce them to bestow in return the benefits which man desires. The essential characteristic of Vedice religion, therefore, is prophylactic and persuasive. Magic, on the other hand, endeavours to gain its ends by influencing the course of events, without the intervention of divine beings, by means of spells and ritual. Its essential character is, therefore, that of coercive, rather than of the discovery of offspring or luck, of rain or victory, it was largely maleficent in the interest of individuals and not of the community, and, therefore, as being dangerous, was condemned by the priesthood, except in so far as it was applied by themselves.

2. Literary sources.—The sphere of religion, as considered apart from magic, is chiefly represented by the earliest product of Indian literature, the Rigveda, which contains a number of spells and incantations addressed to various gods, in which their greatness and their deeds are praised and all kinds of welfare are prayed for, and which are intended to accompany the ritual of the soma sacrifice (cf. art. Hymns [Vedice] § 11). Only in the past two centuries, however, are spells connected with magic, about one half of them being auspicious, the rest maleficent in character. As to any magical rites connected with the sacrifice, the Rigveda gives us no information. On the other hand, magic is the main and essential subject-matter of the Atharvaveda (art. Hymns [Vedice] § 11); it is a collection of metrical spells, largely to be accompanied by ceremonies aiming at the welfare of the magician or the injury of his enemies. The Yajurveda (art. Hymns [Vedice] § 13) occupies an intermediate position between these two Vedas as regards magic. In its original part, which consists of prose formulae, the gods are only secondary, bearing a kind of mechanical relation to the sacrificial ceremonial with which these formulae are associated, and which in its minutest details. Its character is thus of a magical rather than a religious type. The great period, however, in this period, an intricate ritual and the concentration of sacrificial thought on its perfect performance had led to the new conception that sacrifice was not meant to propitiate the gods, but directly to control the natural course of things. The prose theological works called Brāhmānas,
which represent the next stage of Vedite literature, being concerned with explaining and interpreting the details of the ritual, supply much information regarding the magical notions and observances with which these ceremonies are charged with magical notions. The Upaniṣads, though a continuation of the Brahmans, are philosophical rather than religious, but their speculations on the nature of brahman and on the supernatural powers acquired by knowledge and asceticism are charged with magical notions.

The final phase of Vedite literature, which comes down to c. 200 B.C., is represented by the Sutras. These concise manuals, especially those dealing with domestic life (tyykg), and to a less extent those concerned with esoteric knowledge, show how the observances of everyday life were saturated with magical beliefs and practices (cf. also art. Literature [Vedic and Classical Sanskrit], 88-12).

3. Importance of the subject.—A knowledge of Vedite magic is obviously important to the investigator of magic in general, for here we have magical material, bearing on every aspect of human life, which began to be recorded well over 3000 years ago, and which, from that time onwards, has been laboriously gathered together from scattered references, as is necessary elsewhere. It is here supplied not only in good quantity, 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 be unable to make any serious progress in the study of the Vedic ritual.

4. Sacrifice and magic.—Considering that in the Rigveda we have a collection of prayers, and in the Atharvaveda one of spells, are we justified in supposing that the spheres of religion and of magic were already separated in the Vedic period? By no means. It is, indeed, certain that the sacrificial invocation had by that time assumed a literary type, and that the hymns of a magical character formed a part of the Rigveda and later. But it must, however, be borne in mind that the prayers of the Rigveda, being addressed to the great gods, offered few opportunities for references to magical practices, while the ritual which the hymns of the Rigveda were intended to accompany, and which is fully described in other Vedic texts, is, though handed down 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, as the fire-altar, it is therefore, favourable to a greater prominence of the magical elements, such as the wedding and funeral rites, we meet with quite a network of magical usages bearing the stamp of extreme antiquity. It is thus impossible to suppose that the sacrificial priests of the Rigveda, the composers of the old hymns, should have occupied an isolated position, untouched by magical practices derived from a much earlier age and afterwards continued throughout the priestly literature of later times. In fact, a close examination of the hymns of the Rigveda actually affords evidence that even then the belief in magical power independent of the gods was to be found. Thus in one hymn (X. xcviii.) the sacrificer (Agni) declares to the gods: "I pour down the waters by the magical powers of my sacrificial art: the sage Devapati sat down to the duty of Hotr priest, familiar with the goodwill of the gods; he then poured down from the sea above to the sea below the heavenly waters of rain" (V. v). Every page of the Brāhmaṇas and of the ritual Sutras shows that the whole of the Vedic ritual was overgrown with the notion that the sacrifice exercised power over gods and, going beyond them, could directly influence things and events without their intervention. An inceptive form of this belief is already in existence in the Rigveda, where exaggerated sacrificial powers are in several passages mystically attributed to ancient priests; e.g., "with mighty spells the Fathers found the hidden light and produced the dawn" (VII. lxxvi. 4); the Fathers adore law (etherial fires) and stand on steed with pearls; they placed darkness in night and light in day" (X. lxxvii. 11); "with their kindled fire the Angirases (ancient priests) found the cows and steeds hidden by (the demon) Pāu" (X. lxxxi. 4); "they by their rite caused the sun to mount the sky" (X. xlv. 3); "the ancient fire priest" Atharvan by sacrifices first prepared the paths; then the sun, the guardian of ordinances, was born" (X. lxxxi. 5).

The ancient priest Visāvānta, by directly invoking the rivers, made them burn with the fire of the gods; and the Lhotaras (III. xxxii. 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 definite, but that the two are often intermingled. For the morning sacrifice at sunrise, of which we read in the Rigveda (e.g., IV. ii. 7), when the fire is kindled and an offering is made to the fire-god, in the Satyaputra Brāhmaṇa (II. iii. i. 8) assumes 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 thee, O Agni, that thy wondrous brand may shine in heaven" (V. vi. 4). Again, there are several passages in the Rigveda (e.g., IX. xlix. 1, xvii. 9, xvi. 9.1) in which the Soma ritual is spoken of in the magical character of producing sun and light, influencing the goodwill of the gods that shed rain.

The blending of a sacrificial and a magical rite may be of two kinds. A ceremony which is primarily sacrificial may assume a magical character by the nature of the object which 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 (barahas) on which the gods were conceived as sitting to receive the offering. On the conclusion of the ceremony the baraha was thrown into the fire, originally, no doubt, to render it innocuous after, by the divine presence, it had become dangerous to profane contact. To the baraha corresponds, in the ancient Persian ritual, the bareman (a bundle of twigs; see art. Bareman) on which the tripod was 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 baraha not improbably formed the transition to the fire-sacrifice.

The ritual literature furnishes innumerable examples of sacrifice receiving a magical turn by the employment or addition of a non-catable substance; as when a man wishing for cattle offers the dung of a couple of calves (Gobhiya Gṛhyasūtra, IX. ix. 131); or when poison is added to an offering in order to destroy ants (Kusiśa Sūtra, cxvii. 1). On the other hand, objects 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 Devapati sat down to the
bathing of injurious substances would become a sacred action, which might be offered, in order to destroy an enemy (ib. xlvi. 41). In this way the sacrifice came to assume the rôle of driving away demons; of helping a woman to overcome her rivals; of enabling a prince to conquer his enemies; and turn from evil spells and other kinds of prodigies; and 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.

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 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 cult of Agni, the divine host, who was constituted a witness of the marriage, and who, in the form of the domestic fire, was supposed to save the marriage from the evil influence of the evil powers. The ceremony was surrounded by magical acts, of which the following were the principal. The bride’s hand was grasped by the bridal cord, which was the religious thread that the bride was to become a master of. She stepped on a stone to acquire firmness. She took seven steps with him in order to establish friendship. She ate the sacrificial cake, and was thus charged with the maintenance of her husband. When she reached her husband’s house, she sat down on a red bull’s hide, and was covered with a tigress-skin. The son of a woman who had borne only living male children was placed on her lap in order to fulfil the hope of healthy male progeny. Later, during pregnancy, a medicinal powder was placed in her nose to secure the birth of a son.

2. Initiation.—Of the various religious ceremonies which were performed during boyhood, and which display the same predominantly magical character, the chief was that of initiation (aparajana). This, though not mentioned in the Rigveda, goes back to pre-historic times, as is shown by the parallel Svetish ceremony, and is the Vedic transformation of a rite by which, on the attainment of puberty, a boy was received into the community of men. In India it was regarded as a second birth, as being the entrance into a new life, when the boy was introduced to a religious teacher with a view to Vedic study. The outward signs of the initiation are the garble, which is wound round the body, the sweets and the sacred smear, worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm, with which the sacred thread is fastened. The ceremony included a number of observances and involved a number of taboos in regard to food, some of which will be mentioned below (see also Vedic Ritu, § 6, and cf. Varuṇa (Hindu) Ritu).

3. Public rites. —The public ceremonies of Vedic times were performed on behalf not of the clan or tribe as such, but 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 (abhiseka) (g) the king sits on a throne made of wood from the udāmbha tree, which to the Indian was the embodiment of all nourishment. The seat was covered with a tiger-skin, the emblem of invincible strength. The contents of a cup made of udāmbha wood, filled with butter, honey, and rice, were poured over the king in order to communicate to him strength and abundance. The royal inauguration (vajapeya) is a series of rites, obviating a symbolic character (cf. a. 64) intended to ensure a successful reign. A still more imposing ceremony was the Vajapeya, the two main features of which, a conventional race and another symbolic observance, have a magical purpose (a. 64; cf. further, art. Abhiseka). Finally, the horse sacrifice (devapāca, g.) was the highest sacrifice and an expression of regal power, which was undertaken for the fulfilment of all the most ambitious wishes of the king, of which the same rite transferred the swift might of the horse to the sacrificing monarch.

6. Priest and magician.—The magician of pre-Vedic ages, who manipulated only the lower ritual concerned with demons and natural forces, had long since, before the time of the Aryan period, or even in the Indo-European period developed into the priest, who dealt with a higher cult in which he invoked and sacrificed to gods. In the later Vedic period, however, the priest to a considerable extent reverting to the rôle of a magician; for he now constantly appears, independently of the gods, driving away evil spirits or influencing the powers of nature by the use of spells, and to some extent the lesser rites the priest acts quite in the style of prehistoric times. Thus he makes the bride step on a stone to ensure steadfastness; he causes fish to be eaten for the attainment of speed; he pronounces a spell 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 sacrificer priest was a magician as well (though by no means necessarily the only magician, for both here and later references are made to sorcerers whose magic is directed against the sacrificial priest). It cannot be supposed that even the most advanced minds among the priests regarded prayer and sacrifice as the only means of securing welfare, while rejecting magic as an ineffectual and reprehensible superstition. Magic was still to some extent used by those who had occasion to apply it, as is apparent from the character of some hymns of the Rigveda which, although late, form part of its canonical text, and not yet rejected. But not every form of magic was approved nor the practice of magic as a profession, doubtless because alliance with evil spirits and the use of maleficent magic were liable to injure the community. This is sufficiently clear from a number of passages of the Rigveda: ‘May I die to-day if I am a sorcerer (yatubbhāna), or if I have harassed any man’s life; then may he lose his ten sons who falsely calls me “sorcerer”; he who calls me, that man no sorcerer is; for to this end only the demon, says that he is pure, may Indra strike him with his mighty weapon, may he sink down below every creature’ (VII. civ. 15.). It was because the Atharvaveda contained a body of 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. viii., vii. ixx.) 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 he desires to give his sacrifice a magical turn for the purpose of accomplishing this. 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 Upanishads the magician-priest has become a philosopher who has passed from the path of ritual (karmas) to that of knowledge (jñāna); but his mode of thought is still full of traits derived not only from sacrificial, but from magic lore. In such a nature is his success in the world-soul (brahman (g. r.) and of the identity with it of the individual soul (ātmāna (g. r.)), as well as his speculations on the sacred syllable om (analogous in sense to ‘amen’). Such, then, is the development of the karmas (g. r.) as an impersonal power which, free from any divine influence, rules future existences with inexorable force. The same mental attitude is indicated by his approval of the grotesque and forcible exercises which the sages called the desired result (ahara), and which the magician transferred the swift might of the horse to the sacrificing monarch.

7. Ascetism and magic.—There is evidence that from the earliest Vedic period ascetic prac-
ties (tapas, iat. thana), 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 (XII. xvi. 2) of those who are in such a frenzied condition that "the gods have entered into them." A poet of the same Veda tells (VIII. ix. 6) how, in a vision produced by austerity (tapas), 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 ascribing similar powers: dream is born from the soul filled with austerity (Atharvaveda, XIX. iv. 5); speech born of austerity penetrates to the gods (Tattvārtha Aṇgāryā, v. vi. 7); he who has practised great austerity reaches the sun (Rigveda, x. chv. 2); after practising austerity Indra won heaven (X. clxvii. 1): the magical power of austerity peculiar to the Brāhmans will bring calendarity on the man who injures him (X. cix. 4). Austerity confers the power to produce the mightiest creations: the goddess Asāka, performing austerity, produced the greatness of Indra (Atharvaveda, III. x. 12); the seers were born of austerity (XI. i. 26, XVIII. ii. 15, 18). In many passages of the Brāhmaṇas the power of austerity is attributed to the practice of austerity the power to evolve out of himself the worlds and all living creatures; and in one place (Satāpatha Brāhmaṇa, iv. 4. 2) he appears as practising such asceticism that from all his pores came forth lights, which were the stars. The Brāhmaṇas also tell how various mythological beings attained by austerity to a high degree of enlightenment that revealed to them some secret of sacrificial lore. It is for such magical effects that austerity is regarded as an essential element in the preparation for various particularly holy sacrificial rites. Thus the Soma sacrifice is preceded by a consecration (ubhaya) of the sacrificer in which he practises austerity fasting, according to some authorities (IV. XII. 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 impalpable), which has to be brought about so that the agency or the influence is beneficial to oneself, or to be prevented if the agency is injurious to oneself. The result desired is attained by the use of spells and rites of various kinds. The place selected for the practice of magic, except when it is an element of sacrificial ritual, is generally solitary. A cemetery, the seat of flesh-eating demons, is a specially suitable place for its operations. A cross-road is a favourite locality to divest oneself of evil influences. A secluded part of a house, a shed, and solitary spots in field or forest are also used. The time at which many operations of hostile magic take place is night; but that of others depends on their circumstances or their purpose. Direction is an important element. This is the line of the storm, hence performers of rites connected with them must face that point of the compass. In auspicious rites walking and other kinds of movement are directed from left to right, following the course of the sun, while in funeral and other uncanny ceremonies the direction is invariably reversed, the performers moving from north to south.

(a) Spirits and demons.—Some of the lesser spirits are concerned only with one activity, such as climbing the fields of other animals, with Asura, at their head, are invoked to spread terror and death among enemies on the field of battle (Atharvaveda, XI. ii. 11). The characteristic of most of the rest is to cause change and destruction in the sphere of human life. These demons are usually called by the generic name of rakṣas, pata, or piśācha, though many of them also have individual designations. Their appearance is for the most part human, though often with some kind of deformity; but they not infrequently have an animal or bird shape, such as that of a dog, wolf, or vulture. They also appear as air beings, and might assume animal form and thus injure his enemies. Belief in such transformation is already expressed in the Rigveda, where hostile magicians are spoken of as becoming birds and flying about at night (VII. iv. 18). Setting demons in motion is regarded as letting them loose against an enemy. Thus in the Rigveda (X. xvi. 12) the demon of disease Āpāvi is let loose against a hostile array with the spell: 'Go forth, Āpāvi, to confuse their minds, to seize their limbs; to arrest them; to burn them with thy heat in their hearts; let the foe fall into deep darkness.' Such spells might be accompanied by magical acts, such as letting loose a white-footed ewe, in which the power of disease was supposed to be embodied, or blowing in the face of a picture of the demon.

Evil spirits are thought to be everywhere—in the air, in the earth, in the water; but most of all in human dwellings; otherwise they especially infest the place where four roads or paths meet. Activity is chiefly evening and night; at night they seek to kill the sacrificer who has undergone consecration (ubhaya), but if they are partly exposed during the night of new moons. Their usual mode of attack (mentioned in both the Rigveda (XII. xvi. 29) and the Atharvaveda (VIII. xix. 6-8, XI. xxvii. 39) is to enter into a man, especially through the mouth; they then eat his flesh, suck his marrow, drink his blood, and create disease of every kind; they also cause madness and take away the power of speech. They are chiefly dangerous on the most important occasions of domestic life—births, weddings, and funerals. One of the main objectives of a sacrifice: the Rigveda speaks (vii. cxxi. 21) of the Yāsus that seize the sacrificial food, and the Atharvaveda contains (VIII. lxx. 11) the spell of a magician desiring to destroy the sacrifice of an enemy through the wiles of a demon. Hence the sacrificial ceremonial is, from beginning to end, accompanied by formulae directed to defend against demons. These evil spirits, moreover, do harm to man's property, drinking the milk of his cows, eating the flesh of his horses, and damaging his dwellings. In short, every moment of life, every act, every possession is assailed by hosts of invisible foes, the allies of human workers of calamity. (b) Injurious substances.—Closely allied to these demoniac entities are the numerous substances—the most general expression for which in the Vedic language is tana, or 'body'—which, conceived ethically as impure, is generally so regarded, and most of them with personality, perhaps represent an advance of thought. Hence the boundary-line between personal demons and impersonal agencies is not fixed; thus the term pījman, 'evil power,' as a masculine is used in the former, as a neuter in the latter sense. Nor are even injurious creatures like snakes, ants, and worms clearly distinguished from evil spirits, being often spoken of as demons to be driven away. Examples of impalpable agencies are threads of thorn, pieces of thorn, and thorn and thirst, of guilt, even of such abstractions as sonlessness; or the intangible influence proceeding from auspicious or harmful stars and from the waving or waxing of the moon. These are supposed to fly about in the air and to affect man by various forms of contact. The sphere of magical operations is greatly extended by the belief that, if a 'substance' or power is embodied in any creature or object—e.g., irresistible strength in a tiger, even if the power is imparted at remote distances by an object that is connected with it. Such a power, therefore, resides not only in the flesh of an animal, but in its skin, horn, hair, and so on. Again, the essence of water dwells in aquatic plants, like the aquatic animals like the frog; the nature of the bear is present in the soil.
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that is torn up by its tusks; the force of lightning is latent in a splint of wood from a tree that has been struck; the virtue of one's native land exists in a cloud taken from it; a man is conceived when lightning strikes him; to the image or a name is conceived as containing a part 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 performers are to touch, so that the beneficial power of the sacrifice is transferred to them. For instance, the skins of various animals communicate the characteristic quality attributed to them; one who is possessed by the kind of evil spirit is, after acquiring the various types of action, partly 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 less expressed in persons when demons are considered; they may then be attended by a certain amount of propitiation. Thus in the Atharvaveda (I. xii. 2) deterrent homage is paid to a demon of disease: 'Thee, butcher, by thy burning we, yeapping homage, would worship with oblation; lightning is similarly addressed (I. xii. 2): 'Homage to thee, child of the height, whom thou gatherest heat; be merciful to ourselves; do kindness to our offspring'; also instruments and ministers of death: 'To those weapons of thine, O Death, be homage; homage to thy benediction, homage to thy male-diction; homage to thy favour, O Death; this homage to thy dis-favour' (VI. xii. 2).

Again, sacrifices to demons are often mentioned (Rudhakṣaṇa Dharmasūtra, ii. 1. 32); and in the general sacrificial cult they receive their share, which, however, consists only of inferior offerings, such as blood and offal. Hostile words or actions are often performed by spells, as is shown in the Hiranyakṣeyin Gṛhyasūtra contains a direction (I. xvi. 20) that a brand burning at both ends should be thrown at a jackal (regarded as possessed by the evil powers of death), and that the animal should at the same time be worshipped with the Vedic verse, 'Thou art mighty, thou carryest away.' In a rite concerned with serpents the reptiles are addressed with homage, while the intention to destroy them is also expressed (Suraprabhī, xli.). A ceremonial intended to ward off ants (Kriṣṇatīra śītā, xxvi.) begins with propitiatory offerings and spells; but, if these fails, they are followed with a poisoned oblation surrounded by symbols of hostility and accompanied by an invocation of the gods to destroy their eggs and progeny. Propitiation, however, plays but a very subordinate part in this type of magic.

I. PREVENTIVE MAGIC.—On the principle that prevention is better than cure, the procedure of defensive magic is largely prophylactic, everything being avoided that might attract injurious powers. The precautions taken are of the following kinds.

(1) Avoidance of contact.—The touch of beings in which felonious spirits or substances were supposed to dwell was eschewed. Thus to touch the mother during the ten days of impurity after childbirth was regarded as dangerous; and the stones used in erecting an altar for Nirṛti, the goddess of dissolution, were put in their place without being directly handled. The access of injurious powers through other senses was similarly avoided. Thus listening to impure sounds involved performing the Dikṣā Precautions; even an image or a name is conceived as containing a part of the essence of the beings or things which they represent or name. As all such powers were communicable by contact, the whole sacrificial ritual is full of rules as to the persons or things which the performers are to touch, so that the beneficial power of the sacrifice is transferred to them. For instance, the skins of various animals communicate the characteristic quality attributed to them; one who is possessed by the kind of evil spirit is, after acquiring the various types of action, partly auspicious and partly hostile, employed in magical ceremonies (§ 12).

(2) Fasting.—One of the chief precautionary measures against the attacks of hostile powers was abstention from food, in order to prevent their entering the body, and thus to secure a part of the beneficial element in the preliminary consecration (dikṣā) for theSoon sacrifice. With reference to this, one of the Sūtras remarks (Aṣṭādhyāya Śatāṣṭhāna, x. xiv. 6): 'When an initiated man (dikṣita) grows at the very beginning of the day for the dikṣā sacrifice the 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 the kind of food which was going to be offered 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; while the student himself has to refrain from eating salted food and drinking milk for three days after the ceremony; he must also abstain from food altogether for three days, or a day and a night, before he enters upon a particularly holy part of his Vedic course. A newly married couple must, during the first three nights following the wedding ceremony, avoid all salted or pungent food. The efficacy of fasting is illustrated by the precept (Gobhita Gṛhyasūtra, iv. vi. 13) that one who desires to gain a hundred cartloads of gold should observe the vow of fasting during one fortnight of lunar months.'

(3) Abstinence.—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 Sābali sacrifice; during the course of the Dikṣā by him who undergoes that consecration; and by the Vedic student during the whole period of his apprenticeship.

(4) Ascertiān.—This experiment appears in various forms. One of them is exposure to heat; it is an element in the Dikṣā ceremony, a special formula being quoted for use when the initiated man breaks into perspiration. Sleeping on the ground is prescribed, during the same length of time as abstinence for the newly married couple, the Vedic student, and the performer of the Dikṣā consecration, of the new and full moon ceremony, and of the Sābali sacrifice. As a safeguard against demonous dangers to the sleeper, watching through the night is enjoined during the Dikṣā ceremony, and on the eve of setting up the consecrating touch of the new and full moon sacrifice. Silence is to be observed by the sacrificer undergoing the Dikṣā 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 astonies
of various kinds had to be undergone by one pro-
priety of the rite, and in other cases, was qualified to
perform the magical ceremonies intended to effect
the recovery of the patient.
(5) Concealment.—Another means of guarding
against the attacks of hostile powers was conceal-
ment of one's person or of its parts, as exclusion 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
serves both purposes; thus the pearl destroys
demons, disease, and poverty, and at the same
time bestows welfare and long life. Amulets
were made of the pepper-root wood, and also of
various other substances. Their efficacy is
regarded as dependent on the particular power
of repulsion inherent in them, and is not infrequently
spoken of as imparted by the gods. They are
called god-born, are said to have been given by
gods to men, to have been strengthened by the
gods, or to have had their power communicated to
them by the gods, who co-operate with them; the
gods themselves are described as having once been
sacred on account of their power in warding off
demons, and may be addressed as the protectors
of all men, so that they are often referred to
as a magico-remedy, and its general curative powers
are thus expressed by the following spell of the
Atharvaveda (VI. x. 3): 'The waters verify are
healing, the waters chase away disease, the waters
cure all ailment in them; by amulets Indra overcome the
demons (Atharvaveda, x. iii. 11). Their potency sometimes emanates
from their names. An amulet derived from the varuna
tree (Crotalaria Roxburghii) destroys enemies because,
according to the meaning attributed to the name
(ib. X. iii. 5), it drives off (niyagati). An
amulet made of this wood is thus addressed in the Athar-
vaveda (X. iii. 14, 11): 'As the wind and the fire
consume the trees, the lords of the forest, so do
thereby, O friend, my magic ray upon thy breast, the kindly, divine
tree, shall smite assuer my foes, as Indra the demons.' One of the amulets
most frequently mentioned in the Atharvaveda is
that made from the jānagī tree, which protects
people from the wind, air, and longer astringent
of the same Veda (VII. 5.) dwells on the aggressive
powers of an amulet fashioned from the wood of the
śrāgląd tree, which destroys foes, demons, and
sorceries. Cf., further, art. Charms and Amulets
(Vedic).
ii. Medicinal Magic.—Magical operations are
performed not only to ward off maleficent powers
that are threatening, but also to expel them after
they have taken possession of their victim in the
form of demons or landscape spirits. The magic
of the Sītras shows that these incantations, at least very often, formed part of a
magical rite in which conjurative remedies were an
element. Examples of simple spells for the cure of
diseases are the following: 'As the rays of the sun
swiftly fly to a distance, thus do thou, O cough, fly
for me over the seas, and from the flood of death;
The disease that racks and wastes thy limbs, and
the sickness in thy heart, has flown as an eagle
to the far distance, overcome by my charm' (V. xxx.
9). Curative spells are, however, more usually
accompanied by the express employment of material
objects, chiefly plants. The hymns of the Atharva-
veda abound in references to such remedies.
These represent the earliest beginnings of medicinal
lore in India. The border-line between magic and
primitive science here is not always definite, for in
some cases the plant used with the spell may have
been an actual cure for a particular disease, while
in other cases it was used only as a charm,
as that of the herbs used to promote the growth of
hair on bald heads (these were doubtless as ineffect-
ive as the hair-restorers of modern times).
The following are two charms from the Atharvaveda
intended for this particular cure: 'That hair of
which drops off, and that which is broken
root and all, upon it do I sprinkle the all-healing
herb' (V. xxvii. 3); 'Make firm their roots, draw
out their ends, expand their middle, O herb! may
thou grow as reeds, may they cluster black
about thy head!' (V. xxxvii. 3). The Atharvaveda
contains many spells in which the kuṣṭha plant
(probably Costus speciosus or arabicus) is invoked
to drive out fever; two of its hymns (x. xxiii.) are
meant to cure leprosy by the use of a dark plant;
one (VII. 6.) operates with a herb that destroys
snake poison, and another (VI. xvi.) with a plant
against ophthalmia. Fractures are cured by the
plant arunāhātī (VI. xii.), and wounds by the use
of the root of the same plant. The latter is
associated with one hymn of the Atharvaveda (IV.
ix.), of which this is one of the spells: 'From him
over whose every limb and every joint thou passest,
O salve, thou most, as a mighty interceptive, drive
away disease. This water, O hero, is never not infrequently appears as
a magico-remedy, and its general curative powers
are thus expressed by the following spell of the
Atharvaveda (VI.xxxi. 3): 'The waters verify are
healing, the waters chase away disease, the waters
cure all ailment in them; by amulets Indra overcome the
demons.' It also cures individual diseases, as excessive
bodily discharges: 'The spring water yonder
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 Himavat mountains they flow
forth, in the Indus is their gathering place: may the
waters, indeed, grant me that care for heart-ache'
(VI. xxv. 1). Parasara Gṛhyastra (iii. vi. 2)
describes how water upon thy breast, the kindly, divine
tree, shall smite assuer my foes, as Indra the demons.' One of the amulets
most frequently mentioned in the Atharvaveda is
that made from the jānagī tree, which protects
people from the wind, air, and longer astringent
of the same Veda (VII. 5.) dwells on the aggressive
powers of an amulet fashioned from the wood of the
śrāgląd tree, which destroys foes, demons, and
sorceries. Cf., further, art. Charms and Amulets
(Vedic).
I. II. Offensive Magic.—Aggressive operations
against maleficent powers cannot always be distin-
guished, 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.
I. Means employed.—(1) Fire.—Fire was one of
the chief direct means of driving away demons and
all hostile sorcery. Thus in the Rigveda Agni, the
god of fire, is frequently invoked (I. xii. 5, xxxvi. 20)
with such verses as: 'Barn, O Agni, against the
sorcerers; always burn down the sorcerers and
the allies of the demons. This use of fire, probably
the earliest (V. iv. 34, 39), became much more
frequent and much more extensive sacrificial
application, still survives in the Vedic ritual. Thus a special
fire called the 'lying-in fire' (sūtkānī) is intro-
duced into the lying-in chamber (sūtkā-grha). Of
this fire the author of one of the domestic Sūtras
remarks (Hiranyakṣiṃ Gṛhyastrā, ii. iii. 61):
"Sacred rites, except immersion, are not performed with it; he fumigates 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 skulls; Agni is invoked to burn their lungs, hearts, livers, and eyes. At the sacramental ceremony of cutting the baby's hair (Taittirīya Samhitā, vi. 1. 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 south is the direction from which the souls of the dead and the injurious spirits allied to them appeared at the funeral rite; fire was taken from the southern fire and laid down pointing to the south, while a formula was pronounced in which Agni was invoked to drive away all demons that, assuming manifold forms, might venture near. At all other ceremonies, a fire was used by the survivors for the purpose of warding off the powers that cause death. Fire was also on various occasions carried round what was to be protected against the attacks of evil spirits, a bough of laurel or laurel leaves was placed behind the sleeping person, a firebrand placed behind the object, 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. vili. 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 Dikṣa, to remove superstitious superfluities that would impede 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 avert the risk of taking back into ordinary life the magical influence inherent in the rite. Such is the case at the end of the Dikṣa, when clothes and implements used during the ceremony are also laid aside. The significance of the bath taken by the Brāhman student at the end of his apprenticeship is similar. There is, further, a rule that after the utterance of spells addressed to uncanny beings, such as the dead, demons, or 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 perhaps at the same time regarded as communicating the abundant nutritive power and divine energy contained in it, along with a magical condition is meant to continue, bathing or washing is avoided; hence dirt is the characteristic of one who, by means of asceticism (topas), acquires a repelling special magical power.

(3) Plants.—We have already seen that plants were frequently used along with spells as a magical cure of disease. Cognizant to this medicinal employment is the application of herbs to the purpose of securing the love of a man or a woman, and promoting or destroying virility; of both these classes of charms the Atharvaveda contains many examples. But they are also resorted to for other objects. Thus some are employed against demons and sorcerers, which latter, when lit and several are associated with blast-charms. Aquatic plants, together with frogs, as representing water, are combined with spells to quench fire. Bedellium (gopulu), the fragrant exudation of a tree, frequently occurs in the ritual as, in fact, 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 eul of earth taken from a boundary was similarly used. In the same ceremony a mat was laid down while the formula, 'This is put between against calamity,' was pronounced (Kausika Sūtra, lxxxvi. 14). A wooden fence was placed round the sacrificial fire, the fence was crossed with the symbols of the demons (Taittirīya Samhitā, vi. vi. 2).

(5) Lead.—This metal was frequently employed in magical operations, as, e.g., in wiping off dangerous substances. The Atharvaveda contains a hymn (iv. 14) addressed to demons and demons and sorcerers, this being one of its spells: 'If thou slayest our cow, if our horse or our domestic, we pierce thee with lead, that thou shalt not play our heroes.'

(6) Repons. These appear on various occasions as a protection against demons. Thus a man who wos a bride is accompanied by one armed with a bow and arrows. At the wedding ceremony little stakes are shot into the air, with the formula: 'I pierce the eye of the demons that prowl around the bride who approaches the fire' (Māvana Gṛhyasūtra, i. x.). At the royal inauguration the priest beats the king with a staff, saying, 'We beat evil away from thee' (Kātyayana Śrautasūtra, xvii. viii. 6). The staff is a part of the ritual equipment in the Dikṣa ceremony, its significance here being explained by the Sūryapatha Brāhmaṇa (iii. ii. 1. 32) thus: 'The staff is a thunder-bolt to drive away the demons.' The Vedic student, as explained above, is entitled to the use of the staff, as it is the word of the gods, by which spirits, is provided with a staff at the time of investiture. This he must always carry, never allowing any one to pass between it and himself; he parts with it only at the end of his apprenticeship, when he casts it away into water, along with his girdle and other sacred objects. On entering the next stage of religious life the Brāhman receives a new staff made of a different wood, the purpose of which is sufficiently expressed by the spells employed at the accompanying rite: 'Protect me from all powers of destruction on all sides, and destroy all hosts of enemies on every side' (Hiranyakshī Gṛhyasūtra, i. xi. 8). A wooden implement shaped like a sword, technically called sphyra, and very variously applied in sacrificial rites, has evidently the significance of a demon-repelling weapon. At the sacrifice to the dead the sphyra is passed over the altar with the words, 'Smitten away are the devils and demons that sit on the altar' (Sūryāpya Brāhmaṇa Śrautasūtra, iv. iv. 2). It is invested in its power by various ritual operations, and is regarded as producing a magical effect in various rites. They may be grouped as follows.

(a) Hostile.—(1) To make a noise is believed to be an efficacious 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 exorcising the demon of epilepsy. At the funeral ceremony, grains of mustard seeds, pounded with shattering potteries, were used to help the deceased pass to the afterworld. (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 *apāṁārga* (*Acyutathes apāṁārga*; popularly known as *puli-panch* or *puli-pat*; *wiping out*) was most widely employed for this purpose. The Atharvaveda contains several hymns with the plant is applied, the following being one of the spells in which this action is expressed (IV. viii. 8): ‘Having wiped out all sources, all maladjustments, all plague with the *apāṁārga*, we wipe all that evil out.’ The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* remarks (vi. 4. 14) that by the aid of this plant the gods wiped away fevers and 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 powers is to *shake*, *cast*, or *strip* them off. The black antelope skin used at a sacrifice is shaken out, and with the world is the demon shaken away are the goddesses (*Vijayāṣaya Sannvitā, i. 14*). After feeding the souls of the dead, the officiant shakes the hem of his garment in order to remove the souls that may be clinging to it. At the conclusion of the funeral ceremony, the bundle of twigs, used to efface the footstamps of death, is thrown away for fear of the dangerous substances which may have derived from those footprints.

For similar reasons clothes worn at unclean rites, such as funerals, are discarded. Injurious substances are deemed to be stripped off by passing through some aperture the person to whom they adhere. This notion is found even in the Rigveda (VIII. lxxx. 7), where Indra is said to have cured the girl Aśā, who suffered from skin disease, by drawing her through an opening in a car. It is doubles a survival of this form of purification when, in the wedding ceremony, the aperture of the yoke of a car is placed on the head of the bride.

The removal of injurious substances is not always a mere rite, but is often also a transference to remote places or to other objects animate or inanimate. The Rigveda and the Atharvaveda contain several formulas or spells to solicit evil agencies to particular places or persons in the far distance. Thus hostile magic is expelled beyond the ninety streams (Atharvaveda, vii. 10); the demon Ayu, if sent away to far-off peoples, such as the Gandharvins and the Magadivas (*Tircystitāṇa*), is tied to the divine being Trita Aptya in the remotest distance (Rigveda, viii. xcviii. 13-17). Injurious agencies are also transferred to others, particularly unclean spirits, especially cross roads. A garment containing certain impurities is removed to a forest, suspended from a tree, or hung over a post, to which its dangerous influence is conveyed, and thus rendered innocuous (Atharvaveda, xiv. 49f.). Snake-poison is removed to a firebrand, which, being then thrown on a snake, returns the danger to its source (*Kṣṇidgātra, xxi. 6*). Fever is transferred to a frog as an antidote representing water (Atharvaveda, vii. xcv. 21); while jaundice is conducted in a homoeopathic manner to a yellow bird (ib. xiii. 4).

(b) Auspiciou. — (1) A very prominent part is played by *eating* in the communication of beneficial influences, in contact with injurious substances, and which, with, of course, be equally well effected by eating, is avoided by fasting (cf. § 10. i. (2)). The Vedician contains innumerable examples of the magical power conveyed by the eating of sacrificial foods. 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 sacrificial substance conveys the special kind of power implied in a particular sacrifice. Thus, when a student11 teaching beginners gives him the remnant of the offering with the formula, ‘May Agni place his wisdom in thee.’ On the occasion of the ploughing festival a mixture of the milk of a cow that has a calf of the same colour and dung, bdellium, and salt is eaten. At the ceremony for the obtaining of male offspring the wife has to eat a barleycorn and two grains of mustard, and each 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 ceremonial the bride and the bridgroom together eat, 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 is the correspondence in effect, colour, and other qualities between the animal and to whom it is offered. To Indra a bull (or less often) a buffalo, to which he is often compared, is sacrificed; to the Aśvin, twin gods of the mornings, with these, the *Apāṁārga*, we wipe all that evil out.’ The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* remarks (vi. 4. 14) that by the aid of this plant the gods wiped away fevers and 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.

(2) There are several ceremonies in which *eating* is applied for the attainment of auspicious ends. In the Dikṣa rite the sacrificer is anointed with fresh butter to give him unimpaired vigour and sound sight. In the animal sacrifice the stake is anointed with clarified butter, and bringing blessings to the sacrificer. At the royal inauguration the king is anointed with a mixture of butter, honey, rain-water, and other ingredients, which communicate to him the powers and abundance inherit in them. At the same ceremony the king anoints himself with the fluid contained in the horn of a black antelope and refrains for a year from cutting his hair, which has been moistened by it. At the Santrāṃsini rite, an expiatory part of the Soma sacrifice, the priest anoints the king by sprinkling it from the fat grains of the sacrificial animals: ‘With the essence of cattle, with the highest kind of food, he thus sprinkles him’ (*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. viii. 3. 12*).

(3) *Charas*, made for the most part of wax, but also of other materials, were frequently attached to parts of the body for various auspicious purposes. A talisman made of wax from the *puraša-tree (Butea frontosus)* was worn in order to strengthen royal power (Atharvaveda, iii. v.); a bridegroom, who, before entering a bride’s house, was dressed in white, was also anointed with a part of the *charas*. A ritual was prescribed for this anointing, and a view that such anointing would bring good luck. A talisman made of wax from the *puraša-tree (Butea frontosus)* was worn in order to strengthen royal power (Atharvaveda, iii. v.); a bridegroom, who, before entering a bride’s house, was dressed in white, was also anointed with a part of the *charas*. A ritual was prescribed for this anointing, and a view that such anointing would bring good luck.

(a) *Chara*: — (1) ‘An acquirer of offspring and wealth this bracelet has become’ (vi. xiv. 21).

(c) *Indifferent*. — (1) *Burying* was a frequent secret method of conducting magical substances to others, generally connected with hostile intent. The Atharvaveda is full of spells expressing fear of magick buried in the earth, in the fields, or in 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 lack of a person thus attacked might be restored by digging up the objects, while an auspicious spell was uttered. The Sutapaṇḍa Brāhmana relates (III. v. 4. 21) a myth how the demons blighted the host of the gods; when the latter, by digging them up, made them operative. The Soma sacrifice even contains a ceremony the express purpose of which is to dig up the magical objects buried by rivals or enemies. This idea of burying the objects sometimes has an auspicious intention, as when a mixture of milk, dung, beiḍhām, and salt is buried in order to promote the welfare of cattle (Kāṇḍuka Sātra, 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 (Vaiṣṇava Sūtbha, v. 34) to the priest, 'Look at me with the eye of Mitra' (the ān-gāl); or when a guest addresses the sweet food that is offered to him, saying, 'Look not with an evil eye, bring not death to thy husband' (Pāndavāra Gṛhṣṭa, i. 4. 16). In the Atharvaveda (IV. v. 6. 9) ointment is conjured against the evil eye with the spell, 'From the evil eye bring me the salve'; the jīvīṅga-tree is invoked against the evil eye of the hostile-minded (XIX. xxxv. 3); and a certain plant is employed with the spell, 'Of the enemy whose bewitching eye he hew off the root' (vii. v. 3. cf. XVII. 1). On the other hand, the evil effect produced by an inauspicious object on him who sees it is shown by innumerable directions enjoining avoidance of such scenic spots. Thus the Vedic agnostic 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 towards the host of sacrificial ceremonies, such as an offering to the goddess Nīrti or a rite for the slaughter of demons.

(3) The action of circumambulation, which occurs very frequently in the Vedic ceremonial, is regarded as magical because particularly when the performer walks round an object in sunwise fashion by keeping his right hand towards it (povadāṣaṇa). Both living and inanimate things are three times circumambulated in this manner; e.g., priests walk three times round the objects, while the wife of the king walk round the dead sacrificial horse. Sacrificial altars and temples, the ground where a house is built, as well as houses (as a protection against serpents), are circumambulated. This rite is especially often performed with the sacrificial fire, as at the wedding ceremony and at the initiation of the Vedic student. Water is circumambulated at a wedding, as also a new house, while water is at the same time sprinkled round it. When the ceremony is incomplete, the direction is reversed, the left hand being kept towards the object. This is done especially in funeral rites at the burning ground and at cross-roads. Thus the mourners walk three times round the unlit fire deposited where four roads meet, with their left sides towards it, beating their left thighs with their left hands. When a patient is to be cured of snake-bite, the priest walks round him to the left. When a servant who is disposed to run away is selected by his master, washing into the horn of a living animal, walks three times round him to the left, sprinkling the water round him with the spell, 'From the mountain on which thou wast born, from thy mother, from thy sister, from thy parents, and thy brother, from thy friends—never (Pāṇḍava Gṛhṣṭa, III. vii. 2). Movement both in the auspicious and in the reverse direction is not restricted to walking. Thus in the sacrifice to the charger great energy is exerted with his left hand and pours out its contents from right to left; he also holds the ladle in his left and deposits the offering on the grass in the same direction (cf., further, art. CIRCUMAMBULATION).

12. Sympathetic magic.—It is the theory of the Vedic magician that which has been called 'sympathetic,' being the influence exercised on a remote being or phenomenon by means of a telepathic connexion between it and what is manipulated by the magician. It may be either beneficial or injurious. (a) Effigies.—An image is frequently made and operated on for the purpose of producing a similar effect on the victim. Thus an enemy is destroyed by piercing the heart of his clay effigy with an arrow, or by being cut down. The image is also produced by melting a wax figure of him over the fire, or by killing or burning a chanoeel representing him. The elephants, horses, soldiers, and chariots of a hostile army are irritated in nap, and sacred persons are put to death as a symbol of their destruction. The magician amasses worms by stamping on or burning twenty-one roots of the nepra plant, while he pronounces the spell, 'I split with the stone the head of all worms male and female; I burn to ashes!' (Atharvaveda, v. xxiii. 13). In order to exterminate the field vermin called tūrdā, a single tūrdā, as representing the whole class, is buried head downwards, its mouth being tied with a hair so as to prevent its eating grain (Kra. ii. 1). On the other hand, the effect of the evil spirits is driven out of the ground. One who pounds the Soma-shoots for sacrifice directs the blows against his enemy by fixing his thoughts on him during the operation.

The sympathetic connexion is sometimes very remote, as when implements or materials are used in which a particular power is regarded as inherent. Thus an exiled prince receives food encased magical being cooked with wood that has grown from the stump of a tree, symbolizing the restoration of fallen fortune. At a ceremony for the removal of troublesomeness an auspicious ladle of bahucah wood is employed simply because the name of the tree means 'remover.' At a rite to destroy demons the dipping spoon is made of wood from the pātāla (E Datum f brown) tree as representing the magical spell (brahmam), which is a slayer of demons. When the sacrifice for the removal of a certain pest, earth, and other material from his native country are employed. As a sacrifice for victory in battle, the soil taken for the altar (vedi), with a view to communicating the fierceness of that animal to the combatants on behalf of whom the offering is made. (b) Imitative processes.—The highest use concerned with the three sacrificial fires abounds with rites in which the desired effect is produced by an imitation of the event or phenomenon. Thus the kindling of the sacrificial fire in the morning develops into a magical rite to make the sun rise; and the dipping of the Soma-juice through the purifying sieve becomes a rain charm. At the ceremony of the royal inauguration, the conventional chariot race in which the king wins is meant to gain him speed and victory. On the other hand, some of the acts in the ritual a game of dice is played; this has clearly the magical purpose of securing luck and gain for the sacrificer. At the solstitial ceremony an Aryan and a Sudra (representing a white and a black man) engage in a struggle for the possession of a circular white skin, the former ultimately wresting it from the latter; the magical aim of this performance is the liberation of the sun from the powers of darkness. In the same ceremony, as well as at the Soma and the horse sacrifice, there are certain sexual observances the obvious purpose of which is to produce fertility in women. A good example of the imitative method is the procedure
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meant to deflect a river into another channel. The new course is first watered; it is then planted with reeds; and, finally, representatives of water, such as the magician, are posted on it; the imitation is believed to produce the reality.

(1) This type of magic is very frequently found in the particular form of rain-making. Such is the purpose when, at the solstitial festival, a cowhide is pierced with arrows—probably an imitation of the myth of Indra's release of the waters by piercing the rain-clouds (which frequently appear as cows in the Rigveda). On the same occasion girls descend upon the fire with hair which they pour out, while they sing a song calling upon the cows to bathe. At the ceremony of piling the fire-altar jars of water are emptied on the ground, on which rain is thus said to be shed, and grain is sown on the spot. When an otter is thrown into the water, rain falls in abundance; or, if any one desires rain, he casts herbs into the water, submerges them, and then lets them float away.

(2) A modified form of sympathetic magic is division, the aim of which is to finds out what is hidden or future, largely from the occult correspondence between the representation and the reality. Dreams and sacrificial and funeral rites 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 the direction taken by a cow at a particular point in the ritual it may be inferred that the sacrificer will attain a particular purpose. If at certain sacrifices the fire flames up brightly, the sacrificer will obtain twelve villages; if the smoke rises, he will obtain at least three. The fire kindled in a special way between two armies about to fight prognosticates the result; the battle is decided by the sacrifice. The observer who, at a funeral, notes which of the three sacred fires catches the corpse first can tell whether the soul of the deceased is in heaven, in air, or on earth.

The following examples of divination are of a more general type. If one wishes to know whether an uncircumcised child will be a male, the son of a Brahman must touch a member of the mother; supposing the member has a masculine name, the child will be a boy. When it is desired to ascertain what disease a sick man will make at, he is to choose between various dyes taken partly from auspicious soil (as that of a furrow or a cowshed), partly from an unlucky spot (as a cemetery or cross-roads); her choice betokens her character and her future. A special form of prognosis is the foretelling of weather by old Brahmanas from the smoke of dung.

Mixed with the knowledge of the future obtainable from a symbolic process is that derived from gods or spirits, by interpreting the movements, 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. 2). Again, in one of the Sattras, the owl 'that flies to the abode of the gods' is addressed with the words, 'Flying round the village from left to right, portent to us by thy cry, O owl' (Hiranyakshin Gṛhyasūtra, i, xvii. 1, 3). The direction from which the wooer will come is indicated by the flight of crows after the performance of the rite for obtaining a husband for a girl. Such omens seem to be a later development, resulting from the simplification of the symbolical method of divination by isolating a single feature of a complex process.

13. Oral magic.—Magical formulae are usually accompanied by some ritual act; but the spoken word in the form of a spell, a curse, or an oath also has a magical effect by itself.

(a) The spell, or witchcraft, in general is a metrical form, being sometimes an old religious verse degraded to magical use. Though the formula is magical in application, it is in form often a mixture of prayer and spell, the gods being mentioned or invoked in it; e.g., 'Between the two rows of Agni Vaiṣṇavāna's teeth do I place him that plans to injure us when we are not planning to injure him' (Athravaveda, iv. xxxvi. 2; cf. xvi. vii. 3). 'Thy ninety-nine spirits, O Night, shall help and protect thee' (XIX. xvi. 3). In the interpretation of the hymns of the Athravaveda to contain the names of numerous deities, while the panegyrics of the Rigveda are addressed to one only; e.g., 'Heaven and Earth have anointed me; Mitra has anointed me here; may Bṛhaspati anoint me also; may Savitar anoint me' (VII. xxx. 1). The magician very usually threatens or commands in his own person; e.g., 'I plaque the demons as the tiger the cattle-owners; as dogs that have seen a lion, they howl and perish'; (Gṛhyasūtra, iii, xxviii. 1). As the lightning ever irresistibly strikes the tree, so would I to-day beat the gamesters with my dice (VII. i. 1). 'Swift as the wind be thou, O steed, when yoked to the car; at Indra's urging go, swift as the wind, the chariot of the heavenly hosts; shall place fleets in thy feet' (VI. xii. 1). But he also often mentions in his spell a parallel case, in order to effect his purpose, like the symbolical process in sympathetic magic; e.g., 'With the light which illuminates the night, having cooked porridge for the Brahmans, ascended to heaven, to the world of the pious, with that would we go to the world of the pious, ascending to the light, to the highest firmament' (XI. i. 37); 'As one pays off a sixteenth, the eightieth, or the entire debt, so shall the evil dream to our enemy' (VI. xiv. 3). '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. xiiii. 1); 'The cows have lain down in their resting-place; the bird has flown down to its nest; the mountains have stood in their site; I have made the two kidneys stand in their station' (VII. xivi. 1). A frequent feature of spells, in order to make sure of striking the injurious spirit, the seat of evil, or whatever else is intended, is that the whole series of possibilities; e.g., 'Out of eyes, nose, ears, brain, neck, back, arms I drive the disease' (II. xxi. 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 is 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 (Parāśara Gṛhyasūtra, III. xi. 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 one word. If a man has spoken what is unworthy of the sacrifice, he has only to murmur 'Adoration to Vigna' as an atonement. The daily repetition of 'The god Indra is my protection, Aśvita has come to help the Aryan; Indra's two Sārvas have come to help the Aryan' (Gṛhyasūtra, iv. vi. 1) has been interpreted as a prayer meant for a totally different purpose may have a magical effect. Thus, the celebrated Gṛyasaṇi verse of the Rigveda (ix. ix. 10) 'We would attain that excellent glory of Savitri the god, that he may stimulate our prayers'—
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 contamination of leprosy—whereas a square house does. 

The circle as a supernatural protective barrier has several analogies in primitive custom, and variations of form involve corresponding variations of meaning. Throughout, for examples to the latest, importance is usually attached to the material or the instrument with which the circle is traced.

Among the Shumaw Indians the bed of a mourner 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 practice. Besides surrounding the bed with thorns, mourners cleanse their bodies while standing in a square formed by thorn-bushes, as a protection against the ghost.

Here the mystic zaraqa depends not on its shape but on its completeness in the geometrical sense.

Water and fire, excellent, bullwarks 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 Latins 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 in the circle by "youthful fellows." In a moving or dynamic form the fiery circle was used for the same purpose in Scotland. Mourning and night fire was carried on.

The most important of the Romani Sutras (belonging to the Atharvaveda) have been translated into German by W. Caland under the title of Altindische Zauberformeln, Amsterdam, 1890.

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5. This seems to be Kshatra Siga, the use of the pentagrams or penta (see Thompson, loc. cit.).
round the mother till she was churched, and round the child till it was christened. In some parts of Scotland a br-candle was lighted 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 patient from external evil, though the fire-treatment of childhood may have originated simply in the clinical intention of producing comfort or obviating complications.

In China candles are kept alight round the coffin to 'give light,' or to light his way. The Chinese charm consists in laying a circle of ashes round the dead man; it is supposed to reconcile and appease him. The Romans used water or fire or fire mourners on their return from the funeral.

The curious custom of circumambulation as a mark of honour was practised by Hindus, Greeks, and Celts.

In ancient India, walking round a person three times to the right (surmise) was a ceremony of honour, as it was among the Greeks and Celts. The ancient Indians walked round the funeral pyre, as Achilles drove round the pyre of Patroclus (see art. Cremation). The ancient Indians also practised the rite as a cure for a sick person. Possibly the idea of protecting a person with a pillow, living ring is behind the homeric variety.

In Nias a candidate for the priesthood consults with spirits in the ancestral houses; he splits a young man and creeps through the fissure, 'in the belief that any spirit which may still be clinging to him will be thus left sticking to the earth.' The wanderings of Sotho used to send their shepherds through hoops of rope to ward off the witches. Similar customs are found in N. Europe and England as cures for sickness.

The lappes wore a brass ring on the right arm by way of protection against the ghost of the dead person.

Frazier instances 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.

'To keep the soul in or the demons out' is a question where observation of practice is natural. In ancient India the medical magician encircled the bed of a woman at childbirth with black pebbles to ward off demons. This is carried in 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 emblem of the medieval 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 of the points of the star pierce the invisible enemies.

The use of the pentacle along with the magical circle, consisting of one 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 astrological 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 left-handed compliment to Semitic religion and the conquest of Europe by the Bible.

The Semitic texts continually refer to the HeTree, which Thompson justly identifies as 'the prototype' of the magical circle, possessing the properties of a 'ban.'

The zippo-priest recited over the sick an incantation: 'The man of Es am i, ... the messenger of Marduk am i, ... the circle of Es is in my hand.'

In more detail, the sick person was safeguarded by an enchanted circle (of the nature of a line of fire, salt, or other material, as 'a kind of heron through which no spirit could break.' The priest first performed a ceremony of exorcism, in which a kid was sacrificed and then the circle was drawn, and then described the circle. 'Enclose the man with kurnara (flower, flour) of line, surround the elbow straight right and left. The ban is hooned. A mixture of men and time and distance is to be intended: both substance possessed. The flower of Chimba (the corn-god) was the 'net of the corn-god.' In another ceremony, before the god Nergal, the priest described with line a circle round seven winged figures, and in yet another circle flour was used, the cycle of circle.

Here Thompson compares the medieval use of the Host as a protection against vampires and witches. The Semite described the mixture as the 'net of the corn-god.' Similarly the Jews of Jerusalem employed the virtues of food against evil influences, scattering a mixture of food round the bed of a sick person. A Semite parallel to the idea of stripping off evil by passing through a ring, or arch, or other circumambulated opening was found in a cure for headache, which consisted in making a circle round a desert plant with meal, plucking it up before sunrise, and tying it on the head. When the plant was removed, the headache disappeared simultaneously. On the same principle an ailing limb was cured by tying round it a charmed thread, and then removing this. Did the idea arise from the sickness?

The development of magic, white and black, in Europe, and its remarkable exploitation, lasting till well after the scientific period had begun, were bound up with Semitic animism, or rather demonism, if the distinction is maintained. It causes producing a state of culture in which every man of science was a necromancer and conjurer of spirits do not concern us here, but the inevitable employment of the magical circle for the conjuration of spirits is typical of the culture of those ages. The primitive Babylonian practice was now divorced from medical magic. As applied to the evocation of elemental demons, whose aid was invoked for alchemical research or prophecy or evil magic against individuals, its purpose was to protect the sorcerer from the dangerous servants whom he called up. At the same time the geometrical possibilities of the circle appealed to the mathematical instinct of the scholar, and geometry perhaps over something to magical experiments upon the circle. Kabalistical 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 connexion with the magical nature of the astrological occult, in the circle, was applied to it, and it thus became an intermediary between chemistry and astronomy, as the focus to which were attracted the infernal and supernal powers alike.

The Arabic and Hebrew developments of magic in the early centuries of the Middle Ages are obscure. The account given by Psellus of a Hecatus circleus, Ἐκατός σφραγίδα, calls for notice, though its meaning is confused.

'Hecate's circle is a golden sphere, enclosing a sapphire in the centre, turned by a torch of holy fire, and having characters throughout the whole of it. They made conjugations by turning this; and they were wont to call such things hence, whether they have a spherical or triangular or any other shape whatsoever. Shaking these, they uttered certain hieratic sounds, laughing, and striking the bronze. It accordingly belongs to the operation of the rite, or the circle, as possessing secret power. And it is called "Hecate's" as being dedicated to Hecate; and Hecate is a divinity among the Chaldeans.'

1 Frazier, in J.A.S.XV, 1882, note 3.
2 Thompson, p. xxii.
4 Psellus, op. cit., vi. 628.
5 Psellus, op. cit., vi. 628.
15 Thompson, p. xxiii.
18 See F. Barrett, Magic, London, 1801, p. 310, for proof that magic was practised at the end of the Middle Ages.
This account may be simply confusing the Babylonian circle with the Greek magical wheel (τρίχη, torquilla); but, just as the medieval circle was made material and portable in the form of metal amulets and talismans, so it is possible that Graeco-Chaldean superstition may have derived the design of the wheel into a wheel like the τρίχη. The fact that such 'wheels' were sometimes triangular or of other shapes is an interesting hint in the direction of the pentagrams and other figures with which the medieval circles were filled. Psellus may have been the subject of the impression was astonishingly clear for the idea, no doubt, being to evoke spirits for the purpose of forcing them to predict future events. As for the Greek wheel on which the τρίχη, wyrmnek, was tied, there is considerable doubt as to its nature.

The magical circle of medieval occultism had innumerable varieties, according to the purpose, the time, and the species of spirit to be invoked; and it also varied according to the predilections of the operator. The following may be considered typical examples of the method of description and formula of blessing and of invocation. The magician, after purifying himself, collected the paraphernalia, including his dagger, his blessed candle, a circle of water, a 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:

"Elaborate forms of the circle, and names might be described with holy water, charcoal, or consecrated chalk; when the magical knife was used for the drawing, the lines were sprinkled with holy water. This knife, which also served to frighten the spirits, had a black handle of sheep's horn, and the steel should have been tempered in the blood of a black cat and the juice of hemlock. For more important operations, especially in black magic, as when using the 'great kabbalistic circle,' the tracing should be done with the magical stone Ennuitel. A curious refinement was a gate in the circumference, by which the operator and his associates might go out and in; on leaving the circle, the circle was incised by inscribing names and pentacles. The more elaborate circles were filled with names and kabbalistic figures and 'characters.' Candles and varvain crowns were placed within the circle, and the operator had with him cold or silver coins to fly to the spirit when evoked, the 'seals' to be shown to the spirit, and talismans, generally made of coloured satin embroidered with silver. Incense was burned within the circle, or it was perfumed with Solomon's oil; this seemed to be done in this case in order to give the impression of a sacred place."

The 'great kabbalistic circle' was made with strips of the skin of a sacrificed kid. These were

2 H. B. 594.
3 Barrett, ii. 100.
4 Thompson, p. 15; Barrett, ii. 106.
5 A. E. Waite, Occult Sciences, London, 1913, p. 47.
6 Barrett, ii. 591.
7 Pentacle (properly pentagram) is used of any talisman with figures (not necessarily angular) incised or embroidered within a circle.
8 Linen or vellum plaques inscribed with figures.
fixed in the ground or floor by nails. Five concentric circles, close together, formed a strong protective magic square, theName took the place of the pentagram, and three small circles were described for the stations of the operator and assistants.\(^1\)

The elaboration of geometrical design and astrological figures within the circle was connected with its positive efficacy for conjuration and control of the spirit. Thus Giordano Bruno writes:

> "O! quanta virtus est interconsummatione circularum et quam sacratissima est hec occultate! Cornua capsae in Sagittario exsivit, diacredo lapis positus in aqua, naturaliter spirites ad dandum respondam venit."\(^2\)

Consultation of the stars and seasons was essential.

> Oportet in constituendo circulo considerare quae tempore autem cum horis circularia facias, quas spirites adveniant vele, eum stellae et regioni praestat, et quos functiones haecebat.”\(^3\)

For summoning channeled 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.\(^4\) For necromancy the churchyard was an appropriate site for smaller squares. The operator wore elaborate vestments, and was anointed with holy oil.

The circle was invariably obliterated on the conclusion of the operation.\(^5\) A similar practice of destroying the traces of magical rites is regular throughout the history of magic, even in primitive culture.

The talismans, pentacles, or seals, used freely by the magician, depended largely upon the magical circle which was described around them. In this, as in the large operating circle, the more concentric circles, the more potent the efficacy. Against the attacks of spirits they were very powerful, "presiding with wonderful influence."\(^6\) They were exhibited to the spirit on its appearances, and the means of the operator bound the spirit, and was able to prevent it from departing "without a licence." The issue of the licence was an important detail; if it was omitted, the death of the operator might result.\(^7\) 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.\(^7\) Seals "of the names of God" were most properly enclosed within 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 surrounded by a circle.\(^8\) The usual form was enclosed within the circle of the ‘table of the 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.\(^9\) The Seal had an obverse and a reverse, and was the size of a large medallion.\(^10\) In connection 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.\(^11\) Another 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.\(^12\) When a spirit appeared, it was asked to place its hands on the operator’s heart and swear.

Medieval amulets for general use were frequently stamped with the magical circle in its numerous varieties, as also were talismans of various make. The latter were effective, as a rule, only in cooperation with magical engraving with ‘characters.’\(^13\) This was worn on the finger, and the talisman on the arm or body.\(^1\) The magician’s wand was sometimes plant and could be made into a circle, the ends being joined by a gold chain. Described on parchment, the magical circle is a basis for astrological calculations. This use was prevalent wherever 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 a business, a circle enclosing a heptacle is used, but every alternate day is skipped, the lines of the continuous heptacle running from, e.g., Sunday to Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Sunday, and so on.\(^2\) 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.\(^3\)

As a mathematical curiosity, the so-called magical circle is a development from the magical square, known since the earliest Arabic science. The latter is a square divided into squares, and in each of which a number is written, and so arranged 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.\(^4\)


**MAGYARS.**—See HUNGARIANS.

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\(^{2}\) N. de Mounier, 1529, quoted in Horst, iii. 70.

\(^{3}\) P. Barrett, ii. 95; see also 91.

\(^{4}\) ib. ii. 60.

\(^{5}\) Waite, *Occult Sciences*, p. 49.\(^{13}\) Barrett, ii. 109.

\(^{6}\) Neudorff, *E.In.* 143, 164.

\(^{7}\) Barrett, i. 147, 174.

\(^{8}\) ib. i. 85, ii. 41, 81, 160.

\(^{9}\) ib. i. 112, 174.

\(^{10}\) ib. ii. 41.

\(^{11}\) ib. ii. 66, 41.

\(^{12}\) ib. ii. 661, 90.

\(^{13}\) Waite, *Ceremonial Magic*, p. 124 ff.

\(^{14}\) ib. p. 130.


\(^{16}\) ib. pp. 555, 600.

\(^{17}\) C. A. M. Fensholt, *Elt* 81, e.g.
MAHABHARATA.

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 groups of four. The Mahabharata is not an epic in the narrow sense of the word, in that it is neither a literary composition nor is it based on a single author. But neither this most improbable hypothesis nor the basic theory—to wit, that the epic proper was merely ancillary to the didactic mass—has obtained general recognition. It is merely the exaggeration of a truth not denied by any one, viz. that moral and narrative poetry have always been more or less commingled in India. If the hypothesis of Dahlmann could be established, it would, of course, tend to show that the archetypal of the Vedas—a story without any historical importance. Not more successful has been the recent theory that the characters originally being by some earlier poet, and that it is due to the retention of older material that some ascribed to the Pandus and their ally Kṛṣṇa have been kept in the poem of to-day. This theory also has failed to find confirmation, both because it ignores the weight of inscriptive evidence, which shows that, half a millennium before the Mahabharata, according to this theory, had been completed, it was already of the size it is now.

The Mahabharata represents an age well acquainted with foreign nations, even Greeks, Scythians, Persians, and Chinese being occasionally referred to in it (e.g., viii. 49); it represents also a time of empire, when, however exaggerated the conquest of all India was regarded as quite a possible feat. It shows a superficial knowledge of the extreme north and south and a very intimate knowledge of the Middle West in itself, as the characters originally belong to some earlier poet, and that it is due to the retention of older material that some ascribed to the Pandus and their ally Kṛṣṇa have been kept in the poem of to-day. This theory also has failed to find confirmation, both because it ignores the weight of inscriptive evidence, which shows that, half a millennium before the Mahabharata, according to this theory, had been completed, it was already of the size it is now.

The Mahabharata begins with an Introduction, or Book of Beginnings, which tells how the childhood of the heros was passed and gives their origin, and also, incidentally, the origin of gods and men in general. For the story, it may be compressed into the following statements. Two brothers, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, are educated by their uncle Bīṣma. The former brother grows up and marries a western woman, Gianītki, who has a hundred sons, called Kuru. Pāṇḍu has two wives, one of whom, Madri, commits sati at his
death; the other, Yidhá or Kunti, survives Pádus and brings up his five children, called the Pândus, who are really sons of the gods, whom Kunti and Mahé invoked. These sons are Yudhishthira (son of the god Dharma, or Right), Bhima (son of the god Indra), Arjuna (the chief hero of the epic), son of Indra), and the twins Nakula and Sahadeva (sons of the Aśvin, or Boskonu). After this Introduction, which, like most childhood-recitals, is in general late-comes the 'Śabha,' the title of the second part (book), taken from the assembly in the gaming-hall (śabha), where the epic drama begins. At Ilstainpat (about 60 miles north of Delhi) the Kürus hold an assembly, to which they have summoned the Pandavas, who, after various adventures, have built a town at Indraprastha (near Delhi). The Kürus intended to cheat the Pándus out of their kingdom by a game of dice, since they were afraid of the waxing power of their cousins. Yudhishthira plays away all his wealth and kingdom, and finally his brothers and himself. Then he plays Kṛṣṇa, the daughter of Draupadi, polyanamous wife of the five brothers, and loses her. Once more he plays, all that he has lost against a single dice, and on that again he and his brothers and wife are driven ignominiously forth to live for twelve years in the forest. The third book is called 'Vana' ('Forest'), and narrates the life of the exiles. It is a storehouse of legends, such as the that of Nala and Dantavanti, told to relieve the tedium of exile. The fourth book receives its name 'Vitāra' from the name of the king with whom the Pándus take refuge at the close of the twenty-fifth year. They stay there for twelve years, and assisting Vitāra against attacks by the Kürus. They are at first disguised, and incidents of court life form the main part of this book, which is obviously, in its details, a late part of the epic. The fifth book is called 'Udyoga' ('Preparation for War'). Kṛṣṇa (Vigun) is now enlisted upon the side of the Pándus, as, with her brother's consent, Arjuna has married his sister after eloping with her. The following four books are named after the leaders in the battle which now takes place, 'Bhiśma,' 'Drona,' 'Karna,' and 'Śalya.' Bhiśma and Drona are the uncle and teacher respectively of the cousins now at war. Into the 'Bhiśma Parvan,' at the beginning of the battle, is inserted the celebrated 'Bhakti.' This book ends with the fall of Bhiśma, and Drona then assumes the leadership of the Kürus. Numerous encounters are described with warlike iteration, and Śiva is hailed as the great One God. Karna, the half-brother of the Pandus, son of the god, had been insulted by the refusal of Kṛṣṇa to recognize him as a worthy knighth when she chose her husband, and had taken part with the Kürus against his brothers. He now leads them into battle, but is slain by Arjuna. This leads to the 'Śalya Parvan' (sixth book), in which Śalya is made leader of the Kurus; but, with the exception of a few warriors, they are all routed and slain, and the chief Kurus prince is killed (after the battle) by Bhima. The tenth book is called 'Sañjīvika' ('Night Attack'), and describes how the surviving Kurus make an attack by night on the camp of the victors, killing all the army except the Pándus themselves. It is followed by a short book called 'Shtri' ('Women'), which gives an account of the lamentation of women over their dead. The war is now over; but Bhima has miraculously survived, and in the long didactic books called 'Santi' and 'Amukasana' he is re-recreated to preach religious and philosophical, and ethical, behaviour. Yudhishthira is crowned emperor, and in the fourteenth book, called 'Aśvamedhikā' ('Horse Sacrifice'), he performs the horse-sacrifice, which is the sign of undisputed lordship (see Art. Aśvamedha). Into this book is inserted (16-51) the Anuṣṭā, a poem imitative of the Bhagavat-Gītā. The fifteenth book, called 'Śrīnaavāsikā' ('Heamatige'), takes up the life of Dhritarāstra and his queen, with Bhima, who has reigned, is driven by the Kürus, and then retires into the woods, where they are burned. The sixteenth book, called 'Mausaka' ('Club-Battle'), tells of the death of Krsna and his brother Baladeva, and the fate of their city Dwārapa, which was flooded by the sea. The family of Kṛṣṇa, the Yadus (Yadava), are cursed by a Brahman, and destroy each other. The seventeenth book, 'Mahāprashānīka' ('Great Remuneration'), tells how the Pándus give up their kingdom and deposit in the way of the northern mountains; this is supplemented by the last book of the epic proper, called 'Svarogārahaṇa' ('Ascent to Heaven'), describing the journey. To this is added the Harīvīnaka ('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 Purāṇa (q.v.), and is, without doubt, a subsequent addition, dating perhaps from the 3rd cent. of our era, though generally, and even if the Mahābhārata may be viewed as a rich 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 of Sāvītṛ, and the tenth of Nala and Dannya, at the beginning of the tale. They stay there for twelve years, and assisting Vitāra against attacks by the Kürus. They are at first disguised, and incidents of court life form the main part of this book, which is obviously, in its details, a late part of the epic. The fifth book is called 'Udyoga' ('Preparation for War'). Kṛṣṇa (Vigun) is now enlisted upon the side of the Pándus, as, with her brother's consent, Arjuna has married his sister after eloping with her. 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It has, in part, the characteristics of a Purāṇa (q.v.), and is, without doubt, a subsequent addition, dating perhaps from the 3rd cent. of our era, though generally, and even if the
Sanskya system throughout. The chief interest of the religious doctrine lies in the insistence upon the loving devotion of the worshipper and the saving grace of the supreme spirit (see BHARTI-
MARGA). *Krśna* as a form of *Vīṣṇu* is not revered (as is often thought) for anything more than his being the lover of milk-maids, though both these traits are recognized. They come out strongly in the *Harivamśa* and later Purāṇas, and it is perhaps unjustifiable to conclude that they did not form part of the worship as originally adopted into Brāhmanism.

Directly opposed to *Krśna-Vīṣṇuism* is the Siva-cult also found in the epic, as already indicated. This cult appears to have been, perhaps, the more orthodox upholders of Brāhmanism, although neither Siva nor *Krśna* was a Vedic god. But Siva had long been recognized as a form of the Vedic Rindra, and, though probably at first a popular god, it is noteworthy that he was already accepted by the Brāhman 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 now so familiar, that of phallic-worship, appears only in a few late passages. As this aspect cannot be in itself a late feature, it must have acquired the seal of respectability only by degrees, being probably repugnant to the orthodox priests of the period. The special seats or forms of cults as advocated in the Purāṇas are unknown in the epic. The cult of *Vīṣṇu* 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 now generally assumed, the exaltation of the attributes of the other, *Vīṣṇu* is the onoe theistic god and Siva is the pantheistic All-god. Each in turn claims to be maker, preserver, and destroyer; and Brāhman also, though originally creator-god, became the exaltation of the attributes of *Vīṣṇu* and Siva and the older Brāhman of *Krśna-Vīṣṇu* and Siva and the older Brāhman of *Krśna-Vīṣṇu* and Siva and the older Brāhman in the one god with three forms, or, as the Hindu says, 'three gods and one form.' Besides these gods, *Vīṣṇu* is also the Sun-god and probably also the sun-god, whose worship leads to strange exaltation of the sun as supreme god (but only in late passages), probably because of the identification of *Vīṣṇu* with the sun on the one hand and the later Persian religious form on the other; for, though the sun was probably round out to its present size by the 2nd cent. of our era and was virtually complete in all probability as an epic two or three centuries before (by 100 B.C.), yet numerous epic, inscriptive, and latory hymns have been added at later times, as may be seen by the manifold additions in the recently published southern text of the epic, which contains thousands of verses in great part of this character (in part, narrative). Of such sort also are the hymns to *Durgā* and probably also the exaltation of Skanda as the great army-leader of the gods, raised far above his earlier conception. All these later additions are of priestly sectarian origin. The original lay of the *Bharata war may also have been that of popular heroism, though 'hero-lands' sung by hired minstrels are not unknown in early literature. But it was part of the business of the king's chaplain to recite laudations in his honor, and it is not impossible that in the chain of the epic kings may have expanded the theme, for not only the king living but 'dead kings and their glory' formed the topic of lays and enlogies. The completed *Mahābhārata* was intended for recital, but this was in dramatic form, so that even to this day it is acted as well as recited by the purveyors of amusement at country fairs.


MAHAR, MHR, MEHRA.—One of the menor or depressed castes of W. India and the Deccan, numbering 3,342,680 at the Census of 1911. Their name is very doubtfully connected by G. Oppert (*Oryg. Inhabitants of Bharatavarasa or India*, London, 1853, p. 28 ff.) with that of the modern tribe of the same name. They are not called *Mahār* by the Marāṭhas, but are practically all Hindus by religion. Another caste, the Dhobi or washerman, is generally included with them, and, if not identical, they are allied with the Holeya or the Padras. They are divided into three groups, viz., of the Madras presidency (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, ii. 329 ff.).

In the Central Provinces the Mahars say they are descended from Mahārānu, who was a founding picked up by the goddess Parvati on the banks of the Ganges. At that time beef had not become a forbidden food; and when the divine cowl, Tripiṭā Vaiṣṇavī, died, the gods determined to cook and eat her body, and Mahārānu was set to watch the pot boiling. He was as inventive as King Alfred, and a piece of flesh fell out of the pot. Not wishing to return the dirty piece to the pot, Mahārānu ate it; but the gods discovered the delinquency and doomed him and his descendants to live on the flesh of dead cows (R. V. Rossell, *Central Provinces Ethnographic Survey*, pt. 1, Allahabad, 1911, p. 84; cf. E. F. Rütz, *Census Report, Bihar*, 1881, p. 114 n.).

Their religion is of the primitive animistic type, with a veneer of Hinduism. In the Khânchā District they keep the regular Hindu fasts and feasts, and worship the popular gods of that country— *Vīṣṇu*, or *Viṭhōva*; *Siva* as *Kharpobha*; *Māhāsōka*, an evil spirit who should be cast out of stone smeared with red lead; *Bhāirava*, or *Siva* in his terrible Bhairava form; and the Mother-goddess in the form of Āī Bhavāni, whose image they keep in their houses. Besides these they worship snakes and the spirits of their ancestors (*BG* xii. [1880] 115 ff., xvii. [1884] 172 ff.). At a temple in Kâthiāwar the Dhobhs worship what is actually an image of *Vīṣṇu* reposing on his serpent Seera as Hanumā, who is said to have been the woman of the caste. Women were unable to nurse their babies and owners of cows which give a scanty supply of milk yow to wash this image in milk if their milk be increased (*BG* xiii. [1884] 416 ff.).

In the Central Provinces 'the great body of the caste worship the ordinary deities Hanumān, Dūndūl Deo, and others, though, of course, they are not always to be found in the temples. They principally observe the Holī and Devalī festivals and the days of the new and full moon. On the festival of Nāgaśchachi they make an image of a sugar and eat it. At the sacred Amalaka tank at Kamthē the Mahars have a special bathing ghat set apart for them, and they may enter the citadel and go as far as the lowest step leading up to the temple; here they worship the god and think that he accepts their offerings. They are thus permitted to
traverse the outer enclosures of the citadel, which are also sacred. The Mahârâjas may not touch the shrines of Mahâdeo, but must stand before them with their hands joined. They may sometimes deposit offerings with their own hands on the seats. Originally a good god, and Mathi Deit, the goddess of smallpox.

In Berîr they worship a curious collection of deities. These are included in the archangels Gabriel, Azrael, Michael, and Anâdîn, all of whom, they say, come from Pândâharpur. In Berîr the worship of these archangels was probably borrowed from the Muhammadans; but in Gujarât it was probably adopted from Christian sources.

It seems that the attraction which outside faiths exercise on the Maähr is the hope held out of accelerating the social decline with which they would fungalise 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 Maähr of 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 Mahârs are the warmest advocates of the Muhammadan saint Shahîd Parî, and flock to the fair held in his honour at thr, in Vâridha and Prântigâr in Bhandara, where he is supposed to have slain a giant of cows (Russell, p. 90 ff.).

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities quoted in the art, see CEUENS REPORT, Central Provinces, 1901, i. 182, Bombay, 1911, i. 251; A. BAINES, Ethnography (f=GLB II. 31). Strassburg, 1912, p. 501. W. CROOME.

MAHATMA.—See THEOSOPHY.

MAHAVASTU.—The Mahâvastu, one of the most noteworthy books of Buddhist antiquity, is a huge confused compilation of legends on the origins of Buddhism, on the persons of its founder [up to the gift of the jâtâvâna] and his first disciples on a word, on that ensemble which, with infinite varieties of detail, crossed and rami-fied in every way, is the common property of all Buddhists. Besides all this, it includes a gnomic treasury, it is also traditional, an enormous mass of jâtâkas (birth-stories), and tales, certain dogmatic speculations (see below, § 3), interchangeable lists of Buddhas—needless 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, dovetailed into one another, dismembered, lacered. 1

The interest attaching to the Mahâvastu is of several kinds:—(1) it is, in effect, a (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, supplies uncommonly rich material for the study of Buddhist tradition; (3) the Mahâvastu, from the point of view of dogmatic ideas, marks a period or a transition stage between the Hinayâna and the Mahâyâna; and (4) its language, too, deserves attention.

I. History and contents.—The Mahâvastu, or, according to the colophon (which is open to suspicion), Mahâvastu-vârâdâna, claims to be a part of the Vinayapitaka, of the 'recitation' (i.e. the canon) of the Lokottaravâdin Mahâsânghikas of the Mahâdyânas.

(1) The Mahâsânghikas are one of the old sects or branches of the Order, the other branch being that of the Sthaviras or Theras (see Sects [Buddhist], below). They had largely adopted special rules of vinaya, or 'discipline.' (2) The expression Lokottaravâdin, 'believer in the supernatural character of the bodhisattva' (see below, § 3, and art. BODHISATTVA), indicates a dogmatic school. It is, therefore, that Mahâvastu, partly, at least, was not Lokottaravâdin. It would not be difficult to eliminate from the Mahâvastu the passages which have a Lokottaravâdin tendency. (3) The Mahâdyâna, or 'middle country,' of the Buddhists comprises N. India, Magadhâ, Kośala, and Videha; but there were Mahâsânghikas outside of the Mahâdyânas, notably the Purvâsillas and the Aparâsikas, who were also Lokottaravâdin.

In order to understand the word mahâvastu and to see how the Mahâvastu, in which discipline takes only a very small place, can belong to the section on 'discipline,' it is necessary to go far back.

The disciplinary literature (Vinaya) was from the beginning composed of two parts: (1) the formula of confession (pratitîmokkha, pâtimokkha), a list and classification of grave and venial faults, to which an explanatory and historical commentary was soon added: on what occasion such and such a prohibition was made by the Master; in the Sarvastivâadin school this commentary is called Vibhaṅga, in the school of the Pali language Vibhanga and (2) the statutes of the Ordination collection of the texts (karmavîkhyâ, karmavâcha) relating to ecclesiastical acts (ordination, fortnightly confession, etc.) and of rules referring to ordination, confession, the cenobitic life during the rainy season, to parishes, medicines, beds, and schisms. These texts and rules were also embedded in a historical commentary. In the Pali canon they are divided into two sections (khandhâ, etc.), in two chapters or books (as the Great Vagga and the Little Vagga: Mahâvagga and Chullavagga), the latter being devoted to subsidiary questions. There is the same division in the canon of the Sarvastivâdins, under different titles: the Khandhakavastu (Kvātha), 'thing,' 'point of discipline or doctrine,' 'story'), corresponding to the Chullavagga, and the Vinayavastu, which, although it does not bear the title 'Great,' corresponds to the Mahâvagga.

One of the characteristics of the Mahâvagga (and the Vinayavastu) is that, especially in its first part, it assumes the form of history. It contains a short epitome of the origin of the Order, which is perfectly justified as an introduction to the range 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—which, for illumination, his first sermon, etc. The editors of the Khandhakavastu, as well as the Mahâvagga of the Sarvastivâdins), who came long afterwards, took far more liberties: in the first ten chapters their work preserves the character of a historical treatment of monastic discipline; but in the last chapter (xv), in our text the first (tenth) chapter, called Fifth, like the corresponding chapter of the Mahâvagga, to the internal strife of the Order) contains not only a fresh statement of the biographical elements of the first chapter, but also the history of Sâkyamuni from the beginning of time, related in a continuous account down to the schismatic intrigues of Devadatta: a list of the chakravartin kings, the creation of the universe and life of primitive men, and the history of the Sâkyas (ancestors of Sâkyamuni); legends of the birth of Sâkyamuni, his education, his departure, his mortifications, etc.—a summa of ancient traditions among which are to be found existence in the Pali canon (e.g., the Aparâsikas). Of the five hundred pages in the eleventh chapter of the Vinayavastu, little more than forty are devoted to the schism which gives its name to the chapter, and which, in all probability, was at first only a stanza, its only subject. The Pali Mahâvastu, as a whole, is a faithful replica of the Mahâvagga; but it shows a very wide use of interpolation.

It is different with the Mahâvastu, and the manifest contradiction between the title and the contents raises a delicate question. Such a title

implies that the book was, like the Mahāvagga and the Vinayaṃga, meant to be a history of discipline. As a matter of fact, thirteen hundred pages about twenty treatise of discipline (especially at the beginning, two lines on ordination), and certain parallelsism with the Mahāvagga cannot be missed; e.g., the stories of the Mahāvagga in the Mahāvastu, in the Pali Mahāvagga, and in the Tibetan Vinaya which hold together, and really seem faintly to reproduce a common prototype (Barth, loc. cit. p. 464). 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 nourri) by a mass of heterogeneous material. Although in its 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 of forming "was carried on in all the Buddhist sects, for a longer or shorter time, with more or less moderation; and what is true of the literary units is still more true of the canonical collections. Although we at present know nothing about the history of the Mahāvagga, it may suppose that it had no shelves in which the 400,000 suttas, and stanzas would be arranged. The only course was to gather together in the Mahāvastu all that seemed precious. The development of the Mahāvagga, if it has any to do with an external 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 systematized the fragments of vinaya already sunk in the legendary mass? Or that, in the fearful disorder in which the literature of the Mahāvagga was weltering, these elements fell into oblivion? Or, 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 Dipayudasa (E. H. J. page 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 Sarvāstivādins. The Dipayudasa has never been always very consistent, and some fragments of vinaya proper—disciplinary rules—are to be found in the Dipayudasa. The Dipayudasa history of the Mahāvagga is probably similar. The colophon gives it the name of Mahāvagga-aradāna; it is the story of the narrative part of the Mahāvagga. In the Pali Dipayudasa the various episodes are linked to the history of the Mahavagga, by explicit references or allusions; those, without any connexion, are left out in the Dipayudasa. So those same episodes which in the Mahāvagga and the Dipayudasa are more or less prolix and discursive chapters of a treatise on discipline are here more narrative, and composed by making the Mahāvagga 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 of the ancient schools. It must be admitted, therefore, that its book 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 (horāpañca) and that of the writings of the Chinese and of the Huns, Peliyaksa (Felix U.) Upallabhuta (U. ete.), 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 astonishing fact.* We must, therefore, admit late interpolated parts, and try to dilate this interpolation a little further back. In order to realize the character of this compilation, it must be noticed that the editors do not allow themselves to invent anything, and do not even correct the most flagrant contradictions.1

2. Comparison with Pāli canon.—There are numerous parallel passages in the Mahāvastu and Pāli literature. Minayell, Oldenberg, above all Senart and Barth, have called attention to many, but not to all. Differences 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 of all degrees, from simple community of subject and vague resemblance to complete identity. The latter, however, is rarely attested, and never for long. The similarity, especially in the verses, is to a large extent an exterior one; it is shown in mode of expression, in general assuance, in words more than in matter, in sounds more than in words; the stanza is the same, when the meaning is sometimes different, like the egg of which nothing remains but the shell. They all go back to one original. The probabilities are not always in favour of the Pāli edition. But for the enigmatic of the fragments as well as for the detail of their rendering, it is the Pāli that is the best on the whole and that gives the best representation of the original version.2

It is well known that all the comparisons set up between the Pāli canon and the other canons arrive at the same conclusion. The Pali writings were fixed and codified.

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. MAHĀVASTU, the two Vehicles are not inconceivable, that may have certain characteristics peculiar to the Great Vehicle while remaining unacquainted with the others.

(1) The 'Buddhology' of the Mahāvastu marks a stage between the conception of Buddha as a human mortal (little vehicle) and that of Buddha as a quasi-eternal god sending illusory images 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 (lokānavartana), 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 lokottara, 'superior to the world.'

(2) The infinite multiplication of Buddhas in the past and in the present is also a characteristic of Mahāyānastast. It must be noticed, however, that the Sarvāstivādins, 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 Debhabhāsākara, 'the book of the ten bhāsas'—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 Buddhas that the Mahāvastu sought to be set forth... for they will believe; the others will only cavil (I. 193).

The Mahāvastu, therefore, has incorporated a book which is addressed, in so many words, to beings who wish to become, not arhats, but Buddhahs, i.e. to the men who enter the Vehicle of the future Buddhas, the Mahāyāna.3

1 Senart, loc. cit. p. 624.
2 Barth, loc. cit. p. 627.
3 The text says that his body is mahaśākāra, 'mind-made.' This expression has been discussed by E. Senart and A. Barth (see art. BODHISATTVA). According to the Mahaśākāreśvara, it means, not 'manifestation of the consciousness created by the mind,' without intervention of seed and blood. Such is the body of the creatures called upāyavāsādīyas, 'apparitions,' one of whose characteristics is that they spring from a seed. 
4 Several other instances of Mahāyānast correspond by Senart and Barth (loc. cit. p. 623). Different interpretations may be suggested from that of these two scholars for
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On the other hand, Amitabha, Avalokita, Maithri, the bhavarini (‘spell’), and the yasna (‘voidness’) and, we may add, karuna (‘compassion’)—are unknown in the Mahayana, which remains a book of the Hindu legend. The same holds, says Barthe, for the mythological and legendary part, as Barthe remarks (p. 527), and which is really Mahayaniast only in the considerable interpolation of the Daśabhūmikā.1

4. Language.—The ancient religious literature of Mahāyāna—with the exception of the Brahmanic—were written in popular and spoken dialects. In course of time these dialects became ‘fixed languages,’ subject to rules. This happened with the Jains (śāradhaviniṭṭhi), and with the church which was an order under that of Ceylon (Uśala). This is not the Buddhist school of the Sarvastivādins adopted Sanskrit, and Sanskritized both the ancient nomenclature and the traditional texts in prose and in verse. The language of the Mahāvīrapūrī school remained in an unsettled state: it was neither Sanskrit nor Uśala, nor any of the known Prakrits, but an arbitrary and unstable mixture of all these.

It is a literary language, says Senart, ‘and it is certain that it is not longer (i.e., at the time of the compilation of the Mahāvīra) a spoken language, and not less certain that, since 300 B.C., and after that time, inscriptions and books were written in much the same way. But, in the Mahāvīra, is it still a language? At bottom, there is undoubtedly the substance of a real language, akin to that of the most ancient inscriptions and to that which has come to us so admirably, śaṅkya sutras, but it is in prose, and, especially in the prose, ‘it was indefinitely open to the influence of Sanskrit.’

Such is the language of the Mahāvīra in the present state of the text—more Prakrit in the poetry than in the prose, and extremely interesting for the linguistic history of India. This language has received the name of ‘language of the Śaṅkara,’ 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 Mahāvīra, in which the Sanskritisms seem to be unrecognised.


MAHĀVIRA.—See AJITKĀS.

MAHĀYĀNA.—I. DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION.—1. In order to define Mahāyāna, we must first notice certain characteristics of the Hinayāna. Buddha has said that, as salt is the only flavour of the sea, the only flavour (rupa) of his doctrine, the true doctrine or religion (saddharmā), is the flavour of deliverance (nibbāna, nissvānta), or of nirvāṇa. Buddhism, therefore, can be looked on as a path (paripattipadā), or path of deliverance, called nirvāṇa, as a supramundane (lokottara) path leading to the end of the two passages in which they think they discern references to the two sects of the Mahāyāna—the Yādavādīs and the Mādhyamikas. (1) Yājñavalkya, in Mahābhārata, book 1, ch. 128, means simply ‘he who prātīsa poya, ’contemplation.’ ‘It is by this name that the Abhidharma (chh. 90, ad init.) designates the ascetic who practices ‘meditation of the horrible’ (uṇakabhikṣaṇa, contemplation of the corpse, etc.), the anyagāyatikāna, etc. (2) As regards the ‘middle path’ described in chh. 44, it is certainly Mādhyamika, but it is also ‘canonical’ (Sattvagupta-kālā).2

1 We know that one of the chief books of the Mahāyāna is called Daśabhūmikā (tr. into Chinese, A.D. 205-210). The Yājñavalkya says it is patrolling their doctrine, because it teaches that ‘all things are only thought’ (cittha)—a theory which does not appear in the Daśabhūmikā of the Mahāyāna. The Mādhyamikas of the two works have been compared at Amgāvatāra. The scholars of the Mahāyāna argue from the fact that the theory of the bhūmi is taught in the Mahāvīra, a Hinayāna book.

2 Barth, p. 429.

constant succession of re-births (sāntāna punar-bhava) which constitutes the ‘world’ (lokā) or existence (bhavatāloka), or as a vehicle (yāna) conveying those who mount it to the same goal, ‘the town of Nirvāṇa.’

The first metaphor has been adopted by primitive Buddhism; the second one by the new Buddhism. The adherents of this latter Buddhism found fault with the earlier Buddhism; and, accordingly, while styles their own creed mahāyāna (‘great vehicle’), true, great, and profound (paramārtha) doctrine of salvation, they characterized the creed of their predecessors as Hinayāna (‘little vehicle’), an inferior, imperfect, inefficient doctrine of salvation. Another name for the 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 Mahāvīrapūrī school remained in an unsettled state: it was neither Sanskrit nor Uśala, nor any of the known Prakrits, but an arbitrary and unstable mixture of all these.

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3 Barth, p. 429.
this sentiment implies a living god—though the Ahhidharma-kosa employs the term. Generation of relics, śīlapuṇḍaras, etc., is useless and recommended; it is therefore not essential, as penance (tapaś) is, but it is not essential.

(5) Ancient Buddhism is not merely a vehicle of nirvāṇa; it also teaches how to be reborn in heaven, in the world of Brahmā.

There is usually distinct: (1) the Vehicle of the Sārvākās, (2) the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, (3) the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas, and (4) 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 benne loi, Paris, 1882, pp. 32, 315, 369; H. Kern, SBE xxi (1892) 90 n. 1; Tsung-tao, A Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 62; Dharma-prakāṣa, ed. F. Max Muller and H. Weinzel, Oxford, 1885, p. 2, and sources cited on p. 30; J. H. Elliot, Handbook of Buddhist Literature, i.e. Tīrāyana, etc., pts. of Buddhāvatāra, [PTS, London, 1883]; Commentary, p. xi, where the Sārvākās, Pratyekabuddhas are opposed to the Śrāvakas and Bodhisattvas.

There is no difference between the Vehicle of the Sārvākās and that of the Pratyekabuddhas; both arrive at the same goal, although the Bodhisattvas appear at a time when the Law of the Buddha is known, and only by the teaching of others, the Pratyekabuddha attains to bodhi by the Law of the Buddha when he has attained it; while the Sārvākās preach (etayā vatataḥ śrāvakā, translated 'hearer,' means rather 'preacher' [see SBE xi, Subhākṣaraparāśāra, iv. 259], the Pratyekabuddhas do not convert except by miracles. There are still other differences, but these are no less significant to the Vehicle of salvation (see Alder, dharma-kosadhyaya, ch. iii. Fr. tr., London, 1915, p. 105 and note h, and Prayogi-kosadhyaya, [Fr. tr., Mr., London, n.s., vill. (1907) 2], etc., quoting literary authorities. It is natural, then, for the Vehicle of the Sārvākās and the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas to be fused in the Little Vehicle (Hinayāna) (p. 6).

2. Great Vehicle.—The new Buddhism adopts the name of mahāyāna ('great vehicle'). The word 'vehicle' (vīhāra) is used to express the same idea as that conveyed by the 'supramundane path' (lokottarārtham), the 'path leading to nirvāṇa'.

But, as we shall see, there are various kinds of Mahāyāna, and this fact explains the diversity of definitions, etc., in the different Buddhist schools. The Chinese pilgrims—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 virtuous (śrāvaka-sūtra); (2) the wisdom or knowledge of the Buddha (Buddhabuddha-prajña); (3) devotion; it is the path of the Path of Bodhisattva (bhūtottara-dharma-prajña).

(1) Carver of the bodhisattva.—The books which profess to belong to the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna-sūtras) tend to assert that nirvāṇa cannot be attained by the ancient method. To obtain divinity, we have to destroy desire, ignorance, and existence; it is necessary to practise all the virtues and acquire all the knowledge of the Buddhas, to enter on the career of a future Buddha (bhūtottara-dharma-prajña) and pursue it for centuries. Instead of 'Great Vehicle,' they prefer the term 'Vehicle of the future Buddhas' (bhūtottara-dharma-prajña), or 'Method of the perfect virtues, charity, patience, etc.' (pāramitā-prajña).

Now the Buddha Śakyamuni, 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 Buddha. This is the reason why they call the 'Vehicle of the future Buddhas,' but by their monastic observances they belong to the 'old Buddhism,' and form part of one of the disciplinary schools of the Śrāvakas. Young laity often take the vows of monks, and, after acquiring the wisdom in this way, return to them in order to take the vows of a future Buddha.

(2) Vacuity.—The books that treat of philosophy explain that the ancient dogma, 'The soul is nothing but a complex of transitory elements (ārahamāṇa), is perfectly accurate, but unsatisfying; they would add that these elements themselves do not exist in themselves, but are 'void' (śūnya). (For the two ways of understanding vacuity, and the two schools of the Great Vehicle, see art. Mahāyāna.)

The doctrine of vacuity (śūnyatā) is the second characteristic of the Great Vehicle. By a layman or a monk can perform the 'vow to become a Buddha' without thinking about the doctrine of vacuity. The Theravādins declare that, as the beginning of the sāṃskāra 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 nīlāmputra as an arhat, i.e. in the present life. Some texts even explain that, if the doctrine of vacuity is really indispensable to the attainment of nīlāmputra, it is sufficient, without the career of the future Buddha.

(3) Devotion.—A third characteristic of the Great Vehicle is the worship of the Buddha. It appears, both by historical documents and independent of any desire to become oneself a Buddha and independently of philosophical speculation. There is therefore a Great Vehicle that is merely devotional: (a) the Buddha (Amitābha, e.g.) is a god in the full meaning of the word, eternal or almost so (Amitābha, 'infinite splendour,' is sometimes called Amitāyus, 'infinite life'); (b) the only concern of the faithful is to be reborn in the paradise of this god, 'the blissful world' (Sukhāvatī), the western paradise, through various vows or by the repetition of the name of the Buddhas—which is not quite orthodox. It is to be noticed that the worship of the Buddha is总监, etc., is compatible with the strict orthodoxy of the Hinayāna, as has been remarked in regard to Java, which is very orthodox and yet attached to the Hinayāna.

3. Vedāntic and Tantric Vehicle.—The Mahāyāna, as analyzed above, is, from the philosophical point of view, a phenomenological system, and, from the religious and mythological point of view, a theism with monarchical and devotional tendencies. From early times phenomenonalism and polytheism led to conceptions of immannence and monism. 1 In the days of Asanga (A.D. 4th cent.) men believed in an Ādībuddha (g.o.v.) who would play the part of Brahmā in his various aspects as Brahmā, or Śrīma, or Śrīna incarnate. These speculations upon immannence and emanation, which often mingle with the doctrines of the Mahāyāna, have always lived in the world. 2

1 For the combination of the cult of the Buddha and compassion, or charity, with meditation on vacuity, see art. Bodhisattva.
2 See art. AMĪTĀYUS; BILD, ASOON OF THE (Buddh.) etc., Maitreya (Study of the Pure-land Sukhāvatī), Tokyo, 1909; and Matsumoto, Studies of the Pure-land of Maitreya), do. 1911 (Fr. tr., M. X. Pérez, in Bull. de l'École yon, d'Extrême-Orient, xi, 1911 339 ff.)
are the leads of the ‘Vehicle of formula’ (maññaptiśrava), the ‘diamond method’ (vinñayama), also called the ‘Triratric Vehicle’ (triratraya). This Vehicle is Vedanta in Buddhist disguise as regards its doctrine, and Saivite and pagan as regards its mystic representation of the world and its rites. Its goal is the condition of a Buddha, its doctrine that (1) every being is, in his inmost nature, a Buddha, and (2) every being can, by meditation, spells, (sādhanas), and theurgy practices of all kinds (often called, ‘realize’ this Buddha nature at little expense (see TANTRA).

4. Is the Mahāyāna the only Vehicle?—This is an interesting question and worthy of our attention. Do the Mahāyāna teachers regard the Mahāyāna as the only Vehicle of salvation? 1-Iseng’s remarks may be accepted as giving the general impression:

‘These two systems [Mahāyāna and Hiññāyana] are perfectly in accordance with the noble doctrine [of the Buddha]. Both equally conform to truth and lead us to Nirvāna.**

But the scholastic literature and the Mahāyāna-sūtras of course give different and often narrower views. Maitreya-Assāga says that ‘the meditation (dhāyana) of the Hiññāyana, though impure, leads to salvation’; but for Sántideva the Hiññāyana leads to nirvāṇa.* He says: ‘So the case of the Bhikṣu and the Bhikṣunī may be attained by meditation on these sūtras—in an extreme case, we say, because the follower of the Hiññāyana has no part in the spiritual aids that are reserved for the future Buddha; he does not have the great means (apāya) of salvation, compassion, great means (mahākārya), 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 passions. In fact, there is only one Vehicle, the Lotus of the True Law (g.v.) 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 nirvāṇa of the arhat, that they may not lose heart—like a caravan-leader who creates a mazie town in the midst of the forest, far from the end of the journey, that the travellers may think they are near their destination, and take heart to advance. The men who meet the Vehicle of the Sārūyas cannot obtain deliverance by the Vehicle of the Sārūyas’; embracing a false nirvāṇa, they are like a lover who embraces his mistress’s corpse; they have, however, advanced nearer to the true nirvāṇa. At death, they falsely think that they have attained deliverance and exemption from re-birth; they are re-born, for they are not yet delivered, but they are re-born beyond the world (tridhātita), in the ‘pure realm’ (purusottamālo), in lotuses which open their petals to the rays of Aṃtiśaha and other Buddhas. There they learn the true Vehicle, make the bodhi vow, and enter, through numerous lives, upon the career of a future Buddha.

The Chinese texts studied by J. M. de Groot (Code of Mahāyāna en Chine, Amsterdam, 1835, p. 94) reduce the Hiññāyana to the observation of monastic rules, taking no notice, either purposely or through ignorance, of all the Noble Path and meditation on the truths. They say that the Little Vehicle, thus understood, leads to re-birth in the inferior paradieses of the world of Kama (see Consoorte and Conway); it is therefore a Vehicle that leads to the gods (devadānaa, according to the Great’s translation), and not a Vehicle of salvation.

5. Speculative doctrines of the Mahāyāna.—These are examined in the artit. MADHYANAKA and VIJÑANAVIDAS, which discuss the two chief philosophic schools of the Great Vehicle. The doctrines connected with the ‘career of the future Buddha’ (bodhisa-ttavatāra) are treated in the artit. BODHISATTVA. Many details may be added on the technique of meditations; but the works on this subject (Abhāsa-māyādānakāvīroha, Bodhisattva-vatāna) have not been published, and present very serious difficulties.

6. Discipline (Vinaya) of the Mahāyāna.—The Indian schools of devotion (bhoṣita) are often not strict as regards morality and discipline. They existed, accordingly, lax Mahāyāna, inclining to Tāntrism, which proscribed salvation and the remission of sins by the recitation of formulas, etc., independently of rules of conduct.

But there is also a rigid Mahāyānist ‘monachism,’ sometimes adhering to the ancient Vinayas, sometimes in contact with the theurgic (mahāyāna). Sántideva speaks in the same strain:

‘The adept of the Great Vehicle will never give his hearers the vain hope of acquiring purity by simply reading the books of the Great Vehicle, and reciting formulas, while abandoning the rules of conduct.’

One fully realizes I-ting’s statement:

‘Which of the eighteen schools [of the Hiññāyana] should be grouped with the Mahāyāna or with the Hiññāyana is not determined. Both [Mahāyāna and Hiññāyana] 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 Mahāyāna; Yuan Chwang therefore mentions monks who were ‘Mahāyānists of the Sātavahana-school and all perfect in Vinaya observance.’ It has been supposed that the Vinaya of the ancient Mahāyānakas was the most popular in Mahāyānist convents, because it was in a Mahāyānist convent that Fa Hian found the Mahāyānakas Vinaya, because the Mahāyānakas seem to have been the forerunners of the Mahāyāna.

(2) The Mahāyāna apparently introduced into the discipline some new rules concerning the use of milk and meat. The Sarvāvāgas (Hiññāyana) allowed the use of meat under certain conditions; the Mahāyānists condemned it. I-ting tells a touching story of a young Mahāyānist, Chitta-varman, who was refused ordination in a Hiññāyan convent until he renounced, in tears, his principles of diet.

Sooner or later, however, the Mahāyāna 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

1 A Record of the Buddhist Religion, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1890, p. 15.

2 P. de Manbh, xvi, 59.

3 Bodhisattvavatāra, v. 7, ix, 49.

4 Kambayatsū, p. 191, Kambayatsū, loc. cit.


6 Abha—māyādānakāvīroha, p. 146 of Pounse’s MS., on which see also the note of Kern, p. 459.

7 See the Mahatmā, ‘The basket of magic formulae’ (Vipukhyutanā) said to be a part of the Mahāyānakas canon; Kern, Manuscript, p. 4; S. A. de Jong, Langage des pièures bouddhiques, Paris, 1858-59, i. 159, iii. 37.

8 I-ting, Memoires, etc., tr. E. Chavannes, Paris, 1894, p. 48; Julien, Féonasa, i. 56; Watkow, Yuan Chwang, l. 55, 57, 58, ii. 173, 192; I-ting, tr. Takakusu, p. 42.
expected to be, used together with the ancient Vīnaya. The ancient Vīnaya were for the use of monks; the Mahāyāna Vīnaya is the 'Vīnaya of the future Buddhists,' or, more exactly, 'of incipient future Buddhists' (ādikārmika bodhisattva).

(a) It was while making the vow to become a Buddha that Sakyamuni, protrasting himself at the feet of a Buddha, repeated 'a future Buddha'; this vow is valid, not only for present existence, but also for numerous future existences; like the vows of a bhika (see KARMA), it creates 'discipline' (sīvācara), the obligation and, to a certain extent, the 'grace' (the moral power) to perform certain duties. We have no longer a Buddha in our midst to receive such a vow from us; we must be content to take the 'discipline of a son of Buddha' (sūpaditāmārgajñanavatā) before a qualified preceptor, and before all the Buddhists of the quarters. 1 (b) The future Buddha must perfect the 'practical virtues' (pāramitā); theologians have therefore to explain how he is to fulfill the virtues of giving, energy, and meditation of different natures. Finally, he must know how to confess them, before whom (i.e. Buddhists of confession), and how to obtain pardon.

d) The ancient devotional practices, worship of stūpas, etc., are not sufficient for devotions of Avalokiteśvara, Amāvatāra, and Tārā; fixed rules of worship must therefore be made. 2 We have no exact information regarding the oldest forms of the Vīnaya for bodhisattvas. But documents of this kind give us, in conformity with the rules of life of the Mahāyānists, the principle that the essential conditions for the practice of this great being (mahāsattva) is the respect and meditation practised by the ancients towards the Buddha; what was formerly venerated in the Buddha, what men 'took refuge in' (dharma, dhamma) when they first became associated with the complex of the moral and intellectual qualities in virtue of which a certain person is Buddha. To admire and meditate on these qualities is an excellent means of attaining morality, tranquillity, nirvāṇa. The Mahāyāna addresses itself to living, gracious, parental gods.

There are, therefore, three formative elements in the Mahāyāna; and its history means the history of the development 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 (parārūpa); we may safely attempt to give the scheme 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 great sattva. — Ancient Buddhists hold that Buddhas are very rare, but the Mahāyāna invites all who desire salvation to enter on the career of a future Buddha. This is a fundamental change from the dogmatic point of view, and involves a correction of a kind that is, in short, the monks believed that the quickest way to reach nirvāṇa was by meditation; he worked entirely 'for himself' (vedātana); the activity of the future Buddha, on the contrary, is, above all, altruistic (parārūpa).

Our literal 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 utter egoist, to 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

2) See M. A. Stein, Bālapata's Bājūromānāyika, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kusāna, London, 1913, p. 35.

References

1) Steinkopf, Der Bodhisattva, p. 107.
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 world, revered tenaciously in ancient Buddhism, was a normal way towards the doctrine of the 'carer of the bodhisattva' open to all.1

(2) The question arose, further, whether the arhat actually obtains nirvana. Formerly the arhat was required to show his only cittas, namely, '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 slight, and we may suppose that men were even tempted to think that the element 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 arrive at knowledge of things, we must see, feel, and taste for ourselves, and love of existence, the first necessity is devotion to others.

(3) It is possible, also, that faith in nirvana was shaken, or that, not knowing exactly what nirvana was in such words, they devoted their attention rather to the acquisition of celestial powers and the bliss of the Buddhas (now transformed into very happy and long-lasting personal gods), as below.

The Dvadasha-kathana, a very technical work on the 'career of the future Buddha,' was translated into Chinese between A.D. 253 and 316; the Mahavastu (q.v.) of much earlier origin, gives a lengthy account of the states or degrees (bhuma) of this career. According to Chandarati, (Madhyamakavatara), the Hinayana knows nothing of the 'Vehicle of the future Buddha,' which is the characteristic trait of the Mahayana.

2. VACAY. — We have more extensive information on the philosophical doctrine. Here we are dealing with a development rather than with a transformation: (1) the principles of analysis and speculative annihilation applied by ancient Buddhist philosophers to the ego and its entities (the body, the mind, the chariot) were now applied to the dharmas ('elements of things'), the minute elementary realities constituting the ego and the great unities; this is the Madhyamika system (see art. MADHYAMAKA). And the similar idealist tendencies were developed, which saw in thought the cause of all: 'All that we are is the result of what we have thought; it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts.' (Bhavanakirti, p. [SBE x. (1908) 3]). Hence the conclusion that matter does not exist; thought alone exists.

The two philosophical schools of the Mahayana (Madhyamakas and Vijnanaavadins) are both in line with the most ancient tradition. Nagajuna, the great master of the former, is placed in the 2nd cent. A.D. but there is a great deal of Madhyamika philosophy in the Pali canon,2 and the sutras of the Prajnaparamita, where this philosophy is predominant, are ancient.3 Chandarati establishes this.

3. DEVOTION. — As regards the dedication of Buddhists and worship of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, we have a sure date in the Chinese translation (between A.D. 148 and 170) of the Prajnaparamita, the book in which the monothestic religion of Amitabha (see above, l. 2, (3)) is formulated.1 The Gandhara monuments, the exact date of which is not known, but which can hardly be later than the 1st cent. A.D., trail of it, and the earliest date of the Chinese translation. They show, or at least may be held to show, the worship of the bodhisattvas associated with that of the Buddhas.2

On the other hand, we know from the documents of the Hinayana that the worship of Buddha is of great antiquity. In the art. ADIBUDDHA the present writer has mentioned some of these documents, and (although he no longer sees in certain cases the quasi-dedications of the Buddha which he saw in 1827) he is now of the opinion that at least certain Buddhists, came to the conclusion that Sakyamuni did not descend in person to the earth, but was content to send his image (cf. DOCTRINE [Buddhist]). This is, in substance, the teaching of the Great Vehicle on Buddha—the Buddha almost eternal and saving beings by means of magical creations. Scholars who admit the authenticity of the Kathavatthu as a whole are compelled to accept the teachings of Anacala. Without believing in the authenticity of this very composite work, the present writer would willingly admit that the dedication of the Buddha and his 'almost' eternity belong to a period long before the formalism.

It is almost certain, too, that this transformation of the Buddha may be explained by the natural evolution of the Buddhist dogma on Buddhist soil. The resemblance between the Buddha and the Buddha in the Buddhist tradition, the comparative greatness of himself down to the world, on the one hand, and, Kryya, goddening beings in his own world (Goloka) and appearing in a human form, on the other, is striking, and demands an explanation.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that, although Sakyamuni plays an important role in the Lotus of the True Law and in the Mahayana literature of which he is the revealer, he does not seem to have had a leading part in the religions of the great Vehicle. In the first rank are Maitreya,3 the future Buddha, more living than Sakyamuni, and especially personages of obscure origin, Avalokitêsvara (see art. AVAĻOKITÊSVARA), Amithaba,4 Vairochana, Vajrapa, and many others, whose Buddhist character is not very marked.

Several scholars, moreover (and on no mean ones), regard the origin of the devotion to the Buddhas as a real 'passe' (Max Muller), and believe that it is to be found in the influence of the 'barbarians,' notably the Madurao—an influence which was exercised especially in Northern India, the Punjab, and Kashmir, where religious ideas reached such high development. The pre-historic mythology of the Great Vehicle is veiled in obscurity, and future researches may perhaps confirm this hypothesis; but the comparisons to which attention has been called up to the present have little value and do not prove that Amithaba is an Ahura Mazda or an Apollo disguised. In any case it is useless to explain the worship of the Buddhas by the influence of Greek sculptors, as the first to make images of Buddhas. The whole 'theology' of the

1. See the tr. of Max Muller and Takakusu in SBE xvi. (1894).
2. See A. Foucher, L'Art du Bouddhm, 11, who treats of the difficult identification of the images of the Buddha and gives their date.
religion of Amâlâbâda is Indian; the belief in the providence of Amâlâbâda, the belief in their saving grace has very little in common with ancient Buddhism, but is exceptionally classical. The paradise of the west (Sukhavati), and that of the east, (Sukhavati), is probably an Indian "heaven"; reality "solar," have not up to the present been sufficiently studied.

The idea of multiple deities, however, each ruled by a Buddha, is very authentic Buddhism (see, e.g., the Mahâvastu).

3. CONTROVERSY ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE SCRIPTURES OF THE MAHÂYÂNA.

We know that the books of the Hinayâna appeared surrounded with a very definite ecclesiastical history. Whatever the exact date of the tradition referring to the Councils (e.g., R. O. Franke, Diighakâya, Göttingen, 1913, p. xliii), the Buddhists 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 Sûtra which appears in the Vinaya, which is in harmony with religion, with Truth (dharmatâ). This old text in the form of the Digha, 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 Mahâyânists is the speculative argument. The Mahâyâna, they say, is in harmony with the dharmatâ; it is the only vehicle of nirvâna. The Hinayâna is indeed authentic, but the Buddha taught it only as a provisional truth, taking into consideration the weak understandings of his hearers. Besides, if the doctrine of the Mahâyâna is not found in your sûtras, it is found in ours; if you do not admit our sûtras, we admit them. But, the Hinayânists reply, our sûtras are authentic since you admit them; yours are not, and that is why we reject them. To this the Mahâyânists answer that there are far more reasons for admitting the sûtras of the Mahâyâna, since they are the true path to salvation.

The Mahâyânists further maintain that the Mahâyâna is not new, and that the Hinaya-nist tradition shows that the Mahâyâna is authentic.

(1) The Sândhyavânikâya (ii. 17 and iii. 142) proves that even in the Hinayâna the Buddha taught the non-existense in themselves of the elements of the ego (see above, II. 2; Madhyamakâvatâra, p. 22).

(2) The doctrine of the multiple teaching of the Master, of his "accommodation to the ideas of the world" (lokâmrâjyam), is taught in the Canon of the Mahâyâna, a sutra of the Mahâyâna (Mahâyâna-sûtra), Fr. tr., Muslims, new ser. xi. (1910: 134); which is also (3) said to have possessed the sûtras of the Prajñâpâramitâ 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. AGNOSTicism [Buddhist], vol. i. p. 221a; Madhyamakâvatâra, p. 251).

(4) The Mahâvastu (a book of the Hinayâna) puts the stages in the career of a bodhisattva and the perfect virtues.

If the whole of the Mahâyâna was not known to the ancients, it was because the doctrines were too sublime to be understood by the compilers of the Hinayâna. But it was the Buddha who taught them, and they were heard by the bodhisattvas. Mahâyânists, therefore, like the Mahâyâna with the Mahâyâna, think of the Mahâyâna, the Mahâyâna have a branch, is beyond doubt; but the antiquity of the doctrine of this school is rather doubtful.

4 For a description and analysis of the literature of the question, see Jh. Schueller, Buddhistische, pp. 157-207, and Winteritz, Gesch. des ind. Litteratur, ii. 257-293; see also Winteritz on the Lalitavistara and the Mahâyâna Literature among translations see 'The Lotus of the True Law,' SBE xxii., 'The Sukhâvatî, etc.', SBE xiii.

5 Diigha, B. 124; Mahâjaguhosahasavajra, Siddhârtha; 125b; Sûtra door, ed. S. Levi, Paris, 1907, i. 59.

6 See Bodhisattva, tr. xvi. 70, p. 1, Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas, p. 129; Sûtra door, i. 202.

7 For a description and analysis of the literature of the question, see Jh. Schueller, Buddhistische, pp. 157-207, and Winteritz, Gesch. des ind. Litteratur, ii. 257-293; see also Winteritz on the Lalitavistara and the Mahâyâna Literature among translations see 'The Lotus of the True Law,' SBE xxii., 'The Sukhâvatî, etc.', SBE xiii.

8 Diigha, B. 124; Mahâjaguhosahasavajra, Siddhârtha, 125b; Sûtra door, ed. S. Levi, Paris, 1907, i. 59.

9 See Bodhisattva, tr. xvi. 70, p. 1, Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas, p. 129; Sûtra door, i. 202.

10 Arguments 3 and 4 are given in the Tibetan work, the Siddhârtha of Mahâjaguhosahasavajra, p. 158, in the Ugas ed., tr. by Jh. Schueller, p. 28, which belongs to both Vehicles. Among translations see 'The Lotus of the True Law,' SBE xxii., 'The Sukhâvatî, etc.', SBE xiii.

11 However, the doctrine of the Mahâyâna with the Mahâyâna, the Mahâyâna have a branch, is beyond doubt; but the antiquity of the doctrine of this school is rather doubtful.

12 See Madhyamakâvatâra, p. 76; Fujishima, pp. 55, 55; for the prophecies of Lakâda, which were wont in the first Chinese version, see 'The Muller, Ind., the Chinese Budhisim', London, 1883. p. 294 f.

We must confine ourselves to a few remarks here. This subject will depend for a long time yet upon monograph.

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Mahdi.

The title Mahdi was first associated with 'Ali's son Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyah, and, apparently, given him by the adventurer Makhbār b. 'Ali. This title was bestowed upon him by the Kurbela, 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 Quran in the sense of '引导,' though this particular derivative is not found there; yet this explanation did not give universal satisfaction, and several others were current (see Yāqūt, Geographical Dictionary, ed. F. Waizizenfeld, Leipzig, 1886-98, vol. 4, pp. 883-4). This title clearly used it as an epithet analogous to a title attached to the name of 'Ali, calling him 'the Mahdi, son of the Wasi' (Tabari, Chronicle, ed. Leyden, 1879-1901, ii, 534), where the latter title means 'the legatee,' i.e., he to whom the Prophet had 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 Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, it would seem that some Muslims were ready to recognize the legitimacy of this Mahdi, 'Ali's son by another wife, to the sovereignty, but he himself acted with extreme caution in the matter of assuming it; he was, however, imprisoned for a time by the parties-sans of Abdallah b. Zubayr, who endeavoured to wrest the throne from the Umayyads; 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 Saiyidinayh, who declared that he remained alive in his supposed tomb in Mt. Radwa, whence he would one day emerge; and the poet of this sect, the Saiyidinayh, fully expected this occurrence, though the Mahdi had disappeared for sixty years (Aghānī, Cairo, 1283, vol. 32). The poet Kuthayyir asserts that his reappearance would be foretold by Kā'b al-'Abbār († 34 A.H.), whose name is often mentioned in connexion with matter drawn from the Jewish Scriptures. This prophet 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 Kā'b be genuine, we should gather that the word had been used before the Mahdi in religious import. The poet further asserts that this Mahdi's book was studied by the Kaisanī in Mecca; but such a 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, to which the participle 'expected' (vantāz) is sometimes attached. The various pretenders from the house
of Ali received the title—_e.g._, Zaidi (after whom the Zaidis are called); he was defeated and killed in the year 122 A.H., and his body was afterwards crucified. An Unayyad satirist said that he had never before seen a Mahdi hanging on a tree (Mans`udi, ed. and tr. by M. de Margoliouth, Les Pratiques d'or, Paris, 1861-77, v. 471). When the pretender Muhammad b. `Abdallah first made his appearance, the people of Medina cried out: 'The Mahdi has come forth' (Tabari, iii. 159 (A.H. 183); but see also the report in the Chronicle of Ibn Al-`Arabi, ed. W. Ahlwardt, Gotth., 1860, p. 58), speaking of the Mahdi Zaid (executed in 122 A.H.), curses those who deprived him of his 'right.' However this may be, the function of the 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 wiping out of the errors, 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 accepted as the Mahdi by various writers up to his time Mutahhar (loc. cit.) mentions 'Ali himself, the pious Unayyad `Omar H., and the 'Abbasid al-Mahdi, who reigned A.D. 775-785.

About the signs whereby the Mahdi was to be recognized when he appeared there were differences of opinion; a common theory was that he should have the name Muhammad and the patronymic Abu-T`asim, and that he should belong to the Prophet's house; yet not all demanded the fulfilment of these (not very different) conditions. Some, indeed, saving the few who suppose that the Mahdi has come already—he is _6 χρυσέως_, 'he that shall come'; and, on the whole, the Sunni view is that his appearance will be that of an ordinary man whose career is that of a reformer, while the Shia view is that he is in hiding some-where, and has been concealing himself for an unlimited period. In our times there were in the Sudan two Mahdis simultaneously, representing these different opinions. The line between the two is not quite easy to draw, except where some definitely historical personage is expected to reappear; for it has been found possible to adopt the theory that the Mahdi is some one in hiding, without any suggestion of supernatural concealment. In more than one case of a successful revolution the victory has been won by a commander in the name of an obscure individual, who has been brought forward only when success has been assured. Thus the author of the _Hist. Arab_. (171), describing the rise of the `Abbasids, remarks that, while the Khur`as`anites under the brilliant leadership of Abu Muslim were fighting for the _inam_ of Haran (representative of the Abbasids), he was himself in retreat somewhere in Syria or Arabia, attending to his devotions and the affairs of his family, the greater number of his adherents being unable 'to distinguish between his name and his person, i.e. knowing nothing at all about him.

The rise of Mahdis from time to time, then, was due to the disorderly state of Islam in normal circumstances, but also to the wide-spread sentiment that the sovereign should be a descendant of either the Prophet or 'Ali, for with some communities the latter was regarded as the more important personage, and indeed the master whom the former betrayed (see Yaqut, Dictionary of Learned Men, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1913, i. 392). The pretenders of the house of 'Ali were repeatedly supposed by their adherents to have escaped death, notwithstanding their ostensible execution, and the Shi'a sects were to a certain extent divided by their loyalty to different shades of this Mahdi. Such pretenders were Muhammad b. `Abdallah, executed 145 A.H., whose return was awaited by some of the Jarridyyah sect; Yalay b. `Umar, executed...
250 A.H., expected to return by others of the same sect; Muhammad b. al-Qasim, who revolted in the year 219, was captured, but escaped and disappeared; and Musa b. Jafar, who died of poison in Bâghdad, in 186 A.H., are mentioned with these by Ibn Uzam (Kiteb al-Fiqih, Cairo, 1821, iv. 179 f.). The sect called Qa'tiyah got their name from making sure of the death of this Musa b. Jafar, without having ascertained it (Mahdi, ed. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1894, p. 232). Believers in the continued existence of Muhammad b. al-Qasim were to be found in the time of Mâṣfî (382 A.H.; Führer d'or, vili. 117) in the district of Kâfîn, in the mountains of Tikaft and the Dukhan, and the districts of Khurâsân. The person ordinarily acknowledged to be the 'expected Mahdi' is Muhammad b. Ḥasan al-Aškârî, 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. Shahristânî locates him in Sâmârâra (ed. W. Curton, London, 1833, 128), but at the 8th cent. A.H. he appears to have taken up his abode at Jîllâh. The traveller Ibn Batûta († 789 A.H.; ed. and tr. C. Defrémery and R. B. Sanginiti, Paris, 1853-58, ii. 98) gives a weird account of the ceremonies by which he is supposed to have been brought into connexion with Ali, which may well be an invention of posterity, as the Mahdi was born after the Book of Jafir, in which Ali had prophesied all that was to occur till the end of time (see art. DIVINATION [Muslimi], whence he obtained the letters which formed the name of the person destined to be his chief helper and successor, with a description of his appearance. In order to be armed with a miracle, he persuaded a learned associate to feign illiteracy and ignorance of correct Arabic; one day this person claimed to have learned the Qur'an by heart in a dream, and this miracle convinced the most stubborn; the confederate then proclaimed Ibn Tûnart the Mahdi, whereas he had previously been called 'Imâm. According to Ibn Khaldûn (History, Cairo, 1828, vi. 229), the only heresy of which he could be convicted was his agreeing with the Imâmîyah sect that the sovereign was infallible. In his treatment of opponents he appears to have been as ruthless and intolerant as any religious leader; but a singular feature of his career as a Mahdist was besides asceticism in diet, he observed strict chastity. His creed, which has been published (Majmû' al-rau'i, Cairo, 1828, p. 44 f.), does not appear to differ from the orthodox kalim. The prophecy of a Mahdi assumed special importance at the commencement of the century preceding the first millennium of Islam, especially in India. According to the details collected by H. Blochmann (Asr-i-Akbarir, i. [Calcutta, 1875], p. iv ff.), the Mahdist movement started in Badakhshân, where one Sayyid Muhammad Nâraqbkh gained numerous adherents, defied the Afghan government, and fled to Iraq, where he maintained himself till the end of his life. In India it assumed a definite form through the action of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, who found an adherent in Gujarat in Sultan Muhammad i. Apparently this personage was, like Ibn Tûnart in his early days, a preacher and reformer, whose doctrines gave offence, and who was forced to leave one place after another. Ultimately he decided that the burden of Mahdistship was too heavy for him to bear, and that, if he returned home, he would recant; he died in 911 (= 1505) at Farâb in Bahâchshân, where his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. An interesting account of another Indian Mahdi of this century is given by the historian Ba'dawi in his Mandākhâb al-Qurârnîkh.
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(tt. G. Ranking, Calcutta, 1898, p. 507 B.) This person was named Shaitkh 'Ali'i, and was born in Baiana in Hindustan. To the same place there came one Miyan 'Abdallah, who had come under the influence of Muhammad of Jaunpur.

He adopted the manners of a Mahdi (which would seem to have beenètre to have been inspired in extreme asceticism); making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from crowds, he was identified by a fast, on the borders of a tank, he used to cast water on his head; and when the times of prayer came round, he used to gather together certain 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 disinclined for the meeting, he would give him a few coins and encourage him.

Shaitkh 'Ali'i was much impressed by this example. He too, 'trampling under foot his self-esteem and conceit, devoted himself to the poor of his neighbourhood, and, entering the valley of self-annihilation and abnegation, he bestowed all his worldly possessions, even to his books, upon the poor.'

He became a disciple of Miyan 'Abdallah; the 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 in preaching; 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 enemies, but 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 no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions of this sort prevailing by the sword.'

After a time the place came to be too hot for Shaitkh 'Ali'i, who, along with his followers, whose numbers had now reached six or seven hundred heads of families, migrated to Khawaspur, near Jolhpur; but here, too, he interfered seriously with the government of the place, and he was compelled to go back to Baiana, accompanied by his disciples. Islam-Shah had by this time obtained possession of Agra, and he summoned Shaitkh 'Ali'i to his court, whether the Mahdi proceeded with a party of select companions fully armed; according to the chronicler, the Shaitkh 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 was suppressed by the authorities; and the Shaitkh 'Ali'i was himself long summoned again to Agra, and requested to abandon his communion, and to choose the community in which he was to live. When he was compelled to do this, he was tortured to death. His followers, however, were numerous, and increased, and were known as the Mahdnis; they were persecuted, but not exterminated, in the reign of Akbar.

Blohmansch observes that these Indian Mahdis were men of considerable eloquence, by whom their preaching obtained great influence over the populace, and that they regularly came into conflict with the authorized exponents of the law at the Muhammadan courts. Todblind estimates with pleasure in narrating how Shaitkh 'Ali'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 of the Sunnite codes, and especially to banish practices which had been borrowed from their pagan neighbours.

The Mahdi who acquired the greatest fame in Egypt was the personage whose enterprise led to the Anglo-Egyptian conquest of the Sudan. The best account of the early stages of the movement is given by F. R. Wingate in Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan (London, 1891). After the strong hand of Zulair Pasha, Samuel Baker, and General Gordon had been withdrawn from the Sudan, that country was subject to violent oppression, and the broad basis of the Mahdi's appeal was the injustice and cruelty of every sort which sprang up the moment Gordon's wholesome discipline was withdrawn' (p. 12). Muhammad Ahmad, who took this title, was born at Dongola in 1848 of a family of boat-builders; at the age of 22 he was already a shaitkh with a great reputation for sanctity, and became a powerful ascetic. He denounced the iniquities of the Egyptians, and laid stress on the promised appearance of a Mahdi, with whom he presented himself, and, indeed, in the Shi'te sense; he claimed to be the twelfth imam, the son of Hayan 'Askari. His claims were first recognized in 1881 at Abuin Island, 160 miles south of Khartum, 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' and coming to Khartum, the governor sent to have him arrested; but he declined to obey, and, when troops were sent to enforce the order, he succeeded in animilitating them. He evidently possessed some skill both as an organizer and as a military leader, for he seems to have founded his followers tribe after tribe of Sudanese, and proceeded from victory to victory until, at his death on June 22, 1885, shortly after the historic fall of Khartum, his empire extended from Bara to 28 S., and from long. 23 to 38 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 plunder, divided arbitrarily by the god of 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 reproducing what were supposed to be the conditions of early Islam, and to have insisted on a pure 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, Durwah ('poor'), for which at a later period the Mahdi substituted the appellation Ansar ('helpers'), which had been given by the Prophet Muhammad to his entertainers in Medina. The Mahdi himself clearly aimed at reproducing the career of the Prophet, since he had a hajrah, or 'migration,' viz. from Aba, where he first came forward, to Masat in the Nuba mountains; and he assigned four chairs to persons representing the eminent associates of the Prophet who had set out first. One of these, the chair of Abi Bakr, the first khalif, was filled by 'Abdallah al-Ta'ishi, who afterwards became famous as the Mahdi's successor, or khalif, and is said to have suggested the title of Mahdi first to Zulair Pasha and then to Muhammad Ahmad (Hugotoff, xxiv. [1890] 5).

The asceticism of the Mahdi, like that of the Wahhabis, included the tabou 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 Saniis; this being refused, he abolished all 'orders' except his own.

After the fall of Khartum the 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 began, and this was achieved at the battle of Omdurman (Sept. 22, 1898). The new State had achieved nothing but devastation and destruction.

The success of the Sudanese Mahdi encouraged many others to play the part. It seems that the title 'al-Mahdi' in the case of the head of the Saniis 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 has ever held in Jewish estimation (the oracle which foretold his appointment being the beginning of the 13th Islamic cent. (1301 = 1883) was specified as the date. His theories will be found in the art. SAXUSIS. He was rarely seen by strangers himself, having a 'double,' or Ahmud b. Biskri, who resembled him closely, to play the part before them. In 1884 he enjoined the Muslims to pay no attention to the Sūdānese pretender, who was merely 'an impostor and a liar.' In 1888, when an appeal was made to the Sultan of Bāgūrī to assist in the suppression of Mahdiism by revolutionaries in the Sūdān, the data Mahdi, to whom the matter was referred, advised the Sultan to abstain from interference with Sudanese affairs and fight with the khalfī only if himself attacked.

The measures taken by the Protectorate of Nigeria in recent years to regulate taxation, emancipate slaves, and introduce other reforms led to the rise of numerous Mahdihs; between the years 1884 and 1903 there were a dozen in Sokoto, as many in the other provinces. In 1905 Mahdiism arose simultaneously in Saturn, Bauchi, and Koutgara. Most of these were caught, tried, and executed, the government regarding such severity as necessary for the preservation of order. In 1907 there was one Mahdi at Binn in Bauchi, 'but the situation was in general satisfactory' (Recueil du monde musulman, iv. [1908] 144).

While the tradition, which, as we have seen, has been carried down into some authoritative works, is likely to produce aspirants to the Mahdi-ship from time to time, it is probable that the general introduction of good and stable government will render their appearance constantly rarer and their adherents fewer. To the question whether there were any relics of Mahdiism in the Sūdān, the Cairene journal Muqāṭṭasī as early as 1902 (xxvii. 1126) replied that the introduction of security and justice in place of the long reign of terror which that system had produced had effectually destroyed its traces.

LITERATURE.—The authorities have been cited throughout the article.

D. S. MAEGOLIOUTH.

MAIMONIDES

I. LIFE.—Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon), Talmudist, philosopher, and physician, born at Cordova, 30th March 1135, died at Cairo, 13th Dec. 1210, is known in Jewish literature as 'Rambam' (the letters r, m, b, in being the initials of Rabbi Moses ben Maimon) and in Arabic literature as Ibn 'Uthmān Mā'ṣā ben Ma'mūn ibn 'Abd Allah. 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 latter course, and settled at Fes. Here there led for a time the dual life of Muslim and Jew. But, the Muslim authorities growing suspicious of their house, fled, father and son determined to leave Fes. Accordingly, in April 1155, they boarded a vessel bound for Palæstine. Ave was reached after a month's stormy voyage, and after a short stay there they went to Jerusalem; but, as Palæstine had just been the scene of the Second Crusade, and the Jews there were few in number and poor in goods as well as in culture, the Maimonides fixed up on Egypt as a more congenial centre. A home was made in Fostat, a suburb of Cairo. Soon after their arrival here, both the father and the brother of Moses had died, and becoming financially 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 rest-
inantly on his three larger works—the 'Guide to the Perplexed,' the Siwar, or Commentary on the Talmud, and the "Mishneh Torah." The medieval, 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 whole Rabbinical literature—precisely the works considered by Maimonides. What prompted the author to write it was the fact that the Talmud and the Rabbinical literature generally are a large, unwholesome, unsystematized mass of opinions and rules, laws, comments, pre-
scriptions, whose use and application are, to a large extent, left an open question. The author perceived that a systematic classification and arrangement of the sources and elaboration of any attempts at logical classification and arrangement; so that, unless a Jew possesses a complete mastery of those intricacies, he is puzzled to know what is, and what is not, Judaism as Judaism. But the Rabbinical tradition and the Jewish exigencies sanctioned by the Rabbis had deduced from Scripture and the Talmud for observance by the Jews, and by no means for the Jews alone. 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 Siwar, or Commentary on the Mishnah, has not yet had full justice done to it by scholars and students. It has been in many instances overshadowed by the more popular commentary of Obadiah Bartenora, an Italian Rabbi of the 15th century. But there can be no doubt that, with its excellent and scholarly style, its admirable form of studying the Rabbinical literature on strictly scientific lines, the Siwar will yet come into its own.

The object of Maimonides was to enable the layman to understand the Mishnah and its phrasing as well as its general drift—without the necessity of working through the involved dispositions of the Talmud. The Talmud is per excellence the commentary on the Mishnah, but its elaborate and confused style of writing prevents the reader from grasping the meaning of the passage of Mossiah. 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 ignored, though the Talmud, and especially the Talmud of the Law; and thus, commenting on Mishnah xi. in the Treatise Sanhedrin on the words 'all Israelites have a part 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. 246b), being the first 'Rabbinitic' (i.e. as opposed to 'Karaitic') code of the Synagogue to accept a set, formulated creed of Judaism. For this he was severely criticized by a famous 15th cent. Jewish philosopher, Izhak Crescas, in his Or Adonai (Light of the Lord).

Thus, to-day resort is had to other codes only when enlightenment is sought on points of strict 'legalism' or strictly orthodox ritual—what is forbidden and what is not forbidden by the 613 precepts of the Torah—the code of Maimonides is a source of edification to the theological student generally, quite irrespective of its relation to the Jewish creed. The first of the fourteen books comprising the Mishneh Torah is entitled 'Madda' ('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 impos-

Another remarkable excursus is that known as
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The Eight Chapters. Just as Philo attempted to expand the OT on the basis of Plato, so Maimonides here sought to present Judaism in the dress of Aristotle. Rabbinical ethics are viewed through Greek spectacles, and Aristotle's doctrine of 'the mean' is shown to underlie the sacred moral truths of Judaism.

This perfect Law does not teach us to subject the body to useless and unedifying tortures. On the contrary, its aim and intention is that man according to the dictates of nature should purify his heart, eat and drink moderately and according to his means (opening words of ch. iv.).

Adopting this standpoint and with the aid of the Aristotelian psychology, Maimonides shows how the Jew's faith to ethical perfection lies only through the adoption of the mean. With all its Greek colouring, the spirit and teaching of the book are thoroughly Hebraic. OT and Talmud contain the highest wisdom and are man's surest guide to God.

Maimonides' greatest contribution to metaphysics, however, is his 'Guide of the Perplexed.' It is designed, as he himself says, 'for thinkers whose minds have brought them into collision with religion, for men who have studied philosophy and have acquired sound knowledge, and who, while firm in religious matters, are perplexed and bewildered on account of the ambiguous and figurative passages of the holy writings.'

Thus the book is not meant for the casual believer, 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 that path which I have prepared. The unclean and the fool 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 standard? No one but Aristotle... What is faith to Maimonides? Belief in the Torah, that is, in all time the true embodiment of the divine word. There is no contradiction between divine revelation as entrusted to the Jews and the metaphysical truths given to the world by the brains of the philosophers. For not only is it a fact that both in the last resort emanate from God, but it has also to be borne in mind that (so argued Maimonides) the prophets of the OT received a twofold oracular message. Besides the message which is manifest to us in their written prophecies, they were given oral revelations of a philosophical kind. The written prophecies are really instinct with these oral philosophies; and Scripture enshrines, in short, the ideas which, if they were not the student of philosophy, a body of metaphysical truth. As the average Jew, through the dulling effect of the repeated persecution of his race, fails to grasp this metaphysical truth, Maimonides concluded it to be his duty to devote the major portion of the first book of the 'Guide' to an exhaustive examination of the anthropomorphous expressions occurring in the Scriptures in order that the reader should thereby learn the first and fundamental tenet of all metaphysics, viz. that God is incorporeal, and that all the Scriptural passages which talk of 'the eye' or 'the hand' or 'the foot' of God, or which describe divine movements such as 'passing,' 'dwelling,' 'coming,' 'standing,' etc., must be understood metaphorically, really, seeing that they express transcendental metaphysical truths about the deity.

But there is another leading consideration. What about the Scriptural 'attributes' of God? Is not the misunderstanding of these liable to lead to an inductive development of both the incorporeality and the unity of God? Maimonides, therefore, and, therefore, after a severe examination of the meanings and inter-relations of the different attributes of God, proves the inapplicability of them all to God. All that can be predicated of God is that He exists. God is indefinable. Even to assert, as Scripture repeatedly does, His unity, eternity, etc., is inadmissible.

But how, then, can we justify hypostatic by assuming, he says, that, owing to the poverty of language, these terms must be understood as denoting not a positive quality but a negative of the opposite. Hence to say that God is all is merely tantamount to saying that God is not plurality. Hence the deity can be described only by negative attributes; and, since the number of these is infinite, the positive essence of the deity must for ever lie outside human comprehension. But, despite all this, the deity is unquestionably active in the universe; He is the creator of the cosmos, and the traces of divine design are everywhere 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 kalāma (q.v.). Against Aristotle, who maintained the eternity of the universe, these Arab philosophers defended the creatio ex nihilo. Maimonides, while 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 propositional theses. Maimonides' continuity of the world, and a fearless liberality of spirit in the investigation of religious truth can be clearly gauged in this connexion. He rejects, as has just been said, the propositions of the Mutakallimun, but only the propositions, i.e. theories or methods of proof. For he accepts their results. He believed, just as much as they believed, not only in the creatio ex nihilo, but also in the existence, incorporeality, and unity of God. On the other hand, while opposing Aristotle on the question of the creatio ex nihilo, he practically employs the whole paraphernalia of the Aristotelian cosmology in order to prove the creatio ex nihilo. The latter came about through the work of a Primal Cause, who is identical with the Creator alluded to in the Scriptures. From this Primal Cause there emanate the intellects of the spheres (these 'intellects' are identified with the angels of Holy Writ). All changes on earth are due to the revolutions of the spheres, which are, in turn, all the more endowed with intellect. God created the universe by producing first the intellects of the spheres, which give to the spheres the faculties of existence and motion and are thus the creators of the whole universe. It is of deepest interest to both the theologian and the mystic to note in this connexion the quaint Maimonidean exegesis of Gn 1 (Nâdâšh Brērēshîth) and Ezk 1 (Melâsh Merkâbôeh). His whole theory of emanation (hašhā'â) is a wonderful combination of what are usually regarded as two diametrically opposite frames of mind: viz. rationalism and mysticism.

Aristotle believed in the eternity of matter. Maimonides argues against this at great length in pt. ii. of the 'Guide,' in favour of the creatio ex nihilo—not that he believed that the latter thesis was really provable from Scripture, but because he felt it a necessary peg on which to hang the essentially Jewish doctrine of messianic, revelation, and prophecy. On the latter subject his views are strikingly original but highly debatable. There is a strong element of passive ecstasy in prophecy. The prophet is wholly the passive instrument in the divine hand. Imagination is an essential element in all prophecy. We are perhaps descending from the Active Intellect to man's intellect and imagination. Can any man become a prophet? No, because, while it is in the power of many a man to bring himself to the high pitch
of moral and intellectual perfection which prophecy necessitates, another factor is still required. This factor consists in a special vouchsafing of the divine will, i.e. divine inspiration, and in intellectual and morally perfect, but may be unable to prophesy, because prophecy arises, in the last resort, only at the call of a divine fiat; and the fiat is arbitrary.

Maimonides' subsequent discussions on the nature and origin of evil, on belief in divine providence and man's free will (in which he strikingly discusses the central problem in the book of Job), on the purpose of the Biblical precepts, on the meanings of the Biblical names on the stages by which man comes to hold real communion with the divine—all these are treated with a fullness of knowledge which makes them a contribution to general as well as to Jewish theology. A vein of unravelling optimism permeates his teachings on sin and evil. Evil has no positive existence, but is merely the absence of good, just in the same sense as sickness denotes the absence of the possession of health, or poverty the absence of sufficiency, or folly the absence of normal wisdom. In support of the argument he quotes Gn 15:1, 'And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good,' the Midrashic comment upon which is, 'No evil thing descends from above' (B'rachot Rit. 11). Divine providence extends to individual human beings, but not to animals, plants, or minerals. Here Maimonides differs from Aristotle, who held that Providence took no account of particulars, because His knowledge was limited, etc. Scriptural passages are quoted in refutation of Aristotle's views. Can free will be reconciled with the notion of omnipotence, seeing that the latter must imply predestination? Numerous passages from Scripture and in the Talmud indicate the difficulty of the question. Maimonides bases his answer on the words of Is 55:8, 'My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways.' God's knowledge is unique; and the great mistake the 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 His essence, and is independent of existence or time—past, present, and future are all one to Him.

The object of the divine precepts is to give man true knowledge or to remove wrong knowledge, or to give a correct ordering of life or to remove oppression, or to give a training in good morals or to correct evil. Man's final consumption of 'knowing' God can come about only after man has perfected himself, not only inwardly, but in all his external relations to society, to the State, to the world. Maimonides discusses every passage of the Torah with the object of showing how their rightful understanding and practice lead to this goal. By an ingenious adaptation of Scripture he shows that the reason why God 'led the people by the way of the wilderness by the sea' (Ex 15:8), instead of leading them straight to the Promised Land, was in order to give them the necessary preliminary training in the endurance of hardship, in the cultivation of courage in face of difficulties and in all the moral and social qualities which a self-governing nation needs. Even so, says he, it is with man. Before he can live on the high level of knowing God, he must live on the lower level of an obedience to all the divine precepts which are the training-ground for his more exalted role. 'Knowing' God and 'loving' God are identical.

Maimonides influenced all succeeding genera-
tions of Jewish thought by his introduction of what we nowadays call 'the scientific spirit' into the study of Judaism. Henceforward an anthropo-
morphic conception of God became impossible. God is spirit, and the worship of Him—based as this is on the material and morally perfect, but may be unable to prophesy, because prophecy arises, in the last resort, only at the call of a divine fiat; and the fiat is arbitrary.

The influence of Maimonides on general European thought has not yet been adequately appraised. The Latin translations of the 'Guide' in the 13th cent. affected the great Franciscan, Alexander of Hales, as well as his contemporary, William of Auvergne. The great Christian scholars, Albertus Magnus and Duns Scotus, referred to it in their works. The 'Guide of the Perplexed' appeared first without place or date; then in Heb., Venice, 1521; Berlin, 1791; in Lat., Paris, 1826; Basel, 1829; in Germ., Krotoschin, 1834; in Arab. and Fr., S. Munk, 3 vola, Paris, 1856-60; Ital., Leghorn, 1870-81; Eng., 3 vols., M. Friedlander, London, 1855, 2nd ed. in 1 vol., 1864.

The commentary on the Mishnah was first published at Naples, 1842, and is accessible in the Lat. tr. of W. Surenhusius, his Mishn. Amsterdam, 1699-1703.

witz, Warsaw, 1909-26; 'Moses ben Maimon,' in JE IX, 194;
MAJHWAR, MANJHI.—A non-Aryan tribe numbering, Majhwar 14,210, Manjhi 4030, according to the Census of 1911, and found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bengal, Central Provinces, Berar, and Assam. The name is usually derived from Skr. mādhyā, in the sense of 'headquarters,' and etymologically they are closely connected with the Gonds and Kharwar (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 totoise; they therefore worship the totoise, and will not injure or kill it. In their death rites they recognize the survival of the soul after death, and they take measures to prevent the return 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 reincarnated in the descendants, or in a calf which is taken care of and not used in ploughing. At marriages a fowl and spiritual liquor are offered to ancestors, and in their honour the potṣir, or tribal priest, offers a sacrifice among the special tribal deities of the Majhwar may be mentioned Dulla 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 closer connection 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 Mahadeva, 'the great god,' and name of Siva—a deity who seems to be identical with Bara Deo, 'the great god of the Gonds, both of whom are believed to use the ox as a 'vehicle' (vāhana). This cult has a basis of phallocism, which is more clearly seen in the worship of Linga or Lingal (Skr. linga), the phallic symbol. The potṣir, at his parishioners' visits, in the sacred symbol, worship Mahadeva by rattling a number of iron rings fixed on a staff. The collective village-gods are impersonated by a male deity Dih (Pers. dīh, 'the village'), whose name at least is the same as Dīn, while his female counterpart is known as the Deobārā (Hindí deobārā, Skr. devaghā, 'house of the gods'), so named because she occupies the village-shrine, a mass of rude stones piled under a sacred tree, usually the sal (Shorea robusta). More advanced members of the tribe identify her with the Hindú Devi. The shrine contains a water vessel, over which a red flag is hung, and the seat of the deity is a little mud platform on which offerings are laid and a fire sacrifice is performed. At the death of the sal tree at these rites is the bāgī (q.v.), the village medicine-man, who holds a goat or fowl facing the east and sacrifies it by cutting off the head and allowing a little blood to drop on the platform. The worshipper, his friends, and the priest then take the blood and eat the flesh. No blood sacrifice is offered to ancestors, but flesh cooked by the wife of the eldest son (perhaps a survival of mother-right) is offered in the family kitchen, where the honoured dead are seated, and is eaten by the family. It is believed that thus one little food on the ground for the earth-goddess. Women may be present at 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 Barwat, who rule all the mountain-spirits of the neighbourhood. Other spirits, such as Oli, Gorer, and V. R. T., are invoked. They offer prayers to 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 (PR II, p. 247), a form of fertility worship, to avert the fall of rain and the fertility of the people, their crops, and cattle (W. Crooke, PR II, p. 94). Only the more Hinduized members of the tribe employ Bhārmans, the real priests being the potṣiri and bagī, who are usually drawn from the more primitive allied tribes, which are believed to preserve unimpaired the knowledge of the local cults. Fetishism, so called, appears in the reverence for the sacred chain (gurdu) 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, 1898, vol. i, p. 146, 153.

W. CROOKE.

MĀL, MĀLE, MĀL PAHĀRIA.—A non-Aryan tribe, containing various groups, numbering, Māl 2,135,329, Mal Pahāria 24,689, at the Census of 1911, and found in the greatest numbers in Madras, Haidarābād, and Bengal. The inter-relations of the North and South groups have not been clearly ascertained, but they seem to be, to a large extent, pure Dravidians, and those in the Rājmahāl Hills in Bengal are closely allied to the Oraons (q.v.). The Māl, a cultivating caste in W. and Central Bengal, are mainly Hindus, and a few vestiges of primitive beliefs can be traced among them. The snake-goddess, Manāsā, is their special guardian, and they also worship the local village deities. The earliest account of their religion in the Rājmahāl Hills is that by Shaw, which has been supplemented by Risley and Dalton.

At the head of their system stands the Sun called Dharman Gosain, and represented by a roughly-hewn post set up in front of each house. It is worshipped with offerings of milk, goats, similar green leaf, and oil at the commencement of the harvest season, and at other times when any misfortune befalls the family. When people are gathered together on a feast, the village headman, who acts as priest, goes round the congregation with an egg in his hand, and recites the names of certain spirits. He then throws away the egg, and takes the priest's place in the sacrificial offering, and enjoins the spirits to hold aloof and abstain from troubling the sacrifice (L. Crooke, T.C., ii. 57).

Shaw describes various gods inferior in rank to the sun-god. Whenever a tiger, snail, or any other plague attacks the village, Ruksey or Rays is supposed to desire that a shrine should be raised for him. Accordingly the dehum is, or tribal priest, is directed to search for the god. He gets a branch of the sacred black stone, and, in the shape of a sacred black stone, is discovered. The manjhi, 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 and a goat are sacrificed, and the headman or some other worthy person does worship to the god, and then leaves (ALI, i. 461). This great event the present day is the tutelary deity of strong drink, who is worshipped by the headman before he begins to distil liquor from his fresh crop of maize (Bassia inflata) (Risley, ii. 57). Chal, or Chalna, presides over a group of villages, but he is not worshipped until some
plague attacks the people, when the dogana dreams that a shrine should be raised, and the god, when
found in the shape of a stone, is placed under a
banyan tree near the village, the stone undergo-
ging no change in form from the chisel (Asiat.
Res. iv. 48 l.). Goats and pigs are usually offered
to him, but the triennial sacrifice of a cow, men-
tioned by Shaw, seems now to have fallen into
disuse (Riley, ii. 58).

The first worship performed by young men is
offered to Pau Gosain, god of the road, but it is
not undertaken till some accident has induced the
worshipper to consult an exorcist, who decides
whether or not, according to local opinion, there
is a deity present.

On the day of thanksgiving he proceeds to a high
road, and clears a space under the shade of a young
bel tree (Fungus mucidulus), in the centre of which he plants a branch of the mahakam tree. Round it he makes marks with red point and
lays rice and some egg decorated with three streaks
of vermillion near the sacred branch, he invokes the god of the
highway to protect him on his journeys. A cock is sacrificed,
some rice and eggs are offered, and the exorcist
praying is cooked and eaten by the worshipper and his friends.
The rite concludes with the breaking of the egg, and is never
repealed unless the person concerned should meet with an accident
in travelling (Asiat. Res. iv. 51 l.).

At present the offering prescribed for the god is a
whole chicken, and the sacrifice is so expensive
owing to the large amount of rice-beer which must
be offered to the god and then drunk by the assembled worshippers (Riley, i. 58).

"Of the village, spoken of by Lieutenant Shaw under the name of Dwara Gosain (god of the doorway),
is now called Bara-Dware, because he is supposed to live in a
temple with twelve doors. The whole village worships him in
the month of Magh (Jan.-Feb.). Colonel Dalton suggests that this
god is the same as the Oxana Bara, Kori Gosain, "the Cere of the mountainers;" and Ainge, the god of hunting, appear not to be known at the present day. Guudo
Gosain, another of the village, is represented in every house-
hold by the wooden post (guma) which supports the main
raters of the roof. On this the blood of a slain goat is sprinkled
to propitiate the spirits of ancestors. The fact that this god
is common to the males and Mal Fathers, and is worshipped by
both in the same way, seems to tell strongly in favour of the
common origin of the two tribes. As in Lieutenant Shaw's
time Chandu Gosain still ranks high among the tribe, and
demands offerings of a larger scale than any other god" (Riley, ii. 58).

At the present day the priests of the tribe are said
to be the dharma, who were originally diviners;
but it is declared that generally the dhaum
does not officiate as priest, but merely directs the village
headman, head of the household, or other influen-
tial person chosen for the occasion (ib.).

The Sama, or head of the Mal Paharias, is of much
the same type. Their chief god is the sun, who is
addressed as Gosain, 'Lord,' and to whom an offer-
ing of rice is presented and then given to a goat,
which is decapitated by a blow from behind. The
meat is preserved and shared among the
neighbours partake. The head alone, which is
regarded as sacred food (prosid), is carefully
reserved for the members of the family. Next in
honour to the sun are Dihti Matu, Mother Earth; her
serving of, as some say, her sister, Gaurim; and
Singhbahini, 'she who rides on a tiger,' who
rules tigers, snakes, scorpions, and all manner of
noisome beasts. The tribe also performs the
flowering tree rite (sakobe), and the expression is sacred tree (sakobe)
Mujhwar). Chordana, 'the chief demon,' is a
malevolent spirit, who must be propitiated by
sacrifice and the offering of the firstfruits of the
crop, which, as usual, are under tabu (J. G. Frazer,
Graff's tree near the village, The Malay Peninsula,
London, 1912, ii. 48 l.t). To Mahadana eggs are the
appropriate offering. Guano Gosain, the house
pillar, represents the houses of the household, and
every village has its own tutelary deity, which
lives in the house pillar (tree). This pillar
periodically dabbled with red lead, and may on no
account be cut down.

Literature.-T. Shaw, On the Inhabitants of the Hills near
H. H. Riley, Tribes and Customs of Bengal, Calcutta, 1891, ii.

MALAY ARCHIPELAGO.-The religions
beliefs and customs of the natives of the
numerous isles of the Malay Archipelago, all of
them belonging to the great Malayo-Polynesian
family,1 were certainly in the main identical, but,
owing to the listlessness of facts and fables current
in the Archipelago, by far the greater part of the population
have forsaken their ancestral creed. The native
population, with insignificant exceptions, of Java and
Sumatra, as also peopled by Malaya, are
prostrate, as do the Macassars, Buginese, and
Mandarese, Bimaanse, and some other tribes of
the West and North coast of Celebes, and of
borneo; the small islands of Ternate and Tidore
are also peopled by Malaya. The Balinese
in Bali and Lombok are Saivites, with a
worship
of Buddhists, whereas the Sassaks of Lombok
are folowers of Islam. Christianity is the
prevailing religion in Ambon, the Minahassa, the
Sangir, and Tjaitan Islands, and has a great
number of adherents among the Battak, Torajans,
Sawuese and Rotinse; Roman Catholic
natives are chiefly found in the Eastern part of
Flores. Some small communities of converts to
Christianity are also found in Java.

1. Animism.-The religion of the pagan tribes of
the Archipelago is what is generally denoted as
animism. In speaking of the beliefs prevailing
in the Malay Peninsula Skene rightly says:
"The modes of thought and the beliefs prevailing
in the Archipelago, involving a certain common vital principle (pamagat) in Man and Nature, which, for want of a more suitable word, has been
here called the Soul. The application of this general theory
of the universe to the requirements of the individual man constitutes the Magic Art, which, as conceived by the Malaya,
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.

All this applies to the pagan Malaya, and, in
many respects, also to the natives who have adopted another
religion and, in their own opinion, are sincerely at it to this
Sama, with dietic varieties, is the general word with the Malaya also in Indonesia
for 'soul,' 'vital force,' penetrating the whole
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, sama, sama with the
same meaning. The Battak use the term
sang, saad, for exactly the same idea; and the
Dayaks have hambauvon, anauvon, amauvon, bauvon,
and other dietic varieties of the same word.
With the Torajas in Central Celebes the usual
term is lambanacu, properly, "homunculus;" another
expression is malabot (Jav. wabang, Mal. beyang). When the soul
temporary leaves the body, it assumes the form
of a homunculus or a animal. A man whose
soul thus goes forth in order to feed upon the
organs of others (the organs of the host) is said
to be maliwawar (Mal. penangga, 'vampires.'

1 With the doubtful exception of the people of Ternate

2 Malay Magic, London, 1890, p. 634.
The word for 'soul' in Malay is *nasa*, which, like Skr. *prajna* and Gr. *pneum*, is properly the 'breath of life', or 'life'. If life is not the essence of being, it may be said of *nasa* (Jav., Mat. etc.). There are several other Indonesian words for 'soul'—e.g., Tontemuan *imbuhr*, *imbuhr*, Sangir *iminakul*, Bentenan *mainkur*, Donosakan *mainkur*. The common belief is that it not only men, but also animals, vegetables, and minerals have a soul. The Ngaju Dayaks make a distinction between *hamburen* and *ganja*, the former belonging to men, animals, rice, and money, the latter to slaves, some trees, and things. The *ganja*, like the *hamburen*, 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, into another human body, an animal, or a plant. The residuum of the individual, however, continues a shadowy existence as spirit. Such a spirit of the dead is called *lilau* among the Ngaju Dayaks, and *dum**, *adum*, among the Olong Samoos. It is said that the *lilau* 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 'spirit' in Battak is *buq*, *Nias bhuh*, which not only denotes the spirit of the departed, in which case we may translate it by 'ghost', 'spectrum', but is applied also to human beings of another quality, and even to things. The Torajas use the term *angga* for the spirit of the dead, and, in particular, *anitu* for the spirits of chieftains and heroes. This word *anitu*, or *nitu*, so wide-spread throughout the whole area of the Celebes, in the Moluccas, in the Philippines, and the islands of the Pacific, is the common term for the ghosts of ancestors in the Moluccas, Timor, and Tjott. The Rottines use it also for demons, whereas the Hill Torajas apply it to their gods, who, in fact, are deified ancestors. In general it is difficult to distinguish the ghosts of the departed from the spirits of higher beings or gods, but among some Torajas, who use the term *bunok*, we find that a distinction is made between higher beings and gods.

According to R. H. Codrington (*The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 124 f.), 'it must not be supposed that every ghost becomes the object of worship and propitiation. A man in danger may call upon his father, his grandfather, or his uncle; his nearest of kin is sufficient ground for it. The ghost who is to be worshipped is the spirit of a man who in his lifetime had means to him.'

The same may be said with reference to the people in the Malay Archipelago, and not least exclusively. The ghosts of different kinds are not equal in power. The Karo Battak hold the ghosts of stillborn children in particular awe, making little houses for them, and honouring them with offerings. The inhabitants of the Luang Semata Isles believe that the ghosts of those who have died a violent death are most powerful and zealous to help their kinsfolk. In Halmahera the ghosts of persons killed in war or by accident are called *ditikhe* in Galehrese, *ditikhe* in the Ternateans. 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 *flicked dean*, with frequent offerings. The tutelary deity of a place is called *banyakong*, i.e., 'the god', as the name implies, he is not the essence of being. The worship of the reputed founder of a settlement is very common in the Moluccas. The Galehrese call the genius of a village and the forefather of its people *tontenibuan*.

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 *pontianak*, a word which with slight variations recurs in the whole archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines. The *pontianak* 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 Kruit, *Het Animisme*, pp. 245-251).

All sorts of diseases are ascribed to the malevolent influence both of ghosts and of other spirits. Especially in Nias we find several names of *beughs* 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 diseases. In apprehension of the danger which may accrue from the dead, the Malay people take care that the dead body is so treated that the ghost may not return. With many tribes one of the symbolic means of securing this is to cremate the body. In addition, 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 propitiatory means.

It is commonly believed that the ghosts of the dead remain for some time in the neighbourhood of their former dwelling, whence the custom of erecting a hut in which to place the necessary offerings. With some Indonesian tribes it is customary 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 *touth* of the Ngaju Dayaks and the *tengke* and the *monmopate* of the Western Bare's Torajas. For the ceremonies of the feast among the Dayaks of Sarawak see Ling Roth, *The Malays of Sarawak*, i. 209-210.

In the primitive belief of the less civilized Indonesians there is a bond of connexion between a dead man and his body, chiefly his bones. It is usually the skull that is used as a medium for
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 miraculous worship. Among the Mentawai, a collection of communication is found in idols representing the defiled ancestors; these are held to be inspired after due initiation. Such images are very numerous in Nias, where they are called "idols," and occur also in Ceram. The Batuak are said to hold a ceremony called nukubu, "to worship the moon," in which, on certain days, they offer sacrifices to the moon. Among the Nagau Dayaks puppets called kampot-tong represent the ghost of the slaves of the deceased at the tiuak, but the term has also the more general meaning of "puppet." The Toraja tribes, on the other hand, except the To Lave and To Onda, have no images, but wooden masks (peniis). Stones are also objects of worship, as well as certain earthen pots or urns, which are regarded as sacred and inspired. The idea that persons, during madness, epilepsy, and sometimes abnormal states of mind, are possessed by spirits has led to attempts to reproduce the same phenomenal conditions in order to get into contact with spirits that may help to remove them. The medium 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 by artificial means, the rites employed for which vary greatly among the peoples of Indo-China, but, in general, similar to what we find elsewhere — e.g., among the Burmese (q.v.).

The Battak distinguish the shaman (sibau) from the priest (datau). Though their functions are not seldom analogous, there is this difference between them: the former acts unconsciously, under inspiration, whereas the latter gives his decision, based upon his knowledge of the books of his craft, in full consciousness. With the Dayaks tribes it is a priest or priestess who acts as medium. The dayong of the Kayans is a priestess who sends her own soul to bring back the soul (blua) of a sick person, or to conjure up the ghost of the dead. The word dayong means "a strong and exercised power," is with the Sea Dayaks the man who is able to meet and converse with spirits. The same character belongs to the scoliat, belian, basir, or dayong 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, however, is of foreign origin, is found in Halmahera.1

3. Fetishism. Various substances are supposed to conceal a powerful soul within themselves. They are therefore held sacred and worshipped in one way or another in the hope that by their power some desired object may be attained. All over the archipelago we find the use of so-called thunder-stones, chiefly as a means of gaining invulnerability in battle or as a preservative against lightning. Not less common is the belief in the wonderful effects attending the possession of the bezar.2 A high sacredness is attached to stones of a certain uncommon shape, especially in the eastern islands of the archipelago. In Timor the finding of such a stone, considered to be the abode of a spirit, often in a sacred place (clocke) and brings sacrifices to it. It looks as if such a sacred stone is a rude form of idol, for idols also are inhabited by the deity. Various other fetishes are used as amulets, and a prophetic fetish is called nukubu, "to worship the moon." Another collection of leaves and sticks, which are hung in fruit trees to repel thieves. With the Torajas and Dayaks the suspended materials are mostly of a sympathetic character.

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 Macassars and the South Moluccas the supreme deity is generally known under the name of Upu Loro (with dialectic variations). The word means 'Lord Sun' — a sufficient proof of his origin. Upu Loro may be identified with Upu Langi, i.e. 'Lord Heaven.' The earth is a female deity, and represents the female principle, who, in the West monson, is impregnated and fructified by the male principle, Lord Sun-Heaven. Similarly, the Torajas recognize two supreme powers: Ua, 'the Man,' and Indara. Ua is the supreme god of the Toba among the Buginese, not preserved, the supreme god of the Borneans. It is a holy word, and is used by the Man Dayaks, 'the Great Lord Origin of the Creation'; and his subordinates are the three gods Debata na tohn: Batara guru, Soripada, and Mangala bulan. The use of the somewhat corrupt Sanskrit word bhuttara, in some more or less changed form, is found in many Indonesian languages in the sense of 'god' or 'divine being.' So the Nagau Dayaks call the creator Mahatara, but also Batara or Mahatara, borne 'god,' as in Adi and many other languages in the East Indies, and the same name is used by the Manyan Dayaks. With the Sea Dayaks petara or betara is a name for higher beings. Thoroughly original is the word for the supreme being in Halmahera, viz. Gikiri-moi, tulu: Totororo Gikiri-moi, called '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 Karawali, 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 sango (sang) of the Nagau Dayaks are benevolent demi-gods related to men. The most powerful of them is Tempon telon; his principal function is to conduct the ghosts to the land of spirits. The djitas (from Skr. devata) are water-gods, whose ministers are the crocodiles. The water-spirits are called toghetenengraga in Nias. The hantu and hantuwa of the Nagau Dayaks are malignant 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, ghosts, and noises, and men is very general. The Kayans have a great number of gods — e.g., a god of war, three gods of life, a god of storms and thunder, of fire,

1 See van Baarda, p. 214, 'Djifin.'
2 For the ideas of the Malays in the Peninsula see Skett, FP. 190-197, 278; see also following article.
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 Tenangan, whose wife is Doh Tenangan, the patroness of women. Laki Tenangan is identified with Pa Silong of the Klementans, and Bali Poultry with the Banyans.

5. 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 supernumerary powers.

LITERATURE. — The following is only a selection from the works referred to in the Introduction, to which the reader is referred for further information:


Character rather than continent. At a comparatively late geological period its southern half was indeed actually inland, being at this time joined to the island of Sumatra, and entirely separated from the northern portion. The line of division ran, somewhat roughly, from Singora on the one side to Perkis on the other, and it is observed that at the very point where this line traverses the peninsula a marked change in the flora and district ethnographical differences occur. The lower and more properly Malayen portion of the peninsula is separated from the rest by a low divide. The backbone of the peninsula is formed by ranges, mainly of granite formation, the sources of numerous rivers and streams which drain the country. The ranges are steep and precipitous, rising to 7000 or 8000 ft. and containing stanniferous and spurious auriferous deposits. The wild aborigines make their homes chiefly on the foot-hills, but they are also found on the main mountain complex to a height of upwards of 2000 feet. The upland valleys are narrow and covered with dense jungle. They offer little attraction to any but the scattered aboriginal population who still find shelter in their fastnesses and, in some districts, to the Chinese miners. Further towards the coast the land becomes more level and clayey or sandy in nature. Owing to the rivers being tidal for a great many miles inland. On the east coast, for some four months of every year, the steady heat of the China monsoon seens all the river-mouths with a sandy bar, and during this period the water is too shallow to be navigable. On the west coast the land is sheltered, as it is by a colossal breakwater, by the neighbouring island of Sumatra. Here muddy mangrove flats are found, but with magnificent expanses of sandy beach at intervals. The light breezes that prevail have led to the evolution of quite different types of boats and canoes from those on the China Sea.

The peninsula is rich in tin ore. It produces an amount estimated, roughly, at three-quarters of the total output from tin from this industry has been sably applied by the governments of the native States to their development. Out of this income a railway has been built from Penang to Singapore, another is under construction round the island of Penang, and still another will be continued to meet the Siamese railways from Bangkok, while the railway from Penang to Singapore is also to be extended to meet the same railway system. Together with a most excellent road system, second to none in the East, these modern means of transport have changed entirely the old conditions of life, and have brought this part of British Malaya, in a one generation, into vital contact with our own economic world. Besides the mining industry here there are now large and important sugar industries, and rubber-growing with rubber-coconuts. In the main these industries are worked by a non-indigenous population from China and the south of India, for whose subsistence large supplies of rice are imported annually. The British possessions consist of the islands of Penang and Singapore, and of three small strips of land: Province Wellesley opposite Penang, and the Dindings and Malacca between Penang and Singapore. The Federated Malay States of Perak, Selangor, and Negri and more of the Straits of Malacca, and Pahang, on the China Sea, form a compact core dominating the centre of this part of the peninsula. To the north of the Federated Malay States are the States of Perlis and Kedah on the west coast, and of Kelantan and

MALAY PENINSULA. — 1. Geography. — The Malay Peninsula, a long seimitar-shaped piece of land, stretches from Burma and Siam to Singapore, its length from the northernmost extreme to the southernmost is about 1500 miles, and, in a straight line to the north of the island of Singapore, is about 150 miles, with an average width of 50 miles. The country consists of a series of high plateaus, separated by deep gorges, running parallel to the sea. The most important of these plateaus are the Malacca, which forms the backbone of the peninsula, and the Pahang, which runs parallel to the west coast. The Malacca is the highest, and is the most important of the plateaus, as it contains the most fertile and well-watered land. The Pahang is the lowest, and is the most forested.

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Tenggarn on the east coast, all of which have recently been taken under British protection, and along the south-west coast, 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 units of the British sphere as British Malaya, a term which formerly included our far greater possessions in Sumatra and the densely populated island of Java. Occasionally the term is more accurately extended to include the island of Labuan, British N. Borneo, a British possession, and the protectorates of Brunei and Sarawak also represent British interests in Malaya, though the conditions there differ materially from those in the peninsula and ought to be considered with the archipelago.

2. Ethnological affinities and history. — The ethnological affinities of the area of which the Malay Peninsula forms a part, as well as of the adjacent areas, are still obscure in many respects. In so far as they have yet been elucidated by ethnological investigations and an examination of historical records, they bear out conclusions deducible from the geographical data. The Malay Peninsula itself would appear from very early times to have served as a causeway for migrations from the Asiatic continent, while the protected coasts of Malaya on the west side, and the richness of this part of the peninsula in minerals and other products, have favoured its economic development, and made it not only attractive to higher civilizations, as the study of its entire history shows, but also a reservoir of merchandise and workers from many far-separated countries. At the present day not the least important element in the population consists of a congeries of alien races, Chinese from the southern provinces of China, Canton, Foochow, and the island of Hainan, Tamils from S. India and Ceylon, and, in a lesser degree, Sikhs, Panjabi, and Pathans from N. India, and Japanese 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 Divide, overstepping the ancient ethnological boundary of the peninsula. Old forts can be traced in the Patani valley and for some way down the valley of the lower Penang, strengthened with a hedge of thorny bamboo, which is not indigenous in this region. On the Upper Perak valley and in a few places further south there are distinct traces of Siamese influence in the present day peoples.

(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 Malay) Indian and Islamic. The most recent ethnological investigations confirm the view that the native population consists of the descendants of immigrants of a comparatively recent date, superimposed upon a more ancient stratum consisting, to a great extent, if not entirely, of aboriginal races. The Malays proper belong to the modified Southern Mongolid group of peoples found in Formosa, Sumatra, Java, and throughout the greater part of the Malay Archipelago. When the Palembang emigrants first began to arrive from Sumatra, about 900 to 1000 years ago, introducing a Hinduized civilization into the peninsula, it is probable that they found some Indo-Chinese type of superimposition. 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 Palembang colonists, are still in the matrilineal stage as distinct from other aboriginal groups in the peninsula, by which custom of a patriarchal type is followed. In the Malayan phrase, the people of the Negri Sembilan "follow the adat perpatih," which may be described as "Perpatih custom", whereas the other Malays of the peninsula follow the "adat Temenggong" ('custom of the Temenggong'), these two contrasted bodies of custom being based on mother-right and father-right respectively. These Sumatran settlers, who were agriculturists, unconnected with the aborigines, at least in some districts — e.g., in the State called Negri Sembilan — but the conversion of the Malays from tolerant Hinduis to Muhammadanism from the late 14th to the 15th century, began to drive the aborigines into the jungles and hill fastnesses of the interior. Since that time Summi Muhammadanism of the Shafiite school has remained (as in Java) the official religion of the peninsula, although among the less educated of the Malay population it is the nearest veneration of a vast body of practices and beliefs which can be traced either to the influen ces of Hinduis or to primitive shamanistic beliefs, such as are still held by the aborigines. Malay Islamism is nevertheless still fervent.

It may be remarked that the Malay Peninsula belongs, geographically and ethnographically, to Indo-China, a name which well expresses the fact that, with hardly any exception, the common races inhabiting the peninsula in times immemorial represent strains 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-Peran (though, 'Malaya') the pre-Malay 'Caucusian' element of which the Veddas and Korumba, and one at least of the Australian aboriginal races, are typical, often called 'Dravida' (though, like 'Malayo-Polynesian', this term should strictly be confined to linguistic affinities); on the other hand, we find, as representatives of the same great family, (2) a more highly developed or specialized type, possibly the tall brown-skinned Polynesian. These two main Malay types are said to be represented in the peninsula, the pre-Malay 'Caucusian' element of the Kornub-Vedd type, by the aboriginal Sakai, centred in S.E. Perak and N.W. Pahang (cf. one of the basic elements in the Malay language), while the pre-Malay Oceanic (cf. the Polynesian or Maori type) belong the eastern coast 'Malays' of Kelantan and part of Patani. The latter may be described as very tall, somewhat flabby, large-bodied men, with light brown or cinnamon-coloured skins, straight or wavy black, sometimes nearly curly, hair, and regular, sometimes almost European, features.

Again, the great Mongoloid family of nations is represented both by the Siamese (or Thai) in the northern part of the peninsula, and by the Malays themselves in the southern part, the Malays proper being perhaps best regarded as a highly specialized offshoot of the southern or 'Oceanic' Mongolid race, immediately immigrant from central and southern Sumatra. They have long, lank, bluish-black, straight hair, of circular section, and are almost hairless, with skin of a dark yellow-brown or olive hue (or the 'colour of newly-fallen leaves'); they are round-headed (brachycephalic already in possession from the time of the Negri Sembilan). Two of the following features are more widely observed.

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,
probably not always real, firmly set in the
shoes. The fingers lead to a raised platform or house-floor by
gripping it with the hands and at the same time
holding it between the great toe and remaining
toes of each foot. Their joints are remarkably
true and small; the dagger-rings of a well-developed
old-style rebel chief, which was worn on his fore-
tongue, was too small for an average-sized little
finger of a European. A jungle Malay can com-
monly perform certain feats with his limbs that are
impossible to a European unless he has been
more specially trained as an acrobat.
In Sumatra the race was monikled 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 mountainous
and jungle-clad interior. It is thought that they
also found some branch of the Mon-Khmer or Mon-
Khmer-speaking people, holding the other position
of vantage, and thus occupying almost the same
relation towards the aboriginal races as the Malayas
do at the present day, and that they then partly
absorbed the Mons, 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 seems evidently necessary in order to ac-
count for all the existing conditions.
The Malayas proper are but partially civilized, a
great number living in bushy or mountainous
islands to the Central and Southern Sumatrans and Indosoumians,
but also perhaps ultimately to the Chams of
Champa. See CAMBODIA. CHAMS.
The hereditary savagery of the Malay nature,
for many years after the introduction of the Brit-
ish Residential system (introduced to curb the tur-
bulent Malay Rajas, who were fostering piracy),
continually broke out, the commonest form in
which it showed itself being perhaps the Arak, that
Malay method of suicide that is practised until the gradual strengthening of the right arm
of British law made it too risky to indulge in,
when by degrees it became unfashionable. Other
striking evidence of the high-strung excitability of the Malay temperament is the form of the mysteries disease called latah
(corresponding to what has been called 'arctic
hysteria'), which also has not yet been thoroughly
investigated.

(b) Abo'rigines.—Various theories have been
put forward as to the ethological character of
the several wild races which form the substratum of
the population. It was held by the older etho-
logicals that they belonged to a homogeneous group—
the 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

1 Pronounced 'Mowm.' The Mons, or Talang, are remnants of an old pre-Malay ('Caucasian') race which once covered the
whole of lower Burma. The Talang language is the oldest literary vernacular of Indo-China, and is fast dying out, though it
is the general language of the Mongs, and religion and wore, and in which were composed the Mon inscriptions, which go back to about the 15th cent. of our
era.
2 The Chams dialect has in the last century been shown to contain many similarities with the Sanskrit, Arabic, and Vedic
languages. The Larry, a Cham-dialect, was published in Paris, 1906. One of the most peculiar customs
(though this case non-Malaya attributed to the Cham's is
that the women are bare in marriage.

fact that at least three types are to be found
among these primitive tribes. Of these tribes
the three, at least (the Semang and Sakai), can be found
in a relatively pure state, though only in very
limited areas, and the third (the Jakun) is probably
nowhere really well-defined. Adumbrated when
the three has taken place in varying degrees through-
out the peninsula, and the only satisfactory pro-
cedure 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 in-
ferences avoided.

(1) Semang.—The Semang are a nomad Negro
race—comparable with the Negrito (Pygmies)
peoples of Central Africa, and probably most
closely connected with the Andamanese, whose
race of islanders 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
relief of the aboriginal population as far as New
Guinea and the Philippines, although it is remark-
able that no traces of any such race have yet been
quite proved in Borneo midway between these two
Negrito central and other peoples of vantage,
for the South American Indians are short stature (1-491
mm. male, 1-108
female), brainy, only skin from dark
copper or chocolate to shiny black, hair woolly,
rose brief, lips everted, beard scanty. They
extend from Patani to Kelah, and from Kelah to Mid-Perah and
N.W. Pahang.

In view of the fact that the Semang (or, as they
are called on the east coast of the peninsula, Pang,
are so frequently described as being of Negro
character—like African negroes seen through
the reverse end of a looking-glass. 2—it cannot be too
strongly stated that this is a mistake. At the
utmost, it may be conjectured, with W. H. Flower,
the Negritos, as that have the true Pygmies, an
original unverifiable stock from which the Papuans,
like the Negroes, may have branched off. But even
for this theory there are many difficulties, and it
cannot be said to have been in any way established.
Hence the Negrito and the Negro must be regarded
as totally different races—the former having short or
round head, square visage, dark skin, pure.

(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 3 most nearly skin to the Dravidian group
of peoples. They are tall (average height 1-504
mm. male, 1-37 female), dolicho-
cephalic, skin very variable, light to dark brown,
hair wavy, nose-line and snarl, 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. Perah and N.W. Pahang.

(3) Jakun.—The Jakun are a mixed group in-
habiting 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

1 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
showed not to be referable to either one or the other of the three
factors already identified, the fact will have reached a final stage of development. Certainly, as there are still many unex-
plained points, it is probable that some further racial element
is the octagonal of the earth. Java, 1909.

2 Hugh Clifford, in Court of Kompong, London, 1897, p.
172. But this is a microscopic slice for an author who has done
such work as any other men to familiarize the English public
with the peoples of the peoples: Pahang, 1904.

3 This all-important differentiation was first clearly established
by R. Martin; see his monograph, published under the aus-
ricous Archipelago, Halle, 1899.
varying degrees consists of some Malayo-Polynesian tongue, the vocabulary of which shows affinities with the Malayian 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 race whose national speech was of this Malayo-Polynesian type prevailed in the peninsula. The Jakun may be classified as consisting of at least three related groups, blended as above. In so far as they are of Malayan type, they should be to that extent regarded as aboriginal Malays.

In physical character they are a little taller than the Sakai, the head is longer and more aquiline, the skin darker, the hair long, straight, and smooth, nose thick, flat, and short; the eyes show little tendency to obliquity, and the mouth is large and broad, with well-formed lips. The Jakun proper are divided by the Malays into Hill Tribes (Orang or Jakun Bukit) and Sea Jakun (Orang Laut).

The surest test in regard to these tribes is the hair-character; hence we may distinguish the three main racial groups as ubotrichi ('woolly-haired'), cyrtotrichi ('nearly-haired'), and'llosotrichi ('smooth-haired').

There has undoubtably 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 intermingled 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 woman who reaches a tribes would see that his children were brought up as Muhammadans, while in many districts, especially in Kedah, the adoption of the Muhammadan religion by a large portion of the aboriginal Semang element has compelled them to be thinned out as part of the recognized Malay population.

3. Culture.—(a) Malaya. — Apart from such tendencies as have already been mentioned, the Malay character may be regarded as a softened and more civilized form of the Mongol, since under ordinary circumstances he may be relied upon to show himself a peaceable, quiet, civil, and loyal subject, though he still retains much of his old proud sensitiveness, and in inland districts he is still remarkable for his ways of entertaining visitors or suspicious of strangers. In countries where he is less tampered with by civilization, the Malay is frequently of a bold and even savage character and makes an excellent soldier; there should, therefore, be no fear of the way in which tribes would see that his children were brought up as Muhammadans, while in many districts, especially in Kedah, the adoption of the Muhammadan religion by a large portion of the aboriginal Semang element has compelled them to be thinned out as part of the recognized Malay population.

Among the institutions of the Malay race which it shares more or less with other races in the same region are the use of sea-canoes (prahus, 1 once associated with piracy), the building of houses on piles (inland as well as on the border of tidal rivers), the use of the blowpipe with poison-tipped darts (now practically confined to the aborigines), and the kris, the serong (the national Malay plait skirt-like garment, closely corresponding to the Kil of our own Highlanders, though worn somewhat longer on the western seaboard of the peninsula), the tiling, gold-plating, and blackening of the teeth (now all but completely obsolete customs), the use of the beritai, or council-hall (now confined to Rajahs), and a strong belief in animism. In spite of being animists at heart, however, the Malays are not infrequently more or less bigoted Muhammadans, being in this respect at the very antipodes to the Battak of Sumatra, who have a literature of their own, and who are still to some extent inclined to be cannibals.

The Malay traditions and romances contain distinct references to human sacrifices, which would appear to have lasted until the advent of the British. The men show mechanical skill of a high order, and would probably respond readily to a more advanced training especially in engineering. Many are still adept in manual arts, notably in those belonging to the jungle and the sea.

The material culture of the Malay is of the insular Malayian (chiefly Sumatran) character. It has never been influenced by Hinduism to such an extent as, for instance, the culture of Java (as exemplified in the teak furniture and other famous temples of ancient date in that island). The Malays are skilled and artistic craftsmen in certain arts, though in others they are somewhat conspicuously backward. Their textile industry is limited, and their manufacture of cloth is of a very simple character. Their cooking utensils are of copper, and are appreciably common. They pay special attention to the manufacture of wavy kris-blades, and their damascene-work is a technical process of considerable elaboration, the more so because the proportions and even, in some cases, the design of the blade are determined by an elaborate set of rules governing the dimensions and intended properties of the various portions. These rules are not entirely technical, though compliance with them requires some degree of technical skill, but are in part magico, and designed to secure excellence in the blade and success in its employment. Similar rules are sometimes applied in a lesser degree to the piring (woodman's knife). Metal casting by the eire pured process is known and employed not only for copper but also for white metal or lutengue (sometimes popularly called 'tooth and egg' metal). Coins (round cash) were formerly cast on the east coast, on 'cash-trees', from which the cash were snipped off, and before the British entered the country the superfluous tin was run into ingots shaped like elephants, crocodiles, cocks, etc., which were used as currency. 2 Thorpe of Lorn (as in India and Ceylon and also, it may be mentioned, in ancient Britain). Thus for the mains at cockpit-fights in Kedah it was kept by means of a

1 R. C. Temple, The Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States, Magasin, 1914 (reprinted from I.2).
perforated half coconut-shell set about in a water-bucket, and tied to sink in a definite period. Poled masts are both with and without the wheel, and also by moulding in a split trunk, but in a few places only, and is often crude; on the west, in some cases, Indian influence is traceable, the types being both graceful and artistic. In some cases incrustation, 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 lack of a more extended development of fittle ware, in spite of the great abundance of clay suitable for pottery. 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 their house utensils, as well as on the structural side of house and boat manufacture and furniture, is excellent, though as regards mere ornament it is decidedly scanty—the heart-breaking effect of the superficial Muhammadan veneer, which has been imposed on the Malays from without. The further from such influences, the commoner such ornament becomes, and the better its quality. The Malays are especially ingenious in adapting means to ends and in conforming their institutions to the conditions of life of a jungle-dwelling race, whilst the seaworthy qualities of the Malay prahu, or sailing-boat, bear witness to the reputation of the Malay as a sailor.1 The wild tribes, on the other hand, present generally many features of similarity. The Inland tribes are still nomads to some extent, existing largely by hunting, fishing, and the produce of their search for fruits and roots of the jungle. But most of them are semi-agriculturists, sowing in a rude way small patches of rice or millet; their method of cultivating their half-wild orchard-tree-crops, which grow as well in the jungle as elsewhere, is limited to throwing away in certain patches of the jungle the seeds or stones of the fruit they have eaten. The Sea 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 capturing 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 cloth, or, on festive occasions, a belt of shining black strings, made of the rhizomorph of a toadstool. Their typical habitation is a primitive shelter, of which the type is the tree-bark, planted on the ground or in trees. Those of a more developed type are large enough to shelter a whole tribe, each individual having a separate fire and bamboo sleeping-place. Frequently the head is more or less shaved and the teeth are filed to form a concave surface, possibly in accordance with a once usual Malay custom. They do not circumcise or (as a rule) chew betel, nor do they tattoo or scarify the body. They have no boats, but use bamboo rafts on the river-reaches. Their most distinctive weapon is the bow with poisoned arrows; in fact, among the pagan tribes, the bow is, in the present writer's opinion, a good prima facie evidence of Semang admixture; the northern Sakai, who also possess it, have most likely got it from the south. Almost since the beginning of the district, the 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 meetings of these 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 long cloth of tree-bark, though they also decorate themselves on occasion with a girdle of leaves. They tattoo the face and practise scarification 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 head-man, or the head-woman if the tribe is organized over his tribe. Except when enforcing his position, however, he is only the equal of his fellow tribesmen. The office is hereditary, but, failing a direct heir, the pungkuh may appoint his successor during his lifetime. The wild tribes, on the other hand, make compensation, if the victim property does not exist, its place being taken by family property. The family as a unit cultivates the land, and the produce is shared between the members. The limits of the family property are designated by the pungkuh, and abandoned land may not be taken up without his consent.

More highly developed social order exists among the Jakun, or aboriginal Malayans, 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 the tree-bark is fitted into a fibrous sleeve-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 blowpipe used in Peru. They have no bow. They use spears and entwistles; 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 use these 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 birth-chase, 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 of a distinctly higher type than that of any other aboriginal tribe. The head of their tribe, the bang, is the head of a group of villages, and has certain subordinate officers.

1 *Pungkuh*—Mal., 'head-man' (from obs. Mal. *bume* or *bn*, 'head'). On the other hand, *pelima* or *pungkuh*—Mal., 'headman' (from obs. Mal. *lum*, 'hand'), i.e., executive officer.
who represent or act for him upon occasion. Thus, among the Besis of Lancel, the betina is the arbiter of all disputes referred to him by the sub-chiefs, besides being the priest at marriages, the magician in cases of illness or disaster, and the judge whose duty it is to punish wrong-doing. His substitute is the leon, who is an officer of inordinate authority, known as the penghulun betina, who has charge of the triennial feast and councils, whilst the jukrah (probably = Mal. juren-krah, or 'coree officer') is the summoner of the tribe; the penglima is the betina’s executive officer. Another body, the balai betina, has authority within his own jurisdiction, but difficult or unusual cases are referred to a council composed of all the betinas. In this division of the Jakun, as indeed among all, crime against personal and property rights is punished by payment of fines in the form of coarse Chinese plates or scarers. One half of the fine goes to the betina and one half to the injured person. The office of betina descends, as a rule, from father to son, and finally to the eldest son, when the eldest son has to be accepted by the tribe, and, if his brothers as well as himself are rejected, a stranger to the family is elected. If suitable, the sons of minor officials would be appointed by the betina to assist him in his functions. The inheritance of property was generally from father to children, but varied from tribe to tribe in the proportion assigned to sons and daughters or to wife and other relatives.

Property held by a man before marriage among the Malayan peoples was, as a rule, placed on his death to his parents, brothers, and sisters.

4. Languages.—(a) Malay.—The Malay language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian family, related forms of which occur sporadically over an unusually vast area, extending from Formosa in the North to New Zealand in the South, and from Western India to the islands of the Eastern Pacific.1 Malay itself has, moreover, very considerable importance as a linguistic focus over a great part of the same region. In this respect, the language has been sought between the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages and a family of 'Austro-Asiatic', 'Sinitic', B.E. Asia, 'Tjap' (Central India), 'Khâi' (Assam), Môn, of Taling and Khmer, or Cambodians (indo-China), Nicobarese, and the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula; *this connection is now generally accepted.*2 This fact would actually link up the Malay language in pre-historic times with the corresponding element in the Sakai and Sumban dialects of the peninsula. This fact has been entirely the work of Schmidt; but G. Blagden’s work 3 is tabulating the various elements in these aboriginal dialects first made this identification possible.

The Malay tongue, by which the standard speech of the peninsula is meant, is of an agglutinative character, the roots being, as a rule, unchanged, and new words being formed in various ways, and reduplicated. The roots are mostly disyllabic, and the derived words frequently very numerous, while any harsh juxtaposition of consonants is avoided. The vocabulary, on the other hand, is largely of Malay origin, and the aboriginal words are, with the exception of a few, of minor account. There is a very marked and characteristic, no doubt, tendency to avoid the use of any word which is not of Malay origin; if a Malay word is known to be in use, it is not used if a native word can be substituted. This is the case, for instance, when the words (b) kudah, (c) 'squirrel', and (d) 'bathing pin' (on a mast, which is compared to a squirrel running up a tree).

With regard to the difficult question of the penultimate accent, Winstedt (with H. van der Waal) has recently (1911) come to the conclusion that the stress falls, even in standard Malay, upon the penultimate syllable, both in the case of simple words and in words the stressing of which is uncertain. In his study he is probably correct, although it is far from being in accordance with the usage of the Malays.

The Malay parts of speech frequently fail to coincide with our own; a root-word or radical, e.g., may often be used either as substantive or as an adjective, with consonant and vowel variation, and the same root holds true of substantive and verb.

The words which logically would have prefixes, which would not, are in those which should not do so. Thus the actual subject or thing talked about, having prior importance logically, precedes any word which is merely qualitatively; all and the subject is verb, object. There is no inflexion for gender, number, or case, and the syntax is as simple as that of 'polish English. Thus it has been accounted for that the lines, *Little boy, box of paints,* would be verse only to a Malay, who would express it as follows: *Little boy, box paints.* 4

Similarly an up-country European traveller who happened to inquire whether there would be time for him to reach a neighboring village before nightfall might be puzzled to receive by way of reply the mysterious monosyllable 'Can' or 'Park' (as the case might be), the meaning in the first case being, he could safely reckon on doing so, and in the second that night would fall before he reached his destination.

Malay may, therefore, be advanced as an expression that this language it often reaches the opposite extreme of exuberant verbosity.

The dialects of Malay are many and varied, but the three that are of most importance to the present subject are: (a) the betina dialect of Kelantan and Trengganu; (b) the Hausa dialect, spoken in the Jakun, Sumban (i.e. especially in Nanging and Kombo); and (c) the Riau-Johor dialect (spoken in Belanger, Perak, Pahang, etc.). Of these the first is that which especially shows the contact of the Malay-Polynesian tongue, to which reference was made above. This correspondence, moreover, is fairly close, as can be seen from the Malayo-Polynesian principles of the Malay betina (‘fish’); cf. even the Easter Island mates-Malay kai (‘dead’). Malay nouns — Malayo-Sumban (i.e. Sumban) "mowan jukrah-Malay perak ‘(silver).5 Even New Guinea dialects (usually supposed to be free from Malay) contain some words of evident Malayo-Sumban or Malay origin, as, for instance, ‘favourable’; in the insular Malay, the Malay-Polynesian word has been retained.

The corresponding social links are (d) their very similar kin-systems and (e) the general use of titles.

(b) Aboriginal dialects.—The languages of the wild tribes are split up into a number of dialects, each division forming a small area. They are rapidly disappearing, especially in the southern districts of the peninsula, their place being taken by Malay as the wild tribes come under the influence of Malay. In the northern districts, the Malay is in status and culture under modern conditions. Setting aside purely local and unimportant differences, the linguistic material of each of the three main groups, which may be referred to three principal types or standards: (i) typical Sakai dialects, which are represented by the speech of the aborigines in central Kelah and the adjoining State of Raman; (ii) typical Sakai dialects, the best specimens coming from north-eastern Perak and the adjoining district of Pahang; and (iii) in the southern part of the peninsula, the Jakun dialects, which may be classed together as Jakun or Malayin in spite of the fact that they contain a large number of Malay words, because the great bulk of their words are Malayan and not Sakai, although they do not afford material so favourable for clear type-differentiation as is found among the Sakai and Semang. Both in phonology and in vocabulary, the Sakai and Semang above come under broad classification, though between the strongly contrasted type-dialects are intermediate variations, the linguistic evidence in pointing to contact and admixture.

Thus, the dialects fall into groups which correspond,
more interesting element has been proved to show a very close affinity with the Min-Man or Mdn dialects of western India. The lexicon, though certain and numerous and even striking, is rather disappointing, if considered as a whole. Sidney had himself no reservation of the present writer: 'What is the use of our assuming (as certain scholars had done) that the Sakai dialects are identical with Malay? All that has been identified is about 20 per cent of the entire vocabulary!' The question is, what is the remaining 80 per cent?

To reply, we must study attentively both the Semang and Sakai syntax and a considerable percentage of the vocabulary. Especially, as regards Sakai, the phonology and modern Javan dialects are of no less importance. In each group there remains an unidentified element. Semang embodies a vocabulary which are confined to the Negritos and which are completely sui generis. It is clear that the Semang dialects did not originally belong to the Mdn-Annam group. These words relate to matters of everyday life, and presumably they represent the old original dialects of the Negritos. Relations 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 principal puzzles of the Semang problem. For the unidentified element in Sakai no suggestion as to origin has been made, though it is possible that many of the uncertain words may yet be traced not to a Malayan but to a Mdn-Annam origin.

In the case of the Javan it is pointed out that some of the words of unknown origin occur in Semang, but not in Sakai, but they hardly of sufficient number to support the view that Javan dialects actually belong to Semang; on the contrast, the large number of Javan words are certainly allied to Sakai and Wilkinson, treating as Javan certain southern Sakai dialects, says Blagden's linguistic Javan, but he has not explained both Rendel and the common element in which Mdrrito, Bedunada, and Jakan differ from every other known language.

5. Religion: greater gods.—(a) Malay.—The official Malay religion, as has already been stated, is Muhammadanism, but the popular beliefs and ritual affect the Buddhist priests, 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 form of Animism characteristic. 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 deities, while the lesser gods and spirits are native to the Malay religious system, incorporated in and modified by the higher religions, but not entirely forgotten.

Taking first the Hindu deities, we find Visnû the preserver, Brahmâ the creator, Batara Gurn (Siva), Kala, and Sûri simultaneously invoked by the common people. Of the gods who are designated as Durga, is in the minds of the Malays, unquestionably the most important; in other words, the Malays were of the Sawite sect of Brahmanism. In the Hindu Sang Sebuk, the Malay version of the Dyag, Batara Gurn appears as the supreme god Siva, with Brahmâ and Visnû as subordinate deities. He alone has the Water of Life which reanimates slaughtered heroes. The Malay magician will, on occasion, but be holded that he was the all-powerful spirit who held the place of Allah before the advent of Mahomedanism, a 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 higher religious spirits in use among the Malays are of Sanskrit origin, and that the titles Sang-yang ('the deity') and Batara are used mostly of the older Hindu deities. The Malays, however, in adopting the Sanskrit title of Gurn, seem to have retained it for their hunting god, while they identify in certain localities with the 'Spectre,' or 'Demon Huntsman,' though pure Hinduism would certainly not have recognized hunting (one of the deadly sins of that religion) as a pursuit fit for one of its deities. Further, there is a mixture between a good and a bad side of Batara Gurn's character, which may point back to the combination into one of what were originally two distinct personalities, Batara Gurn and Kala. Thus the Malay Kala holds as his one definite influence the foresore, a strip intermediate between the land-sphere of Batara Gurn and the dominion of a third deity called 'Grand-Sire Long-Chaws' (Toh Punjung Kuku). This attempt to divide the spheres of land and sea must again be ascribed solely to the Malay, as Hindu mythology 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 renamed from the gods of the Hindus. The Batara Gurn of the sea is identified by some magicians with Si Raya, and occasionally with the god of mid-currents (Mambang Tahi Harus). Sickness is sometimes ascribed to him, but it is not usually so fatal as illness induced by the malejoy 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 his influence.

(b) Pagan races.—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 beliefs. On this subject there 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 Sakai, 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 religious 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 the more powerful god of 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, and in such a dualism based upon natural phenomena.

According to one account, Ta' Ponn ('Granthfather Ponn') is a powerful but benevolent being described as the maker of the world. He was, in fact, described in the present writer by the Semang of Kadah as being 'like a Malay Raja; there was nobody above him.' He is the moon's husband and lives with Ag-Ag, the crew who is the sun's husband, in the eastern heavens. Ta' Ponn has four children, two male and two female. His mother Yik is the old Earth-mother, and lives underground in the middle of the earth. He has a great enemy, Kukah, who lives in the west. He is dangerous and very black. That is why the east is bright and the west dark. The heavens are in three tiers, the highest of which is called Kukah, and which are defended against unauthorized intrusion by a giant coco-nut monkey, who does 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 Ta' Ponn is a spirit of the rising sun. In addition it has been maintained that the Semang recognized two other superior deities, Kari, a thunder-god, the supreme of the local Religion, and Batara, 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, genii, and spirits. The Sakai affords more certain evidence of a belief in a supreme deity, although their conceptions at the best are vague and shadowy. The Mantri say that Tuhan Di-Rawab, lord of the under world, created the earth and dwells beneath it, supporting everything above him by his power. The Benun believe in one god, Pirman, who dwells above the sky and is invisible. He made the world and everything that is visible. The greater part of the Jakun of Johore, however, 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 Muhammadanism on the wild races of the Malay jungles is best illustrated by the statement of those tribes who believe that Muhammad, the prophet of God, is the wife of the supreme deity.

6. Lesser gods, spirits, and ghosts.—(a) Malay. — The name of the great gods is lesser gods or spirits (Sangaja, avarna, and Malayan races.

7. The soul.—(a) Malay. — In Malay beliefs the semangat (‘human soul’) is a thin, unsubstantial mankind, 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 is supposed to correspond in shape, 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 quasi-human and may possess, independent of his body, a sense of consciousness and volition. It has been alleged that the semangat cannot be the ‘soul’ because it is believed to quit the body and wander about during sleep, and that it must therefore be a spirit of vitality. But this very same reasoning would show that it cannot be a spirit of vitality. What is actually meant here by ‘soul,’ however, is the native (and our own medieval) idea of the soul, which is something very different from the soul of our modern idealistic Christianity. The latter might indeed almost be described, in comparison with its medieval prototype, as a ‘super-soul,’ and it is only the more primitive idea of the soul in which we are here storm-die: hantu kubor are grave-deacons who, with the spirits of murdered men, prey upon the living whenever they see an opportunity: hantu masak, the ‘hungrily,’ and hantu laot are water and sea-spirits; hantu riwo, deep forest demons; hantu bero, the baboon-demon; hantu helim, the tiger-demon; and hantu songet, the ‘loosening’ demon, who interferes with rope-shades, tumpas, for wild animals. In addition there are giants and ‘tall’ demons (bota, gani-gani, and hantu tinggi) as well as ‘good people’ (bidadari or peri), who are of foreign origin; echo spirits (sebabagian), spirits of whom little is known except that they are good
the simangat is distinctly referred to as being seventhfold, and, as a similar multiple division is found elsewhere among savages (PCMI. i. 391 f.), this may be taken as original, although seven is a somewhat more primitive number to the Malay magi.

The belief in the existence of simangats does not confine them to human beings. Animal, vegetable, and mineral simangats are clearly recognized. While in the case of animals the simangat is a counterpart, on a reduced scale, of its counterpart, in the vegetable and mineral kingdoms the tree simangat or the ore simangat is usually an animal, whereas the rice simangat is treated as resembling a human infant. The simangat of the cogglewood tree is the Semangat bird, the iron-ore simangat that of a buffalo, the gold-ore simangat that of a deer, and so forth. A box or a treasure-jar may also have a simangat until chipped or broken, when the simangat escapes from it. An interesting variation has been said to occur on the east coast of the peninsula, where the simangat of a particular kind of boat is called by a special name, mayor, as opposed to the usual soul-name, simangat. But there is no trace of this form on the west coast or apparently in other parts of the peninsula.

This creed 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 simangats.

Although Malay animism is consistent and complete in extending the belief in the simangat to all nature, animate and inanimate, side by side with the purely animistic belief there is abundant evidence of a special Ceri-like reverence for animals, birds, fishes, reptiles, and trees to an (accursed) human origin. The elephant, tiger, bear, deer, crocodile, solid-crested hornbill, and stick-insect are examples. Evidence of such anthropomorphizing 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 wide boiling lake beneath, in which they sink 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 were buried in trees, so that they 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 to a land of screw-pines and thatch-palms, where 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 months of day and one month of night. Among the Sakai it has been said that simangats proceed to a Hades (Niraka) where they are washed clean by one 'Granny Long-Boasts,' and made to walk across a boiling cauldron in the sharp edge of a chopper. Bad simangats fall in, good simangats eat, where they wait until a friend comes to show them the way to the 'Islands of the Clouds.'

The Matri possess peculiarly positive faith in the continued existence of the simangat after death. It leaves the holy are, is carried by Ilayang Lasa either to Ngangnari or to Fruit Island (Pulau Buah), far away in the region of the setting sun, where all simangats dwell in harmony, marry, and have children. Those who die a violent death go to Red Land (Bergaun), a desert place and barren, repairing thence to Fruit Island to get their nourishment. The Benua, on the other hand, believe that after death the simangat dissolves into nothingness again, having been fashioned from air by Pitman. Notwithstanding this, they hold that the simangats of medicine-men, while their animate 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 kerdsuat, 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 assertion that it is not only an animism, but also the popular ideas traceable to a modified Hindunism, 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 Malay, and importance of the medicine-man or magician (posong and bonor), the language of the innumerable charms recited on any and every conceivable occasion, and the ceremonies which accompany any and every action or undertaking—indeed in many cases the most trivial—would in themselves point to this particular conclusion, even if we lacked the evidence supplied by the statements of the Malays themselves with regard to their object and meaning. Important proof of this connexion is furnished by the relations of the Malays with animals, with trees, and with the crops, and especially by their remarkable beliefs with regard to mining.

(a) Animals.—To nearly all animals, but especially to the larger, the Malays attribute anthropomorphic traits and, in some cases, superhuman powers. The elephant and tiger, e.g., are believed to possess cities or districts in which they assume human form and live in houses. According to a local legend which comes from Labu in Selangor, a man tracked an elephant to her home and married her in human form. She resumed her animal form when, on returning to his country against her express directions, he gave her food which included certain young tree-shoots. The tiger, which is an object of especial fear, is believed to be a demon in the form of a beast; in the legendary 'Tiger Village' the roofs of the houses are thatched with human hair, men's bones are the rafters, and men's skins the hut-walls. The original tiger was a boy found in the forest who changed into a tiger when beaten with many stripes by his schoolmaster. The latter placed a ban upon him to compel him to ask for the sun to set at night. He therefore used divination by leaves (of certain forest trees) to ascertain whether his petition for a victim has been granted. It may be added that he is also believed to doctor his wounds with leaf-poisonics. The belief in Leaking Tigers is shared to the mutual embarrassment of Malay superstitions, in the power to become such a being is believed to belong especially
to one tribe of Sumatrans, the Korinchi Malays, of whom there are a number living in the peninsula. In one case a dead wer-tiger was identified by his possessing a gold tooth derived from his human owner. The Sucinang (wild buffalo), the Semang and ghost-tigers are strongly believed in. They are distinguished by having one shrunken foot, are harmless, and are the tutelary spirits of certain regions of sacred localities. The most famous ghost-tiger of the peninsula dwelt on Mount Ophir (4000 ft.), near Malaca; in Selangor they were the guardians of a shrine on the summit of the Jaga Hill. The latter were formerly reputed to be the pets of the princess of Malaca; thus the two stories were connected. The princess is said by local report to have established herself on Mount Ophir at the time of the Portuguese invasion, and still visits the hill in Selangor, accompanied by a handsome tiger, though herself invisible. When a tiger was killed, a public reception was accorded to him in the nearest village, at which he was treated as a powerful war-chief or champion, and was entertained by an exhibition of dancing and fencing. Both clowns and whiskers of the tiger are regarded with great veneration, and the latter are sometimes twisted up with man's moustache, to strike terror into his enemies, and the former are imitated in the tiger's claw knives worn on their fingers by the men who pretend to be wer-tigers.

Equally strong are the beliefs and beliefs connected with the mouse-deer and cherrötian. This animal occupies the place of Brer Rabbit in Malay folklore; it figures in numberless proverbial sayings and romances, and is honoured by the title of Malayan forest-growth.

In the fire-getting ceremony it is said to ask for fire wherever it 'sings 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 unlucky to see them in the jungle, unless the person meeting them barks after the manner of a wild dog before they have time to do so. Cats, in imitation of possessing supernatural powers (e.g., in the rain-making ceremony), are lucky because they wish for the prosperity of their owners. On the other hand, cats-killers, when in purgatory, will be required to cut and curry coconut logs to the manner of the cat's body; therefore cats are not 'killed,' 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 instances where it was not so. In a Malay recipe for turning brass into gold, the wild pig, moreover, is hunted and eaten with avidity by the wild jungle tribes, as is still the case in N. Borneo and other parts of the Malayan region. It may also be noted that the flesh of the buffalo is preferred to that of the ox, and the former is used, and not the latter, for sacrificial feasts—a fact which suggests an obscure survival of Hindu belief. The elephant is supported on the horn of a gigantic wild buffalo.

The attitude of the Malays towards wild animals and their belief in their magical powers are further indicated by the fact that in hunting and trapping no skill or skill unless it is itself supported 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 a protection. Like the Siamese elephants-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-snares. If this were omitted, the ropes would fail to hold the deer, nor would the deer enter. The marks on the forelegs of the wild deer (which are due to ulcers on the legs of its human original).

Fish and other inhabitants of the water, like land animals, are regarded as having human or superhuman qualities, and, when catching them, the Malays have to perform ceremonies to overcome their spiritual nature and magical powers. The crocodile, e.g., is, according to one account, a boy who fell from his mother's arms into the water. The various species of fish also have their special origin; one kind is said to be originally another monkey, another human being drowned in the river, and so forth. The Norse myth of the rivers sprang from the tents of the cow Audhumla is recalled by a Perak story of a large specimen of toadfish, which, when eaten, produces many magical beliefs clinging 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 the exact words and take precautions to ensure capture by symbolic actions such as striking the water with the canoe-paddle in imitation of the crocodile's tail; or, when eating curry, by gulping down three lumps of rice successively in the way in which it is hoped the reptile will reject his food (by or without fear lest 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 the repetition of magical words to frighten the land-spirits that offerings, consisting of rice, betel, parts of a goat sacrificed for the purpose, cigarettes, etc., hung up on a tree in a sacrificial tray, await their acceptance, and the offering of two similar trays, one in shallow water and one, containing the goat's head, at the seaward end of the fishing-ground. Miscellaneous offerings from a basket are scattered while the boat is rowed out to the stakes, and, when they are reached, snorron-coloured and parched rice is scattered on the water, while the 'neutralizing rice-paste' ceremony is performed on the stakes and the boats. A number of tigers, such as seven days' fasting from sexual indulgence, the avoidance of bathing without a bathing-cloth, or of taking an umbrella into the fishing-boats, or of cutting the fishing-stakes with boots on, are strictly enforced. The use of a tabu 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 dead. The elephant, the largest and most important of the animals, is the one into which the semangats of chiefs are supposed by the Besi to migrate is extended beyond beasts of prey, including deer and pigs as well as tigers and crocodiles. Among the Mantri the tigers are the slaves of the wizard, or popayang, 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 natural history associated with animalistic names 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 caterpillar which is believed to metamorphose into a squirrel is typical.

(b) Birds.—Ideas of various kinds of omniscience 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 beberd, a nocturnal bird which flies in flocks (a goat-sucker or night-jar), is heard, the peasant has to pluck out its nest with a knife and calls out, 'Great-grandfather, bring us their hearts,' in the hope of detaining the spirits into the belief that he forms one of the train of the Spectre Huntsman (hantu penburo) which these birds accompany, and must therefore not be attacked by them.

The argus pheasant (kuang) is said in Perak to have been metamorphosed from a woman; the female, moreover, is believed to reproduce its kind by allowing the male light to shine on her. In Selangor it is believed that a hornbill was transformed from the murderer of an old man, another variety (klapopel) to have been a man who slew his own mother-in-law. The toh ketumpi (a variety of horned owl) is believed to enter theowl-house and there live on the intestines of fowls, which it extracts during life by means of a charm. The luck-bird—a small white bird about the size of a canary—if caught and placed in a rice-bin, ensures a good harvest to its owner; a ground-dove, kept in a house, is a prophylactic against fire. If any one is fortunate enough to secure the nest of a kind of heron, or ruwek-ruwek, it confers upon him the power of invisibility. But the list of birds to which the old ideas have been recorded is endless. Various peculiar ideas and significations may be said to be limited only by the varieties indigenous to the peninsula.

In fowling, air-hunting, sympathetic magic plays a prominent part, while every bird has its particular charm for repetition. In catching wild pigeons, constant reference is made to their simangats, and the aid of the pawang is required to perform the 'neutralising rice-paste' ceremony in the space in front of the conjuror's bower, 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 snarer's paraphernalia is called by its proper name (which might be under-blind by the pigeon); everything is called by some emendation—e.g., 'the Magic Prince' (for the name of the hut) and 'Prince Distraction' (instead of the word 'pigeon-call').

The metaphor in relation to trees and other forms of vegetation follow to a great degree, if not entirely, their concepts in relation to animals. It is not clear that they hold that all trees have a simangat, but it is certain that some trees, such as the durian, the cocoa-nut, palm, the trees producing eagle-wood, camphor, and gutta-percha, and others are supposed to possess simangats. This belief extends even to dead and seasonal wood, as is shown by the invocation addressed to the timbers used in the ceremony of fanning 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 grove into bearing by torches addressed to them verbally. The medicine-man struck the trunk of an unfruitful tree seven times with a hatchet and threatened to fell it if it did not bear. The toddy collector said to the cocoa-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 a cane with a long joint will protect the owner from snakes and nachims addressed to him verbally. The medicine-man struck the trunk of an unfruitful tree seven times with a hatchet and threatened to fell it if it did not bear. The toddy collector said to the cocoa-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 a cane with a long joint will protect the owner from snakes and nachims addressed to him verbally. The medicine-man struck the trunk of an unfruitful tree seven times with a hatchet and threatened to fell it if it did not bear. The toddy collector said to the cocoa-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 a cane with a long joint will protect the owner from snakes and nachims addressed to him verbally. The medicine-man struck the trunk of an unfruitful tree seven times with a hatchet and threatened to fell it if it did not bear. The toddy collector said to the cocoa-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 a cane with a long joint will protect the owner from snakes and nachims addressed to him verbally. The medicine-man struck the trunk of an unfruitful tree seven times with a hatchet and threatened to fell it if it did not bear. The toddy collector said to the cocoa-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.'
mother-sheat was treated as a young mother; i.e., young shoots of trees were pounded and scattered over it every evening, and on the evening of the third day coconut pulp and goat-down mixed with sugar were eaten and a little ejected from the mouth on to the sheaf—an analogue of the tebat adminis-tered to a mother by a woman, when clearing the court, must kiss the stalks, saying, 'Coane, cone, soul of my child,' as if it were the soul of her own infants. Ultimately the rice obtained from the, shanqat (representing the child) and from the sheaf (representing the mother) are mixed and placed in the receptacle of rice. If the rice is stored, covered with a wreath of straw the straw of the first ceremonial pounding of the padi, the ears first pounded being those cut immediately after the taking of the child to the mother; when next sowed, and some is used to make the topung saswar.

From all that has been said it will be clear that the Malay 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 stimulate the productive powers of the rice-plant for the current harvest.

(d) Mining.—In the western States of the peninsu-la tin-mining was, and still is, the most important industry. Although mining is now carried on chiefly by Chinese, the ceremonies in use at the opening of a mine are purely Malay. Formerly a lucrative and highly important post was that of mining wizard; some of these magicians were believed to possess the power of bringing ore to a place where it did not exist, and of turning inroads 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 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, where placed in water, is the most solemn and binding oath known to those who use it, and it is referred to in the most terrible denunciations of the Malay wizard; a long iron nail guards the newborn child and the rice-soul; betel-nut seeds (also of iron) and a dagger protect a corpse from evil contact, and a Malay in the jungle often plants his knife-blade edgewise to the source in a stream before he drinks, in order to drive away any chance demons. Bezoar-stones and stone imple-ments 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 buried down from the sky in the form of thunderbolts and small portions representative of each part being deposited in the audience chamber.' Other tabus are the wearing of a sarong, burying the skin of any beast in the mine, wearing shoes, and even carrying an umbrella; the last is particularly offensive to the spirits, since it is the insignia of Malay royalty. A special language has to be used in so far as certain words are concerned. No animal or thing not itself allowed by the presaging in performing the magical ceremonies, or in uttering the invocations, such as the attitude of standing with both hands on the hips or behind the back), nor may even the wizard himself assume them on any ordinary occasion.

(e) Water.—The Malays have been a seafaring race from time immemorial, and the rivers were also of great importance to them before the making of roads. It was by the rivers that they first penetrated the country; the rivers and streams are all on river-banks, and the streams are still the chief source of supply for irrigating the rice-fields. To both river and sea many superstitions and legends are attached. Their animistic notions include belief in what woman precations are taken for the protection of their boats. It was formerly the custom to fasten a bunch of sugar-palm twigs to the top of the mast to prevent the water-spirit from settling on the mast-head. The sea-spirits are invoked to point out shoals, etc., and sometimes in rapid or other difficult places offerings are made to the spirits of the rivers. The tidal wave (bore or eagre) on a river was formerly held to be caused by the passing of aeward monster, which ascends the river; one of these (on the bore ceasing) was described to the present writer as having been killed by being knocked on the head with a stick. Eredia (A.B. 1613) says that the Malays attribute such bores to souls of the dead who are passing the ocean in coplas from one region to another, i.e., from the Golden Chersonese to the river Ganges. Ordinary river-floods (which were distinguished as male and female) were thought to be caused by similar agency.

9. Cosmology and natural phenomena.—(a) Malay.—In Malay folklore the theory of creation is that light emanating from the supreme being becomes the ocean, from which the earth is raised by vapour. The earth and sea were then formed, each of seven tiers, the earth resting on the surface of the water from east to west, the mountains of the Cau-casus being regarded as a chain put round the earth to keep it stable on the face of the waters. Beyond them is spread a vast plain, the sand and earth of which are of gold and musk, the stones rubies and emeralds, the vegetation of odoriferous flowers. Besides the Caucasus, which are known to the Malays as Bukit Kot (Hills of Coral), there is immense importance in popular lore, there is a great central mountain called Maha Meru, which is sometimes identified by Malays with a hill in Sumatra. Another version of the Creation is that earth and water-spirits, apparently due to Muslim influence, describes how God, the oldest magician, pre-existing by Himself, created the pillar of the Kaba 1 of which the four branches form the four corners of the earth, and the world-snake, Sakutiunna, which was killed by Gabriel and broke another, the head and forepart shooting up to heaven, the tail part penetrating downwards beneath the earth. The description of this serpent (whose name suggests an Indian origin)

1 Lit, 'cube' (the cube-shaped sanctuary of the Black Stone at Mecca). For the Kaba see Mecca.
is remarkably anthropomorphish; in fact, it is a serpent in little more than name.

It was usually believed that the world was of oval shape and revolved on its axis four times in the year, and that the sun was a body of fire moving round the earth and presenting the alternation of day and night. Some at least imagined the-fashioned to consist of a perforated stone or rock, the stars being caused by the light which streams through these apertures. Further, the earth is declared to be carried by a colossal buffalo on a tip of its horns—an obvious Malay parallel to the world-elephant in the Rāmāyana and the boar-inarnation of Viṣṇu. When one horn 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 girl round by a huge serpent which feeds upon its own tail. Peculiarly Malay, on the other hand, is the idea of the tides, which, it is said, are caused by the movements of a colossal crab that twice a day leaves and re-enters its cave at the foot of the sea. A fish which eats giant coconut-yelms, which grows on a sunken rock or quicksand in the ‘Navel’ or Central Whirlpool of the Ocean (pusat tosek).

The sun’s name in Malay is Mata-hari, which means ‘eye of day,’ but on the east coast it is a horse which passes 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 devotions of these bodies by a gigantic dragon (Rāhu), or, according to some, a god. Malays, like the Chinese and other more primitive races, endeavour 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 an old horseback, plaiting strands 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 completed because a rat gnaws through it despite the vigilance of the old man’s cat, which is always watching. It should be added that the Malay phrase, bulat bunting pelandok (‘the moon is great with the mouse-deer’), is derived from the plaitable by any appearance of the moon is thought to a hare or antelope, which, being hard pressed by a hunter, appears to the moon for protection and was taken up by her into her arms; the phrase is often said when she is three-quarters full.

Landslides 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. Lifks and waterfalls of unusual appearance are believed to owe their origin to demons. A rainbow, if only a small portion of the end is visible, betokens the death of a Raja, if it appears in the west. The treasure which lies where the foot of the rainbow touches the earth has never yet been found, as ‘no one can ever arrive at the place’ where it touches. The rainbow itself is often taken to be a snake and is sometimes said to be seen drinking (lerar minum). On the east coast it is said to be the head 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 (tamanjam) had been drained dry by a rainbow.

Rainbows are a time of danger, since then evil spirits have power, while the name applied to the yellow glow of the last rays of the sun (namanbong kuning, ‘the yellow deity’) is a term associated with terror. In Perak children are called in at sunset to save them from this danger, and women often chew and spit out at seven points, as they walk round the house at sunset, kunyet teras, an evil-smelling herb. The alternation of evening and dawn at Pulau Tionan, an island south-east of Pahang, is believed to be actually the body of a dragon, or neia. The Malay who told this to the present writer said that a long while ago an English Government vessel was 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 spilt, 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 authors with Malayan affinities, they associate the sun with a crow (Ag-Ag), whom they assert to be the husband of the moon. The husband of the moon is Ta Poom (see above, p. 354). When the sun sets, it falls into a cavern, which some Semang identify with a species of Hades. Eclipses are caused by a huge dragon, or serpent, which tries to break in upon the reception 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—an act which 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 feverish and bad to live near. During a storm 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 underground (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 that in Semang mythology the spots on the moon 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 said when she is three-quarters full.

The Kedah Semang hold that heaven consists of three tiers or layers: the highest is filled with fruit-trees which bear luxuriantly all the year round, and is inhabited by the greater personages of Semang mythology; the second also contains fruit-trees, but is defended against unauthorized pilagers by a gigantic baboon who peels any such would-be assailants with ‘false durian-fruit’ (the produce of a wild fruit-tree); the third has nothing but low brooding clouds which bring sickness to humanity.

Of Sakai beliefs little that is typical has been recorded, as such information as is available witnessing to a close resemblance to Semang beliefs. Rā-ha1 (obviously the Indo-Malay Rāhu), a being resembling a dragon, tries to swallow the sun and moon, but is driven off by the sun and moon, which, however, is beyond the memory, whereas the hus-

1This fruit is sometimes called by Malays the ‘Ha-ba’ fruit, from the belief that demons, on living up to inspect it, see that it is not the real durian-fruit, and indulge in loud peals ofardonable laughter.
eagle, and from this pair all mankind are descended. The Sakai are said to indulge in ceremonialexorcism of the spirits of thunder, and it is believed that the forces of nature assist the souls of certain evil spirits or demons, which cause them to harm people, though the forces themselves are not demons. The earth is a thin crust resting on the nether ocean, and is said to possess all sorts, or demi-gods, the inhabitants of the uppermost are said to include a female deity who has to wash the sin-blackened souls in hot water.

The Blandas of Selangor say that the earth was originally the shape of a long bird-box (sodok-sodok), the nether ocean had the form of a globular tobacco-box (lepok-lepok), and the heavens were round and over-arching like an umbrella. The Blandas' account of paradise resembles that of the heaven by crossing a fallen tree-trunk which serves as a bridge, and from which the wicked fell into a lake or boiling cauldron. This happens only to those who allow themselves to be frightened by a dream, and who in the path of the ways by which the souls must go. The magicians of the tribe are reputed to be able to visit paradise and bring back fruit with them. Gafer Engkoh dwells in the moon, which he reached by a ladder now broken, and visits the nation 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 on the moon they believe, however, to be a tree beneath which sits the moon-man Moyalng Bertang, an enemy of mankind, who is constantly making nooses with which to catch them—a task which is prevented from accomplishing by nice, who continually gnaw through the strings. Eclipses are not attributed to a snake or a dragon, but to a devouring evil spirit. The sky is a great inverted copper pot, suspended over the earth by a string, and the moon's edge is constantly sending up sprouts which would join the stars if an old man did not cut and eat them. In addition the Mantri have a version of the sun-robe belief, viz. an idea that the sun is a woman tied by a string to the moon, and that the stars are the moon's children. The sun once had as many children as the moon, but, having been tricked by the latter into eating them, now pursues the moon, and, when he succeeds in biting her, causes an eclipse to happen. This explains why the moon hides her children by day.

In the beliefs of the Benna Jakun the world is globular in shape and enclosed in the sky. Farthest north and south are the extremities of a great beast, in the moon 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.

The usual account of the creation of man, from the four elements of earth, air, fire, and water, appears to be a Malayized version of the Mlahanadian story. Adam was formed from the heart of the earth by the angel Azrael, not without strenuous opposition and protests from the earth itself. A common feature of Malayan romances and legends, which also appears in Japanese folklore, and is probably to be attributed to an Indian origin, describes the supernatural origin of human beings in the interior of some vegetable product, as, e.g., in the story of a giant bamboo, which continually sent forth fresh shoots as it was cut down, and in which King Djasratha, according to the story in Sree Rama (the Malay version of the Ramayana), found the princess, or, again, in the tradition of the discovery of Tel Purba in the river-foam.

(b) Progeny races.—The Semang story of the origin of the human race is that the first children, was desires of having offspring of her own, but did not know how to obtain them. She and her husband took to carrying a brace of fire-logs under their arm-pits by way of a substitute. But one day the coconut monkey (Prono, on noticing what they were doing, gave them advice, as a result of which they had four children, two boys and two girls. These married and had children of their own, but the ring-dove (Telukor) warned the children of the first generation that they had united within the forbidden degrees, and advised them to separate and marry other peoples, in which case their children might intermarry without impropriety.

Among the Mantri the story of their origin was an incident in a group of myths connected with Mertang, the first medicine-man, and his younger brother, Blö, who came from a place called 'Rising Land' (Tanah Bangun) and returned there after a sojourn on earth. They were the children of two people called 'Drop of Water' (Ayer Sá-Titik) and 'Handful of Earth' (Tanah Sá-Képái), the latter being their mother. Mertang took his youngest sister to wife, and from this union children are descended. Blö married the other sister, but had no offspring. When men increased in numbers to an alarming extent, To Entah (or 'Lord-knows-who'), the first batun, a son of Mertang, drew his father's attention to the circumstance. The men wished things to remain as they were, but Blö suggested that 'men ought rather to die, after the fashion of the banana, which itself expires, although its young seons 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 punyih) 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. She married the lord king, while the stars are the moon's children. The sun once had as many children as the moon, but, having been tricked by the latter into eating them, now pursues the moon, and, when he succeeds in biting her, causes an eclipse to happen. This explains why the moon hides her children by day.
without being guilty of a crime and without any inconvenient questions 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 great fine. Amongst the Malays there is a strong feeling that any one who infringes the royal tabus, offends 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 (elektruit). In the Malay emblems 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 resurrecting the lives of others. As a divine king he 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 India-China, has now been abandoned for yellow). Linguistic tabus are also employed with reference to the king, such words as sāliap, 'to eat,' hirāpu, 'to sleep,' gerāpu, 'to be,' and a number of similar Malay words when reference is made to the royal person. At the Malay king's death his name is dropped and he is called Marhun, the deceased, with the addition of a phrase descriptive of some prominent, and often of the solemnity 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 measure, applies to his delegates, and modern times has even been extended to European officials employed in the government of the country.

In a lesser degree the magical property upon which the royal sanctity is based is a quality of the ordinary individual, though usually inversely in the sense that it is susceptible to evil influence, or, in the case of parts of the body, capable of evoking evil to the owner. The head is still, to some extent, regarded as sacrosanct. In cases of assault greater penalty is exacted against the head than for that to any other part of the person. Great circumspection is employed in cutting the hair; sometimes it is never shorn; more often it is not cut during a special period — e.g., after the death of a grandparent. Often the 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-clippings and moustachios are carefully preserved and not substituted for, 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 of a mannikin the eyebrows or saliva 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, in the Malay peninsula its role is still distanced by the belief in holy places, of which mention is made below. The highest holy places which the Malays themselves, when asked to interpret them, explain as being 'spirit places' (kāramah jin). For instance, the kāramah of Nakhoda ('ship-master') Usman on Bukit Nyaduk near the Johor frontier, consists of a group 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 burnt here to prevent floods and to get sufficient water for irrigation. It is probable that the name is a later accretion and the rite a relic of the worship of the spirit of streams of water. In another place the kāramah is a tree with a protuberance on the trunk. This swelling is closely connected with the harvest; it increases in good years and in bad decreases.

In Klang there is a famous wishing-rock, called Batu Tre, to which the Malay tribes have resorted from time immemorial. A similar rock is situated on the top of Gunong Beromun ('Beromun Crag'), another mountain, while other not unusual Malay words have been employed to indicate wishing-places, each possessing its good spirit. The supplicant who visits these places carries with him a couple of white owls and samples of various articles of food in a tray, which is suspended from a tree or placed on the highest seat of the kāramah. 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.

It may be noted, however, that such sacred places were not recognized by the Semang, possibly owing to their nomadic habits. The Sakai and Jakun appear to have set apart certain sites for the purpose of burning incense and registering vows, and they had, in addition to these shrines, medicine-huts, either solitary cells in the depths of the forest, in which the medicine-man kept a selection of his charms and spells, or diminutive shelters which screened him and his patients during the ceremony of exorcism.

13. Rites: prayer and sacrifice. — In the case of both prayer and sacrifice, the Malay standpoint is entirely materialistic. The prayer is invariably a request for material advantage; its efficacy is increased by repetition. Sacrifice, as is shown by the language of the charm, is for the spiritual, or, was spiritual, reality of the 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 indicates, however, 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 statement which explains the frequent use of an egg in Malay sacrifices. The idea of abnegation among the Malays appears to be confined to votal ceremonies or vows in which the voluntary sacrifice is not regulated by a spirit, but there is often a tacit 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) rites performed at
the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the lunar months; certain instruments are prescribed; in the interior a reaping-hook may not be used for cutting the padi, or at least the farm (a small instrument consisting of a piece of leaf set transversely in a dip of bamboo, which will cut only one or two heads of rice at a time) must be used to begin the reaping. By these prohibitions, it may be concluded, the paung preserves the traditional method of an older régime—e. g., in enforcing an adherence to the custom of the fixed maximum prices for the sale of rice and other articles within the village, inration of which entails a bad harvest.

The paung is sometimes supposed to keep a familiar spirit which is hereditary in the family, enabling him to deal summarily with wild spirits of a noxious character, and also to bewitch and thus to punish people who are bold enough to dispute his authority. Such punishment is usually inflicted by a 'sending,' or 'pointing,' one form of which consisted in pointing a kris in the direction of the intended victim, the point of the dagger beginning to drip blood as soon as the charm began to work. Another example is the Malay watch, in point of the cordiform top of a newly opened bunch of bananas growing on the tree; this causes excruciating agony; then the paung cuts off the top and the victim dies vomiting blood, his heart having been fallen out of its place. The Malay watch also commonly keeps a familiar, which may have as its embodiment a night-owl, a badger, etc.

In certain respects, it is important to note, the magician stands on the same footing as the divine man or king; e. g., he possesses certain powers called by the same name (tobeban) as the insignia of royalty, he may (at least in some cases) use the royal colour, and he may, 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 which 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 time being. His use of mesmerism is not yet recorded, but motor automatism certainly occurs.

Although the office of magician is hereditary, the power may be acquired by certain recognized methods. One of the accredited intermediaries between men and spirits, and, although he has no connexion with the Muhammadan religion, without him no village community would be complete. The office is often hereditary, or at least confined to the same family through certain properties, such as a peculiar kind of head-dress, are, as it were, the regalia or official insignia, and are handed down from one generation to another. The functions of the medicine-man are many and diverse. Few of the operations of life can be undertaken without his intervention. In fishing, trapping, and hunting, in the gathering of jungle produce, in agricultural matters, such as sowing, reaping, irrigation, and clearing the jungle, in procuring for minerals or arts in herding—of sickness, death, and burial, his aid is invoked to decide the propitious moment for action, to prescribe the ritual, and to carry out the rites. Not the least important of his powers in former days was that of controlling the weather—traces of which are still preserved in Malay weather charms. For his services in these matters he receives a small payment.

In a passage from the paung's instructions consist of prohibitions, or paung: e. g., it is paung in some places to work in the rice-fields on the nineteenth and twentieth days of the lunar months. The interior a reaping-hook may not be used for cutting the padi, or at least the farm (a small instrument consisting of a piece of leaf set transversely in a dip of bamboo, which will cut only one or two heads of rice at a time) must be used to begin the reaping. By these prohibitions, it may be concluded, the paung preserves the traditional method of an older régime—e. g., in enforcing an adherence to the custom of the fixed maximum prices for the sale of rice and other articles within the village, inration of which entails a bad harvest.

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1 Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 76.

2 Skeat, Malay Magic, pp. 460-462.
As an alternative method models of certain objects are placed upon the tray; the evil spirits are invited to enter them; in the tray they are then got rid of by being hung up in the jungle or left off on the sea. (2) Incantation ceremonies—the use of counter-charms to neutralize the active principle of poisons, extended by the medicine-men in all cases where an evil principle (either a familiar spirit or unclean form) is believed to have entered a sick person’s body. The ceremony of applying such charms usually consists in making a long wooden figure or cell with which the patient is drinking it after reciting the incantation.

(3) Incantation ceremonies—rites intended to expel from the patient’s body all kinds of evil influences or principles, such as may have entered him on his touching a dead animal or bird, or which he may have acquired from the ‘Wild Hunting’. The evil principle, known as badda attachments to everything that has life, including insect objects such as trees, and even stones and minerals, which, in the Malay Peninsula, are considered as magical by virtue of these evil principles or ‘mirchies’ are one hundred and ninety, or, according to the shaman, one hundred and ninety-three. ‘To cast out the mischief’, the patient is struck down with a brush (made of certain prescribed leaves and plant-spray) 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 lime, appropriate charms being recited in each case. In another form of broom-making is used from the brush, along a red thread, which the patient holds in his hand, until it reaches certain dough images of birds, beasts, and fishes, placed upon the ›nakeh‹. A ›disease-boat‹, sometimes a mere reed, is also used as a vehicle for the spirit and set aboil on sea or river. The evil may also be expelled by a long and elaborate ceremony in which a protective spirit, such as the tiger- or elephant-spirit, is simulated, often by a medicine-man, who, while in a state of possession, simulates the movements of the animal-spirit summoned, or, as it is termed, a ‘spirit-spirit ceremony’. (4) Restorative ceremonies—ceremonies to recall the sick person’s ›simangat‹. In one such rite dough is rolled into a human figure which is then cut into five cushions of white clay. Rice is scattered, incense burned, and a charm recited to induce the patient to enter the dough image and be transformed thence to the soul-cloth, and thence to the patient. Similar ceremonies are used to prevent the ›simangat‹ of a swooning person from escaping.

(b) Pagan races.—The ›bitian‹ (shaman), or medicine-man, is the most important member of the tribe among the Semang. In normal circumstances the chiefs or head-men are always ›bitian‹ of more or less authority. They object to no certain prohibitions which do not affect ordinary members of the tribe; they may not eat the flesh of domestic animals, like the goat or buffalo, and that of domestic fowls but rarely. They receive a special form of burial, traditionally regarded as specially honourable, consisting of a rude shelter built in a tree, in which are placed a medium of food and water, a jumble-knife, etc. It is believed that they are able to proceed to paradise in trances and to drive men mad. They alone interpret the ›incantations‹ that never fail, and can slay men by ‘sending’ at a distance of several days’ journey. They alone have the power to change themselves into women, and at their death their ›simangat‹ passes into that of an elephant, a tiger, or any other animal. When the latter dies, they proceed to paradise.

Not merely are diseases caused by demons, but they are demons, and have to be exorcized as such. They are abstracted sympathetically from the body by pulling up sapling stumps at or near the place where the disease is believed to have entered the patient. The affected part is rubbed with earth taken from the hole in which the root grew; chewed betel is ejected on the body (in imitation of the medicine-man’s unearthly habits). Dead saplings into the wood, so that the evil spirit may be cast out likewise, ends the ceremony. ‘Sendings’ or ‘pointings’ are achieved by a minute dart or splinter of bamboo about two inches long, which is thrust into the right palm and is ordered to fly forth and slay the victim. This dart is never taken back to the river flies through the air and, reaching the victim, pierces his heart and kills him. Sometimes a taper formed of wax from a deserted bees’ nest is burned at the skin. Such ‘sendings’ were said by the Semang to be effective at ‘a distance of probably two days’ journey.’ The Malan is believed that all diseases are caused either by the spells of bad men or by spirits.

Among the latter are the smallpox demon, which the Malan avoid even mentioning by name; the dropical demon (bantu kuant), which haunts the abodes of men and aflicts them with distemper in the stomach and head; the Demon Huntsman (the bantu si buku of Malayian origin), who dwells in lakes or pools, is black, and has three hands which he will cause to take up a man and pull him into the forest; if they catch him, they will drink his blood. In every stream, in the ground, in trees, and in caves and crevices of rocks dwell malignant demons who cause disease or mischief to men in various ways, as by sucking their blood and thus causing their death. When these islets are surrounded, the bantu person 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 (bantu sungit), which are evil and feed on the human ›simangat‹.

The Malan magician’s most noted form of ‘sending’ is the ›tijin‹, 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 maga-"
A ceremony of exorcism known as sóoi, or, more commonly, as sawoi, is employed by the Bésis in case of illness or when an answer is required to a question concerning the welfare of an individual.

The ceremony takes place in a hut in complete darkness. After incantations accompanied by the rhythmic drumming of bajang, the exorcist, the centre of the ceremony, lays on the floor, the spot on which he is laid depending upon one member of the company, who answers any questions put to him while he is in a state of trance or possession. In the inner part of the hut there creeps a small kitten. This is fed, or rather the chamber or cell (batul bambun) near the walls of the hut, in which he conceals himself while the ceremony progresses.

The Bésis employ spells and exorcisms to cast out demons and evil spirits, and the control of these is exercised by the use of a bottle, the contents of which are used for the purpose of taking the omens. She then chews some of the bottle's contents ascertains the child's horoscope. At the appointed hour she chooses the holy place in the house, in which she is to be born, by dropping an ash-blade, point downwards, on the floor of the room and then empowers the echoes of the places. She sometimes has been seen to be born in a rush, by dropping an ash- blade, point downwards, on the floor of the room.

In regard to the observances at and after child-birth, it is usual to engage the midwife (bida) in the seventh month by sending her a copper vessel containing three or four packets of betel-leaf, tobacco, and so forth, all of which the betel-charms and then employs it for the purpose of taking the omens. She then chews some of the bottle's contents ascertains the child's horoscope. At the appointed hour she chooses the holy place in the house, in which she is to be born, by dropping an ash- blade, point downwards, on the floor of the room and then empowers the echoes of the places. She sometimes has been seen to be born in a rush, by dropping an ash-blade, point downwards, on the floor of the room.

15. Birth ceremonies and beliefs. — (a) Malay.— There are four spirits, or, rather, demons, which are especially feared by the Malays in relation to child-birth. The languir, 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 possessor can send illness, usually in the form of convulsions or delirium, to any of his relatives. Those who are sometimes made to wear a black silk string armblet as a protection against its attacks. The langsuir, a woman who has died in childbirth, becomes a flying demon, or bansee, who, through having the backs of her neck, sucks the blood of children. It is believed that these demons have occasion become wives and mothers, but, when allowed to dance at village merry-making, they will assume their original form and fly off again.

The pontunok is the still-born daughter of a langsuir. As a precaution intended to prevent the dead mother or still-born child from originating these mischief, the langsuir and pontunok are buried with glass beads in the mouth (to prevent them from shrieking), an egg under each armpit (to prevent them from waving their arms in flight), and needles in the palm of each hand (to prevent them from opening and shutting their hands in flying). The pontunok approaches the form of a rat. The penanggalan, a colossal flying head with hair matted by clots of blood, a species of monstrous vampire or bansee which sucks the blood of children, sits on the roof-tree, or endeavours to force its way into the house. The vehicle is born, it attack the infant. In addition to these four spirits specifically connected with child-birth, there are the familiar two, called polong and pelést, which also give rise to anxiety at this time, though they do not confuse 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 preceded by the pelést, its pet or favourite, which, in the form of a cricket, searches for a victim and enters his body, when found, tail foremost. The pelést is obtained by exhuming the body of a first-born child, a first-born mother's off-pring, which has been dead for 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 family of the small cord, which is used to attack their victims by an owner, and, as such, are sharply distinguished from the more primitive animistic ideas relating to disease, etc., which are held by the Bésis.
and scratched over by the claws of a fowl held tightly by a group of the elder. At about the same period, of the fortieth 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 driven into the river). When the child has, if the infant is a boy, is sent upstream to catch a fish with a casting-net; 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 never want for fish to feed on.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 chilies are prohibited.

Both before and after birth 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-toward act may cause deformity: a child was born with only a thumb, forefinger, and little finger on the left hand owing to the father having, just preceding the birth, fed the child's flesh to a crab with an outcast. 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. In Perak any log marked by, or distorted in growth by, a parasite, if used in building the house, would cause deformity, protract delivery, and endanger the life of both mother and infant. (b) Pagan races.—Superstitions and practices connected with birth, so far as known among the pagans, rather, among those pagan tribes for whom Malayan racial affinities are here claimed, strongly confirm the view that the popular beliefs of the more highly civilized natives of the peninsula are essentially primitive in character. The practice of roasting the mother, e.g., of course on a quite minor scale, is found among the Jakun, Bési, and Mantri, while among the Blandus the charms used at birth are directed against the demons, the *longha (*Malay *longguris), *po1ong, and pérang. In the latter instance, particularly of the Malais. Another incantation is repeated at the moment of removing the caul as a charm against the caul-demon, which licks up the blood of the sufferer. The Sakai bury the umbilicus and their hands in 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 *semangat as a bird is certainly familiar to the Malays, this statement still awaits confirmation among the wild tribesmen. Both Sakai and Jakun make use of the services of a *sage-femme, who among the former has a special but used by the women of the tribe for purposes of confinement. The Bési decorate the mother's mosquito-curtains with the leaf-hangings used on all important ceremonial occasions, while among the Mon of water is boiled during birth, thrown on the feet, and administered to the mother. The sap of certain leaves is given to the child, and a charm is repeated. A name, which is retained until marriage, is given to the child at the moment when the umbilical cord is severed. The Bénsu Jakun fastened a knot to the child at birth, which had a string to which pieces of turmeric, and so forth, were attached. The Jakun also observed a number of food prohibitions: while the children were unable to walk, the parents abstained from certain foods, and the cutting of the first locks of hair—the latter, of course, only when, owing to some vow of the parents, the 'first head-shaving' operation has been postponed until marriage.

Tooth-filing is done by a professional tooth-wizard (*pesang gigi). Neutralizing rice-paste, charms, and the scattering of the several kinds of sacrificial rice and rings of precious metal are employed by the *pesang in order to assert the 'subtlest' (bodi) from his instrument, as well as from the teeth of the patient. The mid-woman's eyes are considered to be especially endangered by the bad emanating from the teeth of the patient. Any 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 sacrifice are often used in the hair-cutting ceremony. The bride's hair is arranged in seven long tresses hanging down her back below the veil which, on this occasion, is carried over her head and is attached a ring of precious metal, and then each tress of hair, on being cut, is allowed to fall with a coco-nut vessel (ornamented for the purpose with a chiron edge), which is half full of fresh coco-nut milk. For this ceremony also the proceedings are opened with the bride's drinking the 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, round, ornamental ear-ring, or ear-stud, is still the mark of virginity. Significantly, the ear-studs, as a general custom, are confined to the ear-lobes of a widow who remarries, the latter being regarded, so to speak, as a sort of 'merry widow,' and being, in fact, actually called jeringly 'the widow adorned' (*sanda ber-hiag). Ear-boring is now usually performed when the child is quite an infant.

Circumcision is practised, the instrument being traditionally a knife of bamboo, but in all the more accessible of the places it would be entirely a non-Mohammedan rite. Especially in the Northern States it is accompanied by such a wealth of irrelevant detail as to suggest that it has been granted upon an ancient festival (probably the tonsure ceremony) belonging to an older faith than that of Islam.1

It is accompanied 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 bride-groom, after which the customary gifts are offered. In Perak he is then taken nude 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-nuts and two small packets of rice are solemnly rolled over him, from head to foot. A hen is then placed on his chest to pick up grains of the yellow rice from his mouth. This is done to drive away *Blitik.2 The boy's teeth are next tapped with a stone by the operator, and, after feasting a procession to the river follows, the object of which is to propitiate the water-spirit. The boy then has his top-knot shorn off and returns to the house for the actual circumcision, during which he takes his seat either on a bank of rice or on his back. In some cases the procession the youths are sometimes carried on men's shoulders, sometimes walking (infants most) in a litter shaped like some strange bird or mythical animal.

The girl's ceremony is much simpler, much more private; it was formerly accompanied by ear-boring and tooth-filing, by shaving the teeth 'black as a borer's bee's wing,' Large round ear-studs were also formerly given by the girls at this period, as embellishments, but, in the east coast, girls sometimes worn on the east coast, they are now worn, on the west coast, only at the wedding ceremony. The preparation for the rite of discarding them a few days later.

In the same part of the peninsula (east coast) the ceremony is not called, as on the west coast, 'entering into Islam,' but, most significantly, 'entering into 
which means literally 'admission into the body of the Malay people'—the most usual meaning of jawi being the vernacular, or 'Malay,' language. Yet another term for the ceremony in these parts was 'purification' (cawat tiadik, literally 'cleaning of the person')—a phrase which is also applied in the same parts of the country to marriage.

(b) Pagas races.—Of the various operations with which it is usual among primitive peoples to mark the attainment of majority, whether marriage or circumcision is practised by the wild tribes except, in the case of the former, among the Sembrong and Jakun of the Batu Palat in Johor, and the Benun, and, in the case of the latter, as elements in the performance of office. 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 more pagan notions. Neither of these, however, is found among both Semang and Jakub, but not among the Jakun, and, judging both from distribution and frequency of use, to believe that the custom originated among the Sakai, and was introduced, though only to a limited degree, among the Semang. The scarification consists of continuous lines from the nose towards the eye, produced by the scarabaeus of a thorn or edge of a sugar-cane leaf, charcoal being rubbed into these scratches by way of pigment. Body-painting is of wider distribution, and is to be seen among Semang, Sakai, and Jakun, but more especially among the Sakai. The colours used are black, white, red, and occasionally yellow. The designs are decorative and magical rather than tribal. Perforation of the nasal septum with 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, whilst the ceremonial filing and blackening of the teeth may belong rather to the Malay stock of ideas. It occurs among the Semang of Kedah and Kelantan, but is there undoubtedly borrowed from the Malays of the neighbouring country.

The shaving of the head, with the exception of a tuft of hair at the nape of the neck, is a custom found among all races. Among the Semang, however, it is found with differences among the Malayans, is most likely a native custom of the wild Negritos, as it is also found among their Andamanese kindred.

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 ryming stanzas. The term of the engagement is thus settled. The amount of the marriage settlement is fixed by custom at a bharas of dollars (§22, about £2, 6s.) in Selangor, or £3-25 (about £3, 6s.) in Perak, etc. The sum is not usually mentioned unless a modification of this arrangement is to be made. A breach on the part of the bride's parents involves forfeiture of double the marriage portion. The affinity pair avoid one another, but there is a regular system of exchange of presents, those given by the girl being deposited in a basket hung from a branch or pole, and those given by the boy's side in a basket placed in the shape of birds or fishes. It should be added that the Malay name of the ceremony in the peninsula, berpinaung, is an interesting parallel to the splitting of the betelnut (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 work of decorating the houses, and ending the following day, with two standard candelsticks, often 6 ft. high, before the door of the bride's chamber. The arrangement of the dais (pilamin) is of extreme importance, since the number of big white (or in some cases of a Baja, 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 (Bintang Bintang), by which the ceiling is decked with an awning or 'heaven' (Bintang-Bintang).

The basic forms of the rite, which were those of a royal wedding, include the so-called 'bride-price,' the food-sharing ceremony, and the approximation of the dress of the bride (who on this occasion wears trousers) to that of her husband (who wears a skirt). It is this fact that, as A. E. Crawley 1 has explained, helps to account for the apparent resemblance to royal cere– 2 monies, which may be noticed in so many instances and forms, which seems partly to disguise the subjects of the ceremony in order to avert the possible danger attaching to what is certainly regarded as a critical occasion, and partly to promote a more perfect union between the parties by means of the 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 practicable) of the distinctions of sex. The pretence of king–ship by which the bridegroom is made to wear bracelets, chain, neck-ornament (and, if we may go by the analogy of Malay funeral custom, even the kris) is simply, therefore, an attempt to secure a really effective dignity 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-adulation; they are really the paraphernalia worn by all persons of the Malay race on certain critical occasions, 2 in order to banish the spirits of evil and thus to avert mischief and danger. Till recent years the cere– monies of the marriage of the bride were also carried out by the bridegroom's kin, and was performed in the home of the bride. They included, in the earlier times, a highly marked ceremony of the 'bride-price,' the sum of money paid is often a very large one, and of almost entirely non-Malayman, and often took place in country districts without the intervention of any mosque official whatever. Lustrations followed, and on the second day toasts were drunk.

In certain details the wedding ceremonial has now become Muhammadanized in character; among these is to be included, most probably, the smoking of the fingers of the bride and bridegroom with henna. The henna-staining at first is done in succession ('by stealths'), 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' (teri biso) performed; on the fourth day the procession of the bridegroom to the house of the bride's parents takes place. Here, on his arrival, his progress was in former days occasionally opposed by 'marriage contentions,' which was terminated only on his payment of a small fine or ransom to these (for the sake) self-appointed authorities. This part of the ceremony, which used to be explained as an example of the so-called 'marriage by capture,' is now taken to be merely an expression of the antagonism between the two races, whereas a rope or piece of red cloth barred the way, and a stout resistance was offered until the bridegroom had paid the fine demanded. Even then admission to the home was only gained by the resistance of women of the bride's party. The simple marriage service—a mere bade and blessing of the children—omitted the custom by which the bride's parents took place on the day before the procession. The groom

1 The Mystic Rose, London, 1902, p. 236, quoting the Malay ceremony.
2 Not specially in connexion with kingship.
is then taken to the bride, and both are seated ceremonially with the bridegroom on one side and the bride on the other, the bride feeling the other from a specially-prepared receptacle (nasi setaka—shr. agala, 'octagonal')—an octagonal ejection of the rice-bowl, the 'ridge of the rice-bowl' (nasi adap), coloured egg (yolk form), etc., and stands before the panchon. The egg, which is coloured streamers, and represents a fruit, with its corn and leaf, are given to the guests as wedding favours. On the third day of the festivities which follow the marriage, the ceremony of baffing for good fortune is placed in the evening. Later, at night, a bonfire was formerly lit outside the house and the groom 'stolen', i.e. carried off to his parents. This ceremony was performed in the house next day, after the water-right with yoyings (called 'water-bow') took place (another custom in the same direction) between the bride and the groom. After this the bride and bridegroom each pulled one of the ends of a slip-knot made of a young cocoνo leaf, and the bridal girdle and white threads wound seven times round himself and the bride; in some cases (Patanis) the threads were severed by burning. Seven days after the concluding feast-day the rite of the 'discharging of the ear-rings'—the emblems of the bride's maiden-hood—takes place. For two years the bridegroom may be expected to remain under the roof of his mother-in-law. It has been remarked that in the 'bridal rice' (nasi ber-adakum), in the 'bridal thread' (balingan panical), and in the 'bathing pavilion' (balai pancha—prenisa) we have not only Indian customs, but Indian names. 

In addition to this regular form of marriage with the consent of the girls' parents, the Malays recognized another form of marriage when the parents were notoriously unwilling, the essential feature being that the would-be bridegroom, fully armed, must force his way to the women's apartment and seize upon his bride to prevent her from escaping. If the parents should then give their consent, the customary payments were doubled. This procedure was known as the panjat anghara.

In a second and more peaceful form, the panjat anghara is frequently employed by Malayian Rajas, the groom did not break into the house himself, but sent his kris, accompanied by a message that he was ready with the dowery, doubled in accordance with custom. If the kris was returned (e.g. he sent it back) the dower was doubled and the parents must send back with it a double dowery.

W. E. Maxwell gave both these forms of marriage as being recognized by Malay custom, but, however, as assenting to the second, regards the first as a mere crime passioné. 

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 called, by a Malay word denoting 'purification'. Like their Polynesian colleagues, certain Malays (e.g., Negri Semilan) forbid the marriage of two brothers' or sisters' son and daughter, but not that of a brother's son and a sister's daughter.

(b) Pagan races—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 Semangs the price consisted of the blade of a chopper (pangang), presented by the bridegroom to the bride'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 performed by young men, was itself binding. The Semang, as a rule, were mono-


ganists, and conjugal infidelity was strongly disdained, the immemorial penalty being death, which would now be very uncommon for a heavy fine. Among the Dyaks the body is not generally preserved, as among the Semangs, a knife or yam-tubers.

According to one account, the bride and bridegroom attended at the house of the chief, who, after an inquiry as to their prospects, declared partake of rice, each feeling the other from a specially-prepared receptacle (nasi setaka, agala, 'octagonal'), an octagonal ejection of the rice-bowl, the 'ridge of the rice-bowl' (nasi adap), coloured egg (yolk form), etc., and stands before the panchon. The egg, which is coloured streamers, and represents a fruit, with its corn and leaf, are given to the guests as wedding favours. On the third day of the festivities which follow the marriage, the ceremony of baffing for good fortune is placed in the evening. Later, at night, a bonfire was formerly lit outside the house and the groom 'stolen', i.e. carried off to his parents. This ceremony was performed in the house next day, after the water-right with yoyings (called 'water-bow') took place (another custom in the same direction) between the bride and the groom. After this the bride and bridegroom each pulled one of the ends of a slip-knot made of a young cocoνo leaf, and the bridal girdle and white threads wound seven times round himself and the bride; in some cases (Patanis) the threads were severed by burning. Seven days after the concluding feast-day the rite of the 'discharging of the ear-rings'—the emblems of the bride's maiden-hood—takes place. For two years the bridegroom may be expected to remain under the roof of his mother-in-law. It has been remarked that in the 'bridal rice' (nasi ber-adakum), in the 'bridal thread' (balingan panical), and in the 'bathing pavilion' (balai pancha—prenisa) we have not only Indian customs, but Indian names.

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7 Wherever the old Palahang (Sumatra) tradition exists—in Pahang, Johor, Riau, Malacca, Selangor, and Perak—the mother-in-law sits in the front seat, and rests her hands on the knees. But, if the bride leaves the Palahang area and crosses into Patani, the ceremony is different, the recital are different. We are not able to give the customs in these other parts of the Malay Peninsula.


9 See the maps of the Malay Peninsula by Professor A. J. W. Hill (School of Oriental Studies, 1910), especially Plate 79.

10 Wilkinson, p. 64.

11 A. P. Need, Malay Magic, p. 291.

12 P. W. 29.
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 pay no serious attention to their 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 spiritual world, and they believe that if they do not bury the dead properly, the spirits will not allow them not merely to desert the house in which any 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 Kelah Semang the grave is usually surrounded by a low fence of palm-leaves, and the two branches upon which the body was 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 rooted with palm-leaves, prevents any earth from falling on it. The legs are drawn up, probably, as the grave is only 5 ft. long, for the sake of more convenience. Three coconut shells are placed in the grave, the head and sides, and a cocoanut shell at the foot holding water.

It is probable that at one time the Negritos (Semang) practised tree-burials, for some of their medicine-men may still occasionally be exposed in trees in the forest—this being a more honourable form of burial. Among the Malays a tradition is current that the Semang used once upon a time to devour their dead. It is unnecessary to place any curse in this statement; its importance lies in the fact that it probably alludes to the existence at one time of a custom analogous to that of the Andaman Islanders, who disinter and dismember their dead after a ceremonial. Of Sakai methods of burial little is known with certainty, the reason being apparently the fact that they throw the bodies of the dead into the jungle, or simply left them to rot away in their primitive hut-shelters. It is certain that they have always shown the utmost abhorrence and terror of the dead, abandoning their huts—and even clearings with growing crops—when a death had happened in their encampment. A modified form or survival of platform-burial is the so-called Sakai of Selangor (Ulm Langat), by whom the body was exposed on a platform in front of the house for twenty-four hours.

Jakun (or Malayan) ritual and practice is more elaborate than those of the Semang and in the solicitude shown for the welfare of the departed imply an entirely different mental attitude towards death from that of the Sakai and the Semang. In many respects there is close affinity with Malay customs.

The body is carefully washed and prepared for the grave. It is covered with white cloth, and laid on a mat, which, in turn, is placed upon a tree-bark wrapper. This tree-bark wrapper is lashed round the body and used for carrying it to the grave-site. Frequently the blade of a chopper (parang) is laid on the breast of the dead. The Orang Dukht cut a hole in the side of the clothes in order that the corpse may 'breathe' more fully. It is customary also for them to make crosses on the palms of the hand and soles of the feet with a yellowish root, which, on being bruised, leaves a stain behind it. By these marks the deceased person recognizes, on waking up in the next life, be or she is really lifeless. At the grave the tree-bark wrapper is removed, and the body is laid on its back, or sometimes facing east, if an adult, west if a child (Malut). A cable-bag covering, in accordance with the Malay custom, is formed from pickets covered with tree-bark and a large mouth (or also a Malay musap) to keep the earth from striking the body. The Orang Dukht (Hill Men) place a dish of boiled rice at the feet for the spirits, and one at the middle for the departed. The custom is commonly the last to be observed in the grave and all of the superstitious and the decency of the dead are exhibited in the most distinctive of the daily duties of the sexes. An extremely interesting practice among the Bajau consists in their erecting a yard or two or three lems from the feet of the grave, a small triangle, with a big fan palm-leaf made to lean against it, fitted with a stick-halter by which the ghost may climb up. In the lot are
placed models of domestic and other animals and implements, and distinctively sexed, of ebony, tortoise-shell, and fish, and fruits, water, and sugar. When the grave has been filled in, the second offering is made on the grave itself in order to provide for the ghost, when the grain has grown up and ripened, with suitable nourishment. Among these people it was usual for two men to stand one on each side of the grave and simultaneously to let fall two choppers, horizontally crossing, upon the mound at about the spot where the breast would have done the work. The ghosts of the deceased scattered the fragments on the grave-mound. At each end of the mound the Jakam commonly placed wooden tombs—posts bound with white cloths similar to those used by the Malay and, again like the Malays, they enclosed the grave, when made up, with a framework of wooden planks.

The feeling for the welfare of the dead which is expressed among the Hindis by the seed rice sown over the grave is also rivalled by a ritual ceremony of a number of offerings at or near the place of internment. The Hindis themselves plant yams, sweet potatoes, etc., near by, while on the grave of a jokir (ritual chief) described by D. F. A. Hervey (JRAS, Straits Branch, no. 8 [1883], p. 119), were sticks to serve as ladders for the spirits up into the sky in a cooking-pan, as well as the basket in which firewood is usually carried. This grave was also provided with a trench in which the dead man could paddle his canoe—apparently a link with boat-burial. Among the Beremban a bamboo was placed upright near the face of a child, with one end projecting from the ground and another buried in the sand. A square mould is likewise placed over the grave for three days, while the Sabahu visited the grave on the third and seventh days and one month after internment. These are the offerings of rice, tobacco, etc., to the house and clearing after a death; usually, however, this took place after a month's interval.

19. Omens, divination, and oracles. — Astrological calculations based upon the supposed values of the numbers and the properties of numerals are largely employed in divinatory ritual. Exhaustive tables of unlucky and lucky times and seasons have been compiled by the Malay, but are proved to have been largely translated from Indian or Persian works. The oldest and best known of the 'magic squares' founded upon these systems is that known as the 'five times' (batika lima), in which the day is divided into five parts, while five days form a cycle, the name of a Hindu divinity being assigned to each division. Mystic values are also attached to certain colours in connexion with these divisions. Another scheme is based upon the seven heavenly bodies, the divisions being, correspondingly, seven in number. Malay astrological knowledge largely depends upon the signs of the zodiac, and the various systems are founded upon these bodies. As has been remarked, the names of five of the greater Hindu deities are attached to the Arts, and the Malays are especially partial to the magic square, which generally takes the form of the square once used in Europe, but sometimes works conversely—the latter being, no doubt, the older native form proper to the Malays. It has been remarked that the Malays introduce both coloured squares and the names of five of the greater Hindu deities. Besides these squares, many other magical figures—pentacles, compass-figures, and the like—are much used by Malay diviners.

In interpreting omens from dreams the method usually employed is that the initial letter of the thing dreamed of determines the character of the omen. T is very unlucky, X indicates sorrow, while the initial letter of the word or phrase gives the essence of the dream. In a divinatory system an almost entirely arbitrary interpretation is put upon the subject-matter of the dream, or, at most, it is interpreted by analogy. In a third method, however, the nature of the thing dreamed does actually suggest its interpretation, with the proviso that so-called 'direct' dreams come only on the eve of a great wish, whereas on other days the dream works backward.

It may be added that the doctrine of luck plays a most important part in what may be called Malay 'natural religion.' By certain signs and indications not only human affairs, but also birds and animals, are either credited or condemned as the possession of luck or believed to be invested with the power of bringing it to others; in a fine passage the Malay deer-wizard chants as follows:

'From the valleys of the rich, / Comes the intense barking of my Hounds. / My Hounds are Hounds of Luck, / Not Luck that is adventurous, / But Luck incarnate with their bodies.'

Even inanimate objects, such as trusses and other weapons, may be brinatful of luck, or otherwise.

(a) Malay. — Omens and divinations play a part of paramount importance in every department of life's activities in Malaya. Equal significance is attached to signs derived from the acts of men and those we have the rite of divination properly so-called (tilak—Skr. tilaka, 'mark').

One form of divination is effected by means of a lemon which, after offerings have been made to its spirits, is then sliced open, suspended with incantations over a brazier by seven strands of coloured silk thread, the fruit being itself thrust through by a needle. The nodule is divided, and the result interpreted. The same is done with other drugs in answer questions in the negative or affirmative, and will discover a thief by indicating which of a number of names written on paper is that of the guilty man. A piece of paper is covered by 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 by the medicine-man of a divinatory composed of one, three, or more rattan-stems, inscribed with magical devices, and connected at the base or butt-end, which vibrate when the third approaches; these rods may also be used for treasure or water-finding, as by our own flower," and also for excorizing demons.

It is noteworthy that the Malays attribute the arts of the diviner to animals as well as to men; thus the tiger is said to employ divination when it wishes to secure a human victim, just as tigers are believed to palliate themselves with short tiluk (the medicament applied to the newly circumcised) when wounded.

An important and solemn ordinance was that by diving. This required the consent of the Sultan, and could be conducted only in the presence of the four great (watu) sages. 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 enclosed in a bamboo containing water. One of these bamboo receptacles is given to each of the two

3 Skeat, 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, at a given signal, they are both pressed downwards. Each remains under the water as long as he can, but the longer of the two is released and, appearing above the surface, his tube is snatched from him. The winner is led back, his bamboo opened, and the result declared to the bystanders.

These savage Malays of Malacca also paid much attention to omens when a new clearing was to be made, and charms were used to expel the jungle spirits. The Mantri, in choosing a new locality for a clearing, paid strict attention to the offerings of the spirits towards his undertaking as signified by the dreams of the party. To dream of being chased by a dog or an enemy, entering water, or being flooded out, was an evil omen: to dream of felling or climbing trees, of ascending trees, or of growing plants was of good import.

Divination among the Sakai, so far as records go, is practically non-existent. Among the Jakun it is employed as a part of their medical diagnosis, but whether 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 coming of evil, but he endeavours to ward it off by charms and talismans. Charms in the shape of invocations are extremely numerous, and are addressed to every conceivable form of spirit on every conceivable occasion. But, in addition, the Malay uses a kind of charms made of charms of a more material character. Examples of this class include a length of the *séwambu* (Malacca cane) with a joint equal to the height of the owner, which protects him from snakes and animals; so, too, the ‘tabassheer’ (apparently a form of ‘tabassheer’), 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, others work only by influencing the volition of another mind, as in the case of love-charms, charms for securing conjugal fidelity, and so forth. In most cases the charm consists of a short Arabic or Malay and Arabic prayer or a few magical letters or figures inscribed on paper or cloth and worn on the person. One important use of a charm is to enable the devotee of this magic art to witness the *séwongat* 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 with the others and contact is necessary. Although there is considerable variety, the principles in all cases is the same, and is based upon the Malay theory of the *séwongat*. 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 *séwongat*. As such it is switched with seven strokes three times a day for three days and then is buried in the middle of the path where the victim is bound to pass; on doing so, he becomes distracted. Wood scraped from the floor where he has been sitting, pairings of his nails, and clippings of his hair are utilized in various ways; sometimes they are knotted into a wax figure, which is either transfixed with a thorn in the member that the enchanter desires to injure or burned to ensure the victim’s complete destruction.

Of the various methods of abducting the *séwongat* without contact, the simplest is to go out when the sun clears or when the newly-risen moon glows red, and, standing with the big toe of the right foot resting on the big toe of the left, make a trumpet of the right hand, and recite the appropriate charm thrice over. At the end of each recital, blow through the hollowed out end of a hollow bamboo, or, in the unlikelihood of the bamboo being present, into the hollowed-out part of a mosquito-net on three successive nights, to wave the end of the victim’s head-cloth in the direction of the wind, twice for three successive nights, and so forth, the appropriate charm in each instance being, of course, recited.

With their customary logical thoroughness, the Malays attribute the use of charms and amulets in some cases to wild animals, and even to the trees. The wild boar, e.g., is believed to possess a talisman of extraordinary power called *ranti baro,* ‘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 *kulan baro,* ‘boar’s sucking stone’; the two together made a wild boar invulnerable. A similar ‘lucky stone’ was sometimes worn by the Malay, and, apparently, by the dog also.

Any magically potent object is called *ber-buah.*

(b) Pagan races. — Amulets and talismans are common among the wild tribes. Coins are strung on necklaces to serve as ‘medicine’ or to protect the motif of tufts of squirrels’ tails, teeth of apes, wild pigs, monkeys, and bones of birds and animals, as well as the bristles, teeth, and claws of tigers, which, were first worn, as among the Malays, quite as much for magical purposes as for ornament. To the Mantri strung pieces of turmeric on strings of *artocarpus* bark, and these were worn round the neck, wrists, or waist as prophylactics against demons, bad winds, and, generally, all kinds of evil. They also placed great reliance on the efficacy of spells to render them invulnerable.

Semang women wear amulets of *pala* (*Licinula petiata*) leaf, and men wear similar ornaments of the *rock-vein* (*arut batu*) fungus. It appears that among these tribes, as also in Madagascar and many other parts of the world, the personal adornment was intended to protect them against evil from the spirits by which they were on all sides surrounded. The elaborate patterns of the comb of the Semang and half-breed Sakai-Semang women are similarly designed to ward off accidents and disease, and the copper bracelets, rings, and other objects worn by the Sakai were in effect talismans which preserved the wearer from ill-health and misfortune. The Semang, when wearing these ornaments, 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 that of 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 far as much, however, is clear: the pattern is symbolic of the use to which the object on which it appears is to be put, and its aim is to secure the successful attainment of that object. Exception to this rule may be made in the case of the women’s combs and other articles, the patterns on which are intended to ward off disease, the attacks of reptiles, animals, and noxious insects, and other accidents. The difficulty of comprehending and interpreting these designs is increased by the fact that, in the usual fashion of primitive artists, the wild tribes make a part stand for the whole. The slots of deer on a bamboo quiver, e.g., represent the whole animals, which, it is hoped, will be induced, by being represented as such, to fly away towards certain wild jungle-fruits beloved of the deer, to visit a particular feeding-ground, when they can be more easily marked down and captured. The articles decorated in this manner
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with magical intent include, in addition to the Semang combs, large bamboo tubes used as quivers for darts and arrows, the last being covered with patterns intended to secure success in hunting. Other articles similarly adorned are 'stampers' (i.e., hammers used in tattooing), amulets against disease, insect pests, drought, etc.). Besides these they decorate bamboo rice-dippers, poison receptacles, tobacco receptacles, blowpipes, arrows, no-sticks, etc., mats and wallets (Sakai and Jakun), batik cloth (with painting only), and the human body, the last not only with painting, but also with tattooing and scarification (likewise especially among the Sakai).

LITERATURE.—This is cited throughout the article. Special use has been made of W. W. Skeat, Malay Magic, London, 1913, for the elements of the Malay Peninsula, do. 1906 (with full bibliography).

MALE PRINCIPLE.—See PHALALISM, SEX.

MALIK IBN ANAS.—Malik ibn Anas, the founder of the Malikite school, was born in the month of Rabi’ al-Awwal A.H. 55 (A.D. Nov. 715). He was of pure Arabic stock, being descended from the tribe of the Kharijites, who are traced to one of the tribes of Yemen. When still a youth, he had already acquired a full knowledge of the Qur’an, 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 his birthplace Medina as a mujtahid 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 so-called Murottal (lit. 'The Beaten Path'), the basis of the whole Malikite system of Muslim law. This book is not a mere collection of traditions. It deals not only with the sayings of the Prophet but also with the opinions of several famous fuqaha 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 text. But the contents of the Murottal prove the contrary. According to his later biographers, Malik repeated of this in his old age. It is told that, when he sat down in his last illness and wept, he was asked: 'What were you weeping about?' His reply was: 'I have no reason to weep than I? By Allah, I should wish that I had been left and released for every question of law on which I pronounced an opinion founded on my own fallible judgment!'

The text of the Murottal is handed on by Malik’s disciples in different versions. The best known is the text of Yahya al-Mas‘umi, which was printed with the commentary of Muhammad al-Zarqani in 4 vols. at Cairo (1863). Another version is that of Mu‘izz al-Din, al-Shaf‘i, 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 government. In the year A.H. 145 (A.D. 763), as some persons had accused him of declaring that he did not consider the oath of allegiance to the ‘Abbasid khalif as binding, he was even flogged and treated in a most scandalous manner. After this treatment, however, he rose still higher in public estimation in Medina, where he died on the 10th of the month Rabi’ al-Awwal, A.H. 179 (A.D. 563 June 765).

Malik ibn Anas enjoys the reputation throughout the Muslim world of being one of the greatest fuqaha 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, Tunis, Tripoli), and in many other parts of Africa.


MALTHUSIANISM.—Some economic and social investigations seem to have been haunted by an evil fate. The subject with which they are concerned seized 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 (1768-1834) on Population. Popular interest in his work grew much more rapidly than the criticism of it was 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 human species, and of being guilty not merely of heterodoxy but also of atheism. It was said that the theory of Malthus levels at God, and the injuries it mediates inflicting upon man, will be ended by neither’ (M. T. Sadler, Law of Population, i. 13). Further, the principles of population enunciated by Malthus have been developed in several directions by subsequent writers; and all these views are described roughly by the vague and comprehensive term 'Malthusianism', which means little more than the consideration of the relation between increase of population and the available food supply. Malthusianism, in fact, has no more definite meaning than 'Smithianism' in Germany.

It would be a mistake to consider that Malthus was the first to draw attention to the population problem. The Mercantilists had explicitly advocated 'population' as an important condition of national wealth, and their views had influenced social legislation and poor-law administration in England during the 17th century. Malthus had mentioned that ‘every species of animals naturally multiplies in proportion to the means of their 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 gross expansion of freedom which condition there would be a sufficiency 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 beings would exist in which the means of every happiness would be formed a common topic of discussion among those who were interested in political science.
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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 favorably disposed towards the views with which 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. Popula-

tion, when unchecked, doubles itself every twenty-five years; the reverse process is never so rapid. In fact, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio; i.e., the progression for population, if unchecked, would be 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, while that of subsistence could not exceed 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Population had not increased in a geometrical ratio, owing to the checks imposed upon it by misery and vice, the former being certain and the latter probable. Malthus makes 'a constant effort towards an increase of population,' with the result that there is a constant tendency towards distress among the lower classes (*Essay*, 1798, p. 29). As against Godwin, Malthus pointed to 'the multitude of human and evilliving 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 it overestimates the darkness of the situation. An attempt was made to correct this in the second edition (1803), which is practically a new book. The *treatise* of 1798 was in the main the 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 progressions remain, but the exposition of the checks to increase of numbers is worded differently. Malthus 'values,' to what Malthus terms 'moral restraint.' This new characteristic anticipates, and so prevents, a pressure on the means of subsistence; and, where it is observed, actual misery, as a result of population, need not arise. Moral restraint is, strictly speaking, 'moral' only in so far as it is exclusive of 'irregular gratifications'; its main characteristic is rather that of rational prudence, based on man's 'reasoning faculties which enable him to calculate distant consequences' (*Essay*, 1803, p. 9, 11), such as his capacity to support a large family without lowering a suitable standard of life. Hence moral restraint operates in the direction of postponing early marriages as well as irregular connexions. It means, in fact, as J. Bonar puts it, simply continence (*Malthus and his Work*, p. 53).

Much of the popularity of the principles of Malthus may have been due to his summing up the foundations of his theory in a formula which is capable of being apprehended easily and remembered, especially as the geometrical and arithmetical ratios seem to provide the certainty of a mathematical demonstration. But the formula should not be understood only by reason of the sim-}


ephatic objection is that Malthus founds his argument 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 established at a given time is subject to a variable consequent on the proportion 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 of countries where 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 never formally and fully proved by Malthus; indeed, his point of view is that of the state of population in America (*Essay*, 1798, p. 20) 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 would not enable a larger population to be maintained by the same supply. The whole statement of Malthus regarding agriculture in his earlier edition is embarrassed by his ignorance of the work of Mr. J. S. Mill, who had learned that the increase of population drove agriculturists to cultivate more and more inferior soils, so that a larger and larger proportion of the world's labour would be 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 months which the increase of mankind calls into existence, bring with them hands. The new mouths require as much food as the old ones, and the hands do not produce as much' (*Principles*, bk. i. ch. xii. § 2). Mill, like the rest of the Classical School, regarded Diminishing Returns as a 'law' which could be suspended only temporarily by the disturbing influence of improvements. The present discussion considers Diminishing Returns as a tendency which is subject to frequent counteraction. The difference of outlook removes some of the gloom which settled on the population question during the 'dismal' era of the first half of the 19th century. The real influence of Malthus—survives in a much modified form, on the one side in the responsibilities of parents in being able to provide for their offspring, on the other in a ceaseless effort to effect improvements in the productive arts, particularly in those connected with the provision of the world's food supply.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the doctrines and practices of 'Neo-Malthusianism,' or the voluntary restriction of the birth-rate, form no part of Malthus's own teachings and would doubtless have been indignantly repudiated by him.

transliteration of the Gr. μαμωνάς, a form which, with μμα, appears in TR, with Latin Vulgate, six Old Latin, and a few Greek manuscripts. The correct Greek, however, is μμα, which is found in RV, with all the English versions, as well as in the Complutensian and the first two editions of Erasmus; but the influence of the Vulgate led to the appearance of μμ in the later editions of Erasmus and in AV (for 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 hallowed form of the Aram. ΜΑΜΩΝ, which means 'money,' 'riches,' 'worldly goods.' Wyclif and Purvey translated the word as 'riches,' and to hold Tindal followed the Vulgate in transliterating the word, and so did all earlier English versions, except Geneva.

1. Derivation.—The Aramaic form ממון (stat. emph. ממון) follows a well-recognized form of nominal inf. ממון, but scholars are divided as to what is the verbal root.

(1) J. Drusius (quoted in J. Buxtorf, Lexicon Chaldaeum, Basel, 1640, x.), and Dalman (in PRE XII. 135) derive the word from מון, i.e. ממון, i.e. 'the store' or 'that which a man trusts,' or, as Dalman prefers, 'that which brings man into safety.' (2) Jastrow (Talmud Dictionary, p. 794) derives it from מון; and thus ממון itself that which one accumulates. (3) Levy (Naucratis and chaldaicum Worterbuch, in 138) considers ממון to 'distribute,' to be the root, and thus our word means 'that which is distributed.' (4) W. Gesenius (Thesaurus Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaicae, Leipzig, 1829, ii. 552), as if ממון were the true form, derives it from מון, and says that ממון 'that which one hides or treasures' (Gen 43, Job 33, Prov 24). Hence much of the learned may now differ as to the derivation, it seems certain to the present writer that the Syriac versions all derived the word from ממון, and that they assumed a paronomasia to exist between our word כּוֹן and ממון (pass. part. of ממון), 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 (כּוֹני) in the unrighteous mammon (ממון), who will entrust (ממון) to you the true?' But, since the word ממון is as common in Gallican Aramaic as in Syriac, many verses are probably meant by the word ממון, and say that the paronomasia was probably intended by our Lord in the original Aramaic.

2. Useage.—The trade of the world, before the time of Alexander, had long been in the hands of the Phenicians and Arameans; and we have evidence that in both languages ממון was the word for 'money.' As to the former, it occurs on Phenician inscriptions on tombs at Jaffa, and Augustine, in two passages (de Serv. in Monte, xii. 47, and Quast. Evang. ii. 34), states that the Punic word for lucrum ('wealth') is mammona. Its Aramaic usage is also abundantly attested. Jerome (Ep. exx. 6) affirms: "Non Hebraeorum sed Syrorum lingua, mammona divinitis ministerium."

In roads (iii. viii. 1) attests its use "secundum Indicam loquem, qua et Samaritana utuntur."

The Aramaic Targums often contain the word, e.g., Pr 30, 'Honour the Lord with thy ממון,' and elsewhere, 'O ye that wish to learn wisdom, without price and without ממון;' Jer 5, 'They accepted no ממון of silver;' in Ex 18 the ideal judges are those 'that hate the receiving of ממון.' In the Aramaic sections of the Peshitta Talmud, the same story is told twice (Bab. y. 3; Prakhkahk, vii. 2) of 300 poor Nazarites who came for purification. R. Simeon asked King Jannaeus to give half the cost, but it turned out that the king paid all
the money (μανάς) and the Rabbis half was his knowledge of Tora. [h. 36] 610 says:

'There are men whose money (μανάς) is dearer to them than their own body.'

There is also a classification in lawsuits between those who concern money (πωλεῖν ἔργα) and those which concern the person (πώλησαι ἑαυτόν). This is found often in the Talmud and also in Jevus. Targ. to Dt 15. The pre-Christian usage of our word even in Hebrew is shown from Sir 31, 'Blessed is he . . . who goes among men and among money.' The glossators of LXX show themselves acquainted with the word, for in Ps 36 (EV 37) they misread τὰς μανᾶς as μάνας. 'Thou shalt dwell in the land and be in wealth'; and in Pirqe Abodah (ii. 16) we have a 'saying' of R. Jose: 'Let the property (μανᾶς) 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' (10).

The phrase μανᾶς φρονεῖ is a well recognized phrase in the Targums for 'money earned through deceit or fraud.' The crime of Samuel's son was that 'they turned after mammon of fraud' (1 S 8); cf. also Pr 15, Is 33, Ezk 33, Hos 5.

(1) In Lk 16: 'Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness,' the difficulty is: to whom was Christ speaking? Lightfoot (Horae Hebraicae, i. 159 ff.), A. B. Bruce (Expositions' Greek Testament, i. (1887); 388 f.), 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 (156), and who were still in the crowd (16). 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 Zadchias, when converted, voluntarily did ('goose 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 unrighteousness in order to have wherewith to do charitable deeds' (Bruce, loc. cit.).

The alternative view, that the words are said to the Twelve, and that μανᾶς φρονεῖ is the evil spirit seeking 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 16:1 we have a contrast between θανάτῳ μανᾶς and ἀθάνατος μανᾶς, which seems to turn on a second meaning of μανᾶς. In the original Aramaic, μαμон means (a) 'deceit,' (b) 'fraud,' and (b) 'nothingness,' 'illusion,' 'vanity.' We believe that ἀθανάτωσι means 'to be unrighteous,' (b) '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). We surmise, then, that μανᾶς μαμον would, in the original Aramaic, appear in both v. and 1; but in v. μανᾶς means 'deceit,' 'fraud,' while in 1 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 μανᾶς.

(3) In Lk 16:3, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon,' the emphasis is on 'serve' (δουλεύετε). No man can at the same time be the δούλος of God and of worldly wealth. Theordinate 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 which concern the person (δουλεύετε).

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 of unrighteousness' has been made familiar by Carlyle (Past and Present, bk. iii. 2, bk. iv. 4, 8, etc.), and is, no doubt, useful in emphasizing strenuously the warning of Jesus, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon.'


J. T. MARSHALL.

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 usual sense will be found to stand in close relation to the scientific, despite the fact that the latter represents but the generalized content of various concepts prevailing in different ethnic areas and presumably of more or less independent origin.

1. Local meaning of mana.—The word, says R. H. Codrington (The Melanesians, p. 119 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 in no respect been improved by later observations, because 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 usage, whereas there is reason 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: (a) theoretical, comprising the native view of what it is, how it is used; and (b) practical, the attention of the present writer to a passing in the 'Pasific Societies Bartholomaei Apollonis in Asia Apocatoles Apocrypha,' ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Dunlop, Leipzig, 1891-1905, vol. ii, ed. 1, p. 99, that the Mana of Polynesia was confounded with the illusion, 'Mano, as it were, was as sae se exculsum, est alienum sibi angelum apostolicum, qui Mammon dictor, sociavit, et protulit immensa pondrae sui argenti, sesonum et omnis gloriam quae est in auge excelso et dixit et: Hae omnis 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.

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 power or excellence where a man possesses. Thus mana is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but symbolized better by endowed natural or supernatural beings, being it and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of a stone or a bone" (p. 119 n.). Or, again, it is described as "a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which is derived from the mana of the gods and of the world beyond man." (p. 118)

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 with 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 religion and witchcraft.

So much for the nature attributed to mana—which, be it noted, is nonn, adjective, or verb, since it is equally a property, quality, or state. It may next be shown how such an attribution is a result of experience and sometimes of experiment.

"If a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness of resource that has brought him success; he has certainly got the success through a spirit or of some deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet of a stone round his neck, or a tuff of leaves in his belt, in a tooth hung upon a finger of his hand, or in the form of words with which he bears supernatural assistance to his side. If a man's pigs multiply, and his garden is productive, it is not because he is industrious and looks after his property, but because of the stones full of mana for pigs and yams that he possesses: on game he will score a natural grow when planted, that is well known, but it will not be very large unless mana comes into play; a canoe will not be swift unless mana be thrown upon it, a net will not catch many fish, nor an arrow inflict a mortal wound" (p. 120).

Moreover, in this matter the native mind proceeds logically enough by the method of hypothesis and veriety.

"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 stone, but mana abounds 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 puts it on the ground when he plants his garden; an abundant crop on the tree or in the garden shews that he is right, the stone is mana, has that power in it" (p. 119).

Hypothesis and verification even lurk behind the forms of prayer.

Thus at Florida, one of the Solomon Islands, a fisherman addresses Baula, a tikiala, or ghost, connected with the frigate-bird, in these words: "If thou art powerful, mana, O Baula, put a fish or two into this net and let them die there." If he makes a good catch, he thereupon exclaims, "Powerful, mana, is the tikiala 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. 32).

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 the mana chant for working the stone; the people were ready enough to believe this, but the stone proved unmanageable piece of black earth, and so the departed chief's like 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 example that it is an ideal couple (though it may be 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 Suge, i.e. secret society or chief] money is wanted, and food and pigs; no one can get these unless he has mana for it; therefore an ascent vigour and more mana on in the Suge, so every one high in the Suge is certainly a man with mana, and a man of authority, a great spirit, one who is called a chiefly" (p. 105; cf. p. 110). In the after-life, too, the 'ghost who is to be worshipped is the spirit of a man who in his earthly lifetime had mana in him; the souls of common and common herd of ghosts, nobodies alike before and after death. The supernatural power abiding in the powerful living man resides in his ghost; the supernatural power which exists in the man is, therefore, the same as the supernatural power which exists in the ghost. Hence, the mana of the living man and the mana of the dead body are the same" (p. 125).

As for the narrative 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 stones beneath it, lying like a saw among her litter, he was sure that the greater supernatural spirit of the stone would be thought to have mana (pp. 121, 122).

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 man who means to give mana to the fire, or to the fire and sunshine may result (p. 201.)

In other cases, the mana is seen to lend itself not only to transmission, but likewise to a sort of accumulation.

To make rain, leaves that are mana for this purpose are caused to ferment so that a steam charged with mana may rise up to make clouds, and at the same time a stone that is mana for rain is placed there to point to the rain. The mana, accordingly, comes first. When it arrives by the wind from the sea, and is communicated to the air, it becomes this by the process of 'enchantment' or 'transmutation.' This it is which thus effects the supernormal. It is, however, somewhat doubtful, inasmuch as, if a man has mana, it resides in his 'spiritual parts,' which after death becomes manifest on the earth, 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 is, being supernatural (to use Codrington's own term), must ultimately come from pre-eminently supernatural personalities such as ghosts or spirits. The existence of such a view, however, need not blind us to the fact that it is the man who inducts great things in the world that is after death supposed to bring mana with man, a 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. 125). Similarly, if because of the mana with little stones round it is like a saw among her litter that it is credited with mana; and the doctrine that it belongs to spirits (p. 183) is, clearly, but an explanatory after-thought. Thus neither animism (in Tylor's sense of the belief in spiritual beings) nor even animatism (the attribution of life and personality) would seem to be essentially involved in the naive experience of the wonder-working thing, whatever be the last word of native theory on the subject. It must be allowed, however, that, if mana does not necessarily imply personality in the easy of the thing with mana, it is none the less perfectly capable of co-existing with it, as in the case of the living man with mana and, being itself something indwelling, comes to be intimately associated with in a holy 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' or 'soul,' but for 'spirit' 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, i.e. 'Mana'). Even if, however, mana thus in certain contexts almost amounts to what we term 'personality,' it must be remembered that, according to the native view, such personality is the primitive sequel to mana, and hence it is not a disposition or idea—say, an artist's—personality as attaching to his work), so that the mana as the realized personality of a powerful individual may be operative through the medium of what he makes or owns or leaves behind him at death.

(b) Practical aspect.—Coloington roundly declares that 'all Melanesian religion' consists in getting mana for oneself or getting it used for one's benefit—all religion, that is, so far as religious practices go (p. 199 n.). As he shows by numerous examples, to obtain mana is the object to which all prayers and sacrifices are directed.

Or, again, as can be gathered from Tregear's *Dictionary, mana may be used to express the performance of miracles, the exertion of a gift of healing, the interpretation of omens, an act of prophecy, in short, all the manifestations of a wonder-working beneficence which a religious man may aspire to set in motion. 'On the other hand, mana is a two-edged weapon and may just as readily be employed in the service of maleficence. Those who have the mana to produce wind or calm, sunshine or rain, are wont to turn it either way as it is made worth their while to turn it' (Codrington, p. 200). Healing on occasion is positive, pain or at least the approach of pain is negative. Where mana is a two-edged weapon, the same is true of orenda. As Tregear's citation of phrases shows, accident and misfortune, cursing and intimidation, involve the exercise of mana no less than does any and every form of blessing. In short, all traffic in mana may be just as readily be employed in the service of maleficence, or just as readily be employed in the service of beneficence, according to whether the user of mana is or is not guilty, invoke mana; and, just as electrical energy may be exploited alike in the public service and with criminal intent, so mana lends itself to the manipulation of the expert, be his motive moral or the reverse. Further, whatever is mana is likewise, in a complementary aspect, 'not to be lightly approached,' or, as we find it convenient for comparative purposes to say, 'tabu,' though, in Melanesia at all events, the word tRNA (t 66 56 u, tраУ 61 23 8) has a rather different sense, implying human sanction and prohibition, the sacredness involving a supernatural sanction being rendered rather by rango, or, where it is held to be especially severe, by bido (ib. p. 215; cf. pp. 190, 31), as When one has mana to which mana is attached. Whatever his own degree 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 it is liable to exercise on the unwary with such effects as usually attend the careless handling of something extremely potent. In sheer self-protection, then, the proiane, that is to say, ordinary folk in their ordinary manner of life, observe a number of tabus towards the person or thing that is mana. Meanwhile, conversely, such tabu may be looked upon as helping to keep the holy person or thing inviolate, or guarding the mana from desecrating influences that will somehow spoil its efficacy.

2. Scientific meaning of mana.—It remains to determine what mana may appropriately mean when used as a class-name of world-wide application. Just as tabu has been turned into a general category standing for any prohibition resting on a magico-religious sanction, so mana 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 used without reference to the particular associations 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 scientific classification, mana should not cover all cases of magico-religious efficacy, whether the efficacy be conceived as automatic or derived, i.e., as proceeding immediately from the nature of the sacred person or thing, or mediately because a ghost or spirit has power 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 arising 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 'whether' or, '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 an orenda' as the term for the soothsayer, or hear of the orenda of the cicadas, which is known as the 'maize-riper' because, if it sings in the early morning, a hot day follows. Not only the soothsayer, however, but the mighty hunter likewise, or, he who has mana, is credited with great orenda, though, if the hunter fails, or the gambler is worsted, then his orenda has been thwarted by the greater orenda of the game or of the rival player (N. B. Tregear, *American Folk-Lore, 1902, p. 38 f.). Indeed, everybody and everything would seem to have orenda in some degree, the world being regarded as a sort of battle-ground where unequal forces are matched in a great struggle, or, the strongest obtains his desire (he is arrayed in his orenda) is the regular way of expressing 'he hopes' (ib. p. 39), while the weaker must submit (he lays down his orenda is equivalent to 'he prays' (ib. p. 40). Sometimes one may come near to what we should term will-power, and doubtless such will-power is freely attributed to what we consider to be inanimate objects, as when 'it is making its orenda' is said indifferently of an animal in a rage or of a storm brewing. But sometimes the orenda would seem to act automatically and independently of the wills of those who seek to bring it into action, as when the condolence ceremony, whereby a sort of figurative resurrection is accorded to a dead chief, has to be performed in winter lest its association with death should exert an evil orenda on the crops (ib. p. 34). For the rest, orenda may work either for good or for evil, though a separate word abjon may be used to denote the specifically bad kind of orenda, and is actually displacing the more general term, as if the malign aspect of its manifestations made the more lasting impression on the tribal mind (ib. p. 37 n.). See, further, art. ORENDA.

(2) Wakan.—This Siouan word 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
I plant something in my field, I put it into some of my hasina. Another man will therefore respect it, unless he feels his hasina to be greater, in which case he can receive the multi-pledged charm described by H. R. Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, Philadelphia, 1853-57, v. 70 [see A. C. Fletcher, Proc. Amer. Assn. for Adv. of Science, 1897, p. 326]. In short, the term may be applied indiscriminately to stone or mirror charms, to amulets, to animals and trees, to fetishes and ceremonial objects of all sorts, and, in fact, to anything that exhibits wonder-working power (cf. W. J. McGee, in REDIV [1897] 182).

Therefore once more we have an Algonquian word that is generically identical in meaning with orewa or wakan. 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, while manitou 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. L. Jones, A. E. F., xvii. [1807-1831]). The following account by an Indian of the Fox tribe of the benedict 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 property, a concept he might almost as well be describing an electric bath.

*Often one will cut oneself over the arms and legs ... it is done open up many passages for the manitou to pass into the body. The manitou comes from the place of abode in the stone. It becomes armed by the heat of the fire ... proceeds out of the stone when the water is sprinkled upon it ... and will enter the body of the person whose residence it is. Nature of the body. That is why one feels so well after having been in the sweat-lodge* (ib. p. 183).

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See, further, art. MANITU.

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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 bodily persons and things, and so on. Hasina belongs in a high degree to the king, seeing that he is born in a family which has it, and is strengthened by the ceremonies of people having it, such as sorcerers and his own relatives. Hence his conduct, being highly conspicuous, is apt to cause his subjects to fall ill and to oppress himself. 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 Aman Gengey is probably right in regarding such a taus 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 a Madagascar, p. 17). Indeed, the native theory of kingship turns entirely on this notion of hasina. Thus, at the king’s enthronement, the monarch-elect stands on a sacred stone charged with hasina and cries aloud to the people, 'Have I, have I, have I the power?*, to which they reply, 'The power is thine' (ib. p. 82). Taxes paid to the king are called hasina, being derived from firstfruits and hence inherently sacred, in fact, a tithe. Even when the king is dead, his body transmits its hasina to the place of the grave, which is henceforward sacred (ib. p. 104). It may even be shown (as van Heemstra proves) that the royal practice of strict endogamy, which was carried as far as sister-marriage, was due to the desire to keep the hasina in the family (ib. p. 162). Hasina, however, by no means means the exclusive property of the king. Hasina has 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
a more or less independent being of its own the power whereby a holy person or thing proves or its holiness by means of action supremely efficacious, whether for good or for evil. Modern anthropology lays great stress on this notion of the mana which is said to be intrinsic to any person or thing. Thus, for instance, the first place, mana is usually confined to the element which magic and religion have in common. Among savages my religion corresponds roughly to whatever system of rites is resorted to by the community in general for supernatural objects. In the face of all the dangers, real or imaginary, that beset them. If you are a member of another tribe in perpetual strife with mine, I am not interested enough to attribute to you any religion worth speaking of, even if your rites bear the closest resemblance to mine; but rather incline to pay you the compliment of supposing you to wield a most malignant magic, in proportion as I feel respect for your power of getting the better of me. It is a case of me and my gods against you and your devils. Gods or devils, however, they have power alike, and to the stronger power, whichever it be, the victory goes. Similarly, within the tribe a particular individual may have recourse to mystic rites to help a public cause or to help himself in a way of which the public approves, or contrariwise in order to wreak his private spite on his neighbour. In the former case he is behaving piously, in the latter he shows himself a wizard and deserves to die the death; both the lines of duty are indistinguishable, and power 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 as is distinctly 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, mana and however diverse the characters it may otherwise have, 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 by itself for both two words (=tabu) was 'a general name for the system of religion' in Hawaii (Tregear, s.v. 'Tabu'). Conversely, manoa, a word of the mana type, is translated by McGee 'mystery', because the notions of "powerful, secret, 'grandeur', 'animist', 'immortal' all fall alike within the wide circle of its implications (15 RESE, p. 183). 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 the shrinking which tabu involves. It only remains to add that, having by means of these two general classes 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 distinguish by means of fresh terms of narrower connotation the specific types in which the 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 taboo, which is of the mana type, to be closely bound up with that of tabou, contagion (Tabou et tolémine, p. 17). The idea of spirit, on the other hand, does not lend itself so readily to the representation of such transmissibility or infectiousness on the part of what is sacred, except where some sort of dual personality is manifested, as in the case of what is known as 'inspiration.' Meanwhile the passing on of sacredness between one person and another, one thing to another, or a thing in another direction, is a constant feature of primitive belief, corresponding as it does to that play of association to which the uncritical mind is prone, more especially when rendered suggestive by emotional excitement. Thus, in the Melanesian, 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 therein to warm them, then the hanging of the leaves upon a tree to impart the warmth to the sun and the whole process is interpreted in terms of the transmissibility of mana, from the song to the fire, the fire to the leaves, the leaves to the wind, the wind to the sun, in strict accordance with the associative flow of the interest (cf. Codrington, Melanesians, p. 201). Lastly, mana is the term best suited to express magico-religious value as realized in and through ritual; and ritual, as Robertson Smith has shown once for all, comes before belief in order of importance for the peoples of the lower culture. If mana is, regarded in itself, an impersonal and quasi-mechanical force operating on its own account, even though personal beings may have set it in motion, this is largely because a more or less automatic ritual is connected with such. Whereas the reason and conscious design that are inherent 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 foci 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 to a belief in luck are precisely those who likewise believe in the possibility of controlling it.

LITERATURE.—For the local use of the word mana the locus classicus is R. H. Codrington, The Melanesians, Oxford, 1891. Cf. also E. Tregear, Thus and So (=tabu) was 'a general name for the system of religion' in Hawaii (Tregear, s.v. 'Tabu'). Conversely, manoa, a word of the mana type, is translated by McGee 'mystery', because the notions of power, secret, 'grandeur', 'animist', 'immortal' all fall alike within the wide circle of its implications (15 RESE, p. 183). Mana, however, always implies each other, so that either can stand by itself for both two words (=tabu) was 'a general name for the system of religion' in Hawaii (Tregear, s.v. 'Tabu'). Conversely, manoa, a word of the mana type, is translated by McGee 'mystery', because the notions of power, secret, 'grandeur', 'animist', 'immortal' all fall alike within the wide circle of its implications (15 RESE, p. 183).
MANDÆANS.—See SHIAMANISM.

MANDÆANS.—1. Introduction.—The Mandæans 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 remains and revisions of ancient Gnostic speculation and myth. Adherents of the Mandæan faith, either as larger communities or as distinct family groups, are believed to be found to this day, and may perhaps still be found—in cities and smaller market-towns on the lower Euphrates, the lower Tigris, and the rivers which water the eastern Tigris al-Mulh—which the adjacent Persian province of Huzurstan (Arabian). It is, indeed, necessary for them to live in the neighbourhood of rivers, since immersion in flowing water is an essential, and certainly the most characteristic, feature of their religious practice.

As far as our records carry us, we find their subsisting in very humble conditions, earning their living as tradesmen—carpenters, smiths, locksmiths, goldsmiths—or as shopkeepers. Upon their priests rested the duty of preparing and directing the public religious ceremonies, which were few and by no means sumptuous, as well as that of performing certain rites on behalf of individual members of the community. At these functions it was their regular task to recite a number of extracts from the sacred books. In their conduct, as in others, such recitations take the place of the incantations which are no longer permitted, and in conjunction with the religious rites they serve to effect or to ensure the salvation of the soul.

When the Mandæans began the serious collection of their religious texts—their mythological and legendary documents may also be regarded as revelations—the transcribing of their sacred books, and even a monetary contribution to the expense of such labour, ranked among them as a work which could purge from sin; hence not merely priests, but also a considerable number of laymen, possessed copies. Some of these were obtained by Christian missionaries who, in the result that since the middle of the 17th cent. not a few Mandæan MSS have found their way into European libraries. The books are composed in a distinct Semitic idiom, and written in a special script.

2. Mandæan writings.—The most valuable, from the historical point of view, and—at least in the main—the most ancient portions of Mandæan literature are collected in the voluminous Siūrû rabû (‘Great Book’) or Gezûr (‘Writings’), which is divided into a right and a left part. This consists largely of theological, mythological, ethical, and historical treatises, which are interspersed with prayers, resolutions, and hymns. All these components, so varied in their matter, may be called ‘tractates,’ though only by way of having a uniform term by which they may be enumerated and cited. From the introductory ‘blessings,’ which occur some twenty times, and from postscripts, we may infer that the sixty-four pieces, with three collections of hymns, were gradually incorporated in the ‘Writings,’ 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 Mandæan who expected the end of the world to take place one hundred and fifty years after the foundation of the Arabian sovereignty, and assigned to that sovereignty a duration of only seventy-one years; hence the tractate must have been composed in the early years of the 8th cent. A.D. The short tractate, xiv., B, speaks of Mahomet 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. B, however, notices referring to Muhammad are attached only at the end. The predecessors of these tractates 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 more and those of less 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 not a few are mere patchwork of remnants of works long since lost.

When all has been said, it cannot be doubted that these documents of the Gezûr which speak authoritatively of Mandæan thought and sentiment were composed prior to Muhammad’s day, and such later reduction—often far from competent—as they have undergone was the work of Mandæan priests who were concerned to transmit in some form to future generations the greatest possible amount of their ancestral literature. The actual nucleus or focus of the tractates is a manifesto of the Mandæan priesthood to the community (xxvii. R; cf. M, supplement A). Like the Gezûr, the Sīdūr d’Yahû (‘The Book of John’), or Diwâd d’abdî (‘Recitations of the Fishers of Souls’), or ‘Recitations of the Writings’), or Gezûr (‘Writings’), which is divided into a right and a left part. This consists largely of theological, mythological, ethical, and historical treatises, which are interspersed with prayers, resolutions, and hymns. All these components, so varied in their matter, may be called ‘tractates,’ though only by way of having a uniform term by which they may be enumerated and cited. From the introductory ‘blessings,’ which occur some twenty times, and from postscripts, we may infer that the sixty-four pieces, with three collections of hymns, were gradually incorporated in the ‘Writings,’ 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 Mandæan who expected the end of the world to take place one hundred and fifty years after the foundation of the Arabian sovereignty, and assigned to that sovereignty a duration of only seventy-one years; hence the tractate must have been composed in the early years of the 8th cent. A.D. The short tractate, xiv., B, speaks of Mahomet 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. B, however, notices referring to Muhammad are attached only at the end. The predecessors of these tractates 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 more and those of less 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 not a few are mere patchwork of remnants of works long since lost. When all has been said, it cannot be doubted that these documents of the Gezûr which speak authoritatively of Mandæan thought and sentiment were composed prior to Muhammad’s day, and such later reduction—often far from competent—as they have undergone was the work of Mandæan priests who were concerned to transmit in some form to future generations the greatest possible amount of their ancestral literature. The actual nucleus or focus of the tractates is a manifesto of the Mandæan priesthood to the community (xxvii. R; cf. M, supplement A).
MANDEANS

for the dead (maweseyth). Its poetical sections, which are intended to be recited as hymns or prayers, are worthy to stand beside the songs in the Genesis, though they are possibly not so ancient. They are certainly of much later origin, being the work of writers who were not familiar with the pure form of the Mandean language. The same statement holds good of the two sections of the Marriage Ritual, which has not yet been printed, though there are MSS of it in Oxford.

To the liturgical rubrics of the two works just mentioned corresponds the Diesir preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The name diesir is given by the Mandaeans to a work written on a single long strip of paper. The Paris example is 130 x 6 cm., and gives the procedure for the expiation of ceremonial offences (cf. T. Noldeke, Mandaische Grammatik, p. xxiv). Another Diesir, 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 a deceased Mandean must pass in its ascent (cf. § 28), and, at its destination, the scales and the throne of God. The text has been drawn mainly with ruler and compass, and might be the work of a child’s hand, while some parts of the text found between or at the side of the figures have been rendered illegible by stains and dilapidation. It would appear that 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 Mandean text. 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.

Another Mandean work, one main division of which bears the title Astar malakheh (‘Book of the zodiacal Constellations’), is found in the Royal Library of Berlin. According to the Notice (loc. cit.), it is a compilation, containing all sorts of astrological material of very diverse date, and translated in part from Arabic and Persian; portions of it are of Jewish origin.

Mention should also be made of the recently discovered earthenware bowls with Mandean inscriptions intended to avert a curse or an evil spell. They furnish melancholy evidence of the completeness of Mandean theology.

3. The Mandean language. —The idiom in which this literature is composed is recognized by Noldeke as of importance for the study of the Semitic languages; it is the form of Aramaic which developed in Upper Babylonia, and its nearest congener is the special dialect of the Talmud Babli (i.e. the Aramaic of Upper Babylonia). The script (see below, § 19) has the advantage of expressing the vowel-sounds by letters, and does not require disjunctive signs. A correct interpretation of the texts—at least so far as they are accurately written and in good preservation—has been made possible by the grammar which Noldeke has drawn up from them (Mandaicae Grammatica).

4. Translations. —Ignatius a Jesu, who, as a missionary in Bagh 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 S. Joseph, thought himself able to furnish the key to their writings. The most striking of two translations is that of Maronite, Abraham Echellisi, from three Mandean books, and given to the public in a work printed in 1690 at Rome, that scholar had doubtless succeeded in reading with the assistance of Mandaeans conversant resident in Rome (cf. J. L. p. 5 ff.). From the same period come three renderings of the supposed Mandean baptismal formula, but these show how utterly bewildered the translators were even with the first line of the Mandean books, for it is its title, not its introductory formula. Later essays in translation, the most notable of which were the arbitrarily conjectural version by M. Norberg and the more careful but still very erroneous studies of G. W. Lorschel, are considered in some detail in M. S. pp. xiv-xv. In the latter half of the 19th cent., it also transpired that there was no such traditional interpretation as scholars had expected to find in the hands of the Mandean priests (cf. M. E. F. pp. 7-20). The specimens of translation offered by it have been subjected to the scrutiny of the experts, of the errors of Norberg (ib. pp. 99, 186, 214, 234).

Even with Noldeke’s Grammatik at our disposal, there are still serious obstacles to a complete translation of the Mandean writings. These contain a large number of words 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 Mandean text. 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.

5. Interest of the Mandean texts. —The largest and most interesting portion of the Mandean writings is liturgical and mythological in character. The myths relate to the origin and nature of the world of the gods and of men, and also to the religious history of mankind. They are derived from conceptions of nature, nor did they originate in the popular mind, but were constructed in accordance with theological views. The scientific gains which this vein of liturgy and myth seems to promise—and it is the prospect of such gains that draws us to the study of the Mandean texts—are in the main as follows: (a) enlightenment regarding the meaning of the Mandean rites; (b) a tenable view of the origin and early history of the Mandean religion; and (c) an advancement of our knowledge regarding the character of Oriental Gnosis and its religious bearings.

6. General contents of the Sidrat rabbah, or Genza. —In seeking to solve the riddles which are involved by the Mandaeans and their writings, we must begin with a critical examination of the oldest portions of their literature. We shall, therefore, first direct our attention to the matter found in the Genza. There we find a seeming world fabricated by religious and theological fancy. Gods and demons, or beings of like nature, come before us with actions and utterances which, almost without 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 found in company with one another; sometimes, again, this very act is ascribed to beings 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 would be impossible here to set forth or unravel all this, and we shall only give a conspectus of the survey of the most important trains of thought and imagination to which the vast variety of the materials may be reduced.

7. Ancient Gnostic elements in the Genzê. — The texts 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 emanaclonic doctrines are set forth (cf. MR, p. 24 ff.). Here 'the Great Fruit,' from which immemorable other fruits have sprung, and—as a person divine being—the Great Mánâ of whom, for example, other Great Mánâs have arisen, are spoken of as primal entitites. Beside the Great Mánâ we frequently find 'his counterpart,' the radiant ether (agyar zêvî), or 'the great ether of life' (agyar rabbî d'hâyyya), whose movement sometimes as one of the first emanations; and the same holds good of 'the First Life,' also called 'the Great Life,' and of 'the Great Hidden First Nituffa' (i.e. 'drop,' perhaps thought of as a sperm-drop). In the course of the legend of the great Jordan, which is always represented as a river of white water, as 'the living water,' 'the gleaming and luminous water.' It encircles the realm of the agyar, the world inhabited by the higher beings, and in its descent it is joined by innumerable other Jordans which water the agyar-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 Genzê we find the personified figure of Wisdom making request for revelations as to the graduation of the higher beings according to their period and dignity (MS, p. 262 f.). Nor do the texts in question present us merely with diverse elaborations of a single series of theophagy, attempting to reconstruct an imperfectly conceived system; on the contrary, they contain originally divergent conceptions of the origin of things—conceptions either fabricated or gathered from foreign sources by the Mandaean scholars themselves at a period before the transmitted texts were written. Of the authors of the Genzê it is only the polytheistic group that have made use of these conceptions.

Of the narratives describing the creation of the terrestrial world, some still bear a relation to the theogonies, the relation being peculiarly close in the long and important tractate vi. I, which we may call the Mandaean Genesis. In this text the 'Life' calls 'the Second Life' into existence by a 'request to itself.' Then this 'Second Life' creates for itself a second celestial world, and among the spirits of this higher realm of second rank (the ìṭārat of the Second Life) arises the idea of creating a third world, viz., our earth, with inhabitants who should have the Second Life, not the First. Then the Great Mánâ of Glory, in order to frustrate this design, calls into existence the Manda d'hâyyya, who was to see that the First Life was worshipped also upon the earth.

In the Mandaean dialect mânâd is a by-form of mânad or middâ, a noun from the root 3îî, (cf. Nebelung, Manda. Grammat., p. 75), and Mânad d'hâyyya is equivalent to yònàr yàn tî ìgu, (the knowledge of life)—such a knowledge is a portion in life. The term 'Mândâ' is a rendering of mânadêy, yourself.

3. The polytheistic strain in Mandaean theology. — While the Mandaean writers esteem the theological speculations of their books as mysteries and ancient revelations, in their own religious thinking they retain only the belief in 'the Great Life'—or simply 'the Life'—what they regard as the deity of the world of light. They use the word pîrû as the most part as equivalent to 'fruit' in the ordinary sense, and the term ayge (ultimately derived from Gr. ἀγας) as denoting the air of the celestial world and the north wind associated with it. The word mânâd (usually as 'vessel,' 'instrument') is still found in a group of hymns (L 38-74) in which the soul of the Mandaean asserts its heritage in the higher world, declaring, 'I am a mânâd of the Great Life,' while occasionally an exalted celestial being is distinguished by the epithet 'pure mânâd.' 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 or body, distinguished by its small and always unambiguous. Very soon, 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 subordinate being, sometimes as an entity of itself, and at other times as the ultimate pre-existent beings with the greatest and highest power and prestige. These are not called 'gods'—among the Mandaeans, in fact, that term was long restricted entirely to the false foreign deities (MB, supplement C)—but are referred to each by his proper name. The locus of their purpose are called ùtrás (lit. 'wealth'), as are also the countless angels who play a more ornamental part.

Far below the realm of ayge lies a world of darkness—the black water (yengud ayyarî). 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 this school to Pthalî (as the writers of the other schools attempt to reconstruct an imperfectly conceived system); on the contrary, they contain originally divergent conceptions of the origin of things—conceptions either fabricated or gathered from foreign sources by the Mandaean scholars themselves at a period before the transmitted texts were written. Of the authors of the Genzê it is only the polytheistic group that have made use of these conceptions.

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1 According to Hippolytus, Ref. (in Philosophoumenon) v. 9.
2 The meaning of the Naasæan, Valuations, and the Iransists had a similar idea (cf. MR, p. 35 ff.).
Second Life nothing is said even in the 6th tractate — do not at once accept defeat. By magic they create all manner of monstrous things—poison and corruption, predatory animals and serpents, devouring fire and earthquake, etc., as well as evil passions—and mingle with the good creation. According to vi. R, the first to be delineated by the word of God is the personification of the first man (adam had ašer adam); and Mandā d'hayyē, or his representatives (Hitil, Sitil, Enōs), must once more appear to fortify and maintain mankind in the true faith. These evil spirits are the Rūhā (Jud.-Aram. ṣerō), and her children viz. the spirits of the seven planets and of the twelve zodiacal signs. Prior to the creation of the earth her abode was the region overlying the black water, and from her and her sons all evil things have come into the world—demons, from the false teachers of heresy, and men of violence. The Rūhā, who also bears the epithet of 'world-mother' or 'mother of the world,' bore these children to Ur, the Mandān devil, who was himself her son. He is a most vilified character, as he had to be 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 vi. R, it was Mandā d'hayyē herself, according to viii. R, it was his wife Hitil ṣerō, who cast Ur to the ground, loaded him with chains, and set warders over him — or, on another view, immured him in Ur's own dark realm. Detailed accounts of how these miracles were carried out—mainly by magic and trickery—are found in the tractates cited; and viii. (one of the later portions of the Genēz) relates further, with reminiscences of Bab. myths, how the 'fathers' of Ur, the lord of India, and three deeper regions of the under world, were rendered harmless (complete tr. in JS, pp. 137-191).

9. Biblical matter in the tractates of the polytheistic earlier school.—The Rūhā and her son Ur, dwelling in the vast abyss of waters and the abode of all living creature, were created before the creation of the solid land, and in some way interested in that work of creation, since their names are not Mandānean, but of Heb. origin, can be none other than the female ṣerō who, according to the opening words of the Heb. Genesis, 'breathed upon the face of the waters;' and the light (םי), which is said in the same passage to have been the first work of the creation. The Gnostic writer here adopts a theory according to which the female spirit ( strapon, or of God), as well as subsequently, the lights of the heavens. The word ṣerō, 'call,' as used for 'call into being,' can be traced to the Biblical Genesis, as well as the names of Ašān and his wife Hašāwā, and, consequently, also that of their son Sitil (i.e. rendered, in Mandā, to ṣerō) and the names of the other two geni Hitil and Enōs. The exaltation of Abel (Sarah), slain in his innocence, as Hitil ṣerō seems to the present writer to be of later origin (cf. § 14). The Heb. narrative of the Fall, in which knowledge is described as a forbidden fruit, is one that the Gnostic author could not use at all, since he must have regarded it as directly in conflict with the view that the knowledge of good and evil, of truth and error, was revealed to the first man immediately after he had received a soul from the higher worlds, and that revelation marked the founding of the true religion.

In connexion with the account of the origin of the worlds and the true revelation, the higher worlds, and that revelation marked the founding of the true religion.

The Mandānean Genesis refers to the false religions. It states that all of them, as well as the peoples who profess

1 The pronunciation of the word the Mandāeans may quite well have made the mistake of substituting 4 for 6, just as they said 4dhdh instead of Yōḥānān. On the middle cf. Noldeke, Mandā. Gram. p. 2.

2 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, of highest excellency, and 'angels' who stand before him and inhabit his paradise. Of distinctly Mandānean character are the features noted in 2. 11 ('he sits in the lofty north') and 6. 17 ('victims are not sacrificed before him'), and the description given in 9. 8: 'The Jordans of the worlds of light are white waters, full of light, and leadable. . . . And the utāni and kings who drink not taste of death; their garments and crowns are things of splen- doncer's, gazing to all things, full of beauty, without semblance of darkness, with their black waters, and with a king who, like the Mandān devil, has the head of a serpent, and the wings of an eagle; he is hideous and of terrific proportions; . . . iron soles in the exhalations of his mouth; the stone is burnt up by his breath; when he lifts his eyes the mountains tremble; the plains quake at the whisper of his lips.' With all this 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 height. Then the holy king of light called the agitated world by proclaiming that 'All the projects of the Daywa [ demons ] come to naught, and his works have no continuance' (cf. M, p. 457, MS, p. 231 f.)

According to the theology which finds expression here, the earth and the firmament, with all that they contain, natural and human beings—were created by command of the king of light through the agency of an 'ôtrâ named Gabriel the Ambassador.

The account given to Gabriel the Mandean redactor has interpolated a passage referring to the subjugation of the world of darkness (R 12: 8-12), but nothing is said of this subjugation; and 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 Hawawd were fashioned, and the soul fell into the body.' Then (R 13: 15) the fire-angels came; they made submission to Adam; they were worshipped by him, and afterwards fasted, and the soul went from the body, and the man fasted one year, by which he created a world.

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13. The moral code.---With this theological exposition in mind, and also in the parallel ii. R is associated a code of practice, which seems to be of original and unique, and which, at all events, has been transmitted (R 13-26; cf. MS, pp. 24-48) as a record of the doctrine of the king of light. Here, too, 'a soul':

'1 said unto you, all who give heed to the name of God: In your standing and your sitting, in your going, coming, eating, drinking, all your doings name and glorify the name of the lofty king of light.'

That the record in question is derived from a Mandean source appears from the use of the term ahdăh, 'God,' and also from its repeated mention of 'the Satàn,' and of 'Satâns.' The laws relating to food are of special significance; they forbid the faithful to partake of the flesh of animals that have died otherwise than by slaughter, or to taste of blood, and of meats and drinks that have been prepared by heterodox hands. This portion of knowledge (madēta, R 13: 26), however, has likewise been moulded into conformity with the Mandean code, and distinctively Mandean commandments have been inserted in it—those enjoining white clothing with girdle, immersion in a river, the Mandean communion, the masquéqiy for the dead, and the washing of all foods, as well as those prohibiting libation for the dead and condemning fasting.

14. Judeo-Christian Gnosis in the doctrine of the king of light.---The monotheistic concept of the king of light, as set forth, with marked Parsi colouring, in the Genâz or Gnosis, must be originally Jewish or Judeo-Christian. The present writer is of opinion that it reveals a Judeo-Christian Gnosis. From what was said above (§ 10), the mention of the 'Jordans' of the world of light must not be regarded as derogative evidence; but in the moral code (R 26, 20, 48, 9) we find the injunction:

'Arm yourselves with the weapon that is not of iron; let your weapon be Nazareean (nâzâreat) and the direct utterance of the place of light.'

In the Genâz the terms Nazaréy and Mandâlyâ are used synonymously; according to the Mandean, both terms apply, or, at least, should properly apply, to themselves alone. We know, however, that down to the end of the 4th cent. the former designation was specially used of the Jews who believed in Jesus, and that it is applied in the Qurân (iii. 50, 165, 107, 117, 124, 83, ii. 69, v. 17, 21, 56, 73, S. ix. 50, xxii. 17) to the Christians generally. The injunction just quoted permits us to hazard the conjecture that the doctrine of the king of light was the source from which the Mandean redactor got the standing of the word-light, while the word-light is actually described as a leader among the wicked spirits who 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 with most likelihood be found in the figures of Hûlû zîwâ, who (like Manâl d'haiyê in the Gnosis) instructs the mandraë, and of Rûshâ, and of all that is necessary for salvation, and 'Endôs'ôtrâ, who in the course of the world's history comes forth to rehearse that instruction (R 29; cf. MS, p. 48).

15. Endôs and the cloud; Mandâlyâ kushâ.---The Mandean Enôs (esp. true, which appears upon an identification or fusion (due, possibly, to the author of the Judeo-Christian doctrine of the king of light) of the OT 'Endôs (Gen 4:17) with the Son of Man (bar-Enôs) of Dn 7:13, 14). The redactor of this text, or the redactor of a tractate in the Mandean form, has united Enôs, three 'ôtrâs' are associated with Adam as messengers of the true religion and as his auxiliaries. Enôs, however, comes forth again, appearing in Jerusalem at the same time as 'Išûmishî (Jesus Messiah), who poses as a wonder-worker, and whom he un-
that Râhâ is Venus, and that Adam, the god of the Jews, is Sâmes, the sun (on the Mandean names of the planets cf. MS, p. 45). The observance of Sunday was not as yet a Mandean practice, though it later became obligatory (R 56.12; cf. MH, p. 56, and §23).

An account of the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan is given in the Sîdârâ d’Yahyâ, which, however, narrates the incident in the following way: the Baptist is at first unwilling to perform the ceremony, and does so only after he has received a vision in heaven (Abâtûr) the written mandate: ‘Yahyâ, baptize the liar in the Jordan.’

17. The relation of the Mandæan religion to Judaism.—Besides the OT characters already mentioned, several scribes are named in certain sections of the Gënsû, but are of no importance in Mandæan theology. Virtually all of them are enumerated below.

It is curious to note that in one passage (L 18 f.) they declare Jesus to be Adam, that, ‘on the great Day of Resurrection’ he and all his race will rise again and be transported to his own land, while in the same tractate, immediately before, the soul of Adam is said, quite in keeping with the Mandæan view, and does so originate from the sun (cf. Gal.)—that he be transported to heaven (Abâtûr) the written mandate, ‘Yahyâ, baptize the liar in the Jordan.’

Besides the above-named, the Mandæans were also of the Jewish-Christian sect (Hilgenfeld, Wellhausen) seems to be at variance with the following facts. Their knowledge of the most eminent names associated with the teachings of Jesus is, in many cases, astonishing; on the contrary, they found the names in written documents—found them, moreover, as foreign words, for they read them incorrectly. Thus they render the name of Moses as Mâdâ, Miriam as Mîhràm, Abram as Alûram, Isaac as Usîrak, Jacob as Yaqîf; Sabbath appears as Sofûtâ, modikûhê, ‘angels,’ as ‘înûllâ, ‘kings,’ and Benjamin actually as ‘înh ‘Amin, ‘the sons of Amin.’ The inevitable inference is that the Mandæans had been thoroughly acquainted with the religious tradition of Judaism. The same may be said of Jewish religious life. In the entire Mandæan literature there is no evidence to show that the Mandæans ever observed the Sabbath, or practised circumcision, or turned towards Jerusalem in the prayer, or observed the forty days’ fast, or read the Scripturés. In the Essenes (q.v.), they rejected animal sacrifices, and believed that the soul was liberated from the body at death; but marriage—in the form of the 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 characteristic of the Essenes, while their views regarding the planets are 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 Mandæans turned towards the north, where the exalted king of light sits upon the throne, while the common Jewish view (held also by Elkesâni) is that the evil spirits and their chief, Satan (from smû’d, ‘the left,’ i.e. the northern one) have their abode in that very region of the heavens.

18. Conjectures regarding the origin of the Mandæan religion.—The relation between the Mandæan teachings and Mandæan epic is not yet fully discussed here. The parallels have been collected by the present writer in MS, pp. 222–228 (cf. Echelasi, p. 142 f.), and to that list should be added the correspondence between a passage in the Mandæan narrative regarding the awakening of the first man to life (as quoted by Pogson, Inscr. Mand., p. 130 f., from Theodore bar-Khôn’s Book of Scholar), and one in L 405. In the veritable parallels the Mandæan versions seem to be secondary, and we must infer that both sects are indebted to the same group of sources. A large proportion of the material common to both is explained by the mass of Pahra ideas in the Judaico-Christian groundwork of the doctrine of the king of light and the Mandæan sect to which Mânî belongs. Doubtless, too, the Mandæan redactors introduced into their tractates a number of fragments from Manichæan documents unknown to us (cf. MH, p. 198 f.). The religious teachings of the two faiths, here, are essentially similar in character; the fundamental duality of the Manichæan system—a doctrine that finds a soteriological design even in the creation of the world, and involves an ascetic mode of life—is far removed from the Mandæan prophet of the same name. Râhâ; King Solomon, like King Jôsamîd in the Mandæan legend, held the demons in subjection until he ceased to give thanks to his Lord, and let himself be adored; and the world-configuration which had once annulled the human race before the Deluge was kindled by ‘the angel Daniel, to whom was given power over fire,’ at the order of El-mabdâ and Râhâ (MR, pp. 129 f., 123 f.).

We remain convinced that the Mandæans were originally a Jewish or Judaico-Christian sect (Hilgenfeld, Wellhausen) seems to be at variance with the following facts. Their knowledge of the most eminent names associated with the teachings of Jesus is, in many cases, astonishing; on the contrary, they found the names in written documents—found them, moreover, as foreign words, for they read them incorrectly. Thus they render the name of Moses as Mâdâ, Miriam as Mîhràm, Abram as Alûram, Isaac as Usîrak, Jacob as Yaqîf; Sabbath appears as Sofûtâ, modikûhê, ‘angels,’ as ‘înûllâ, ‘kings,’ and Benjamin actually as ‘înh ‘Amin, ‘the sons of Amin.’ The inevitable inference is that the Mandæans had been thoroughly acquainted with the religious tradition of Judaism. The same may be said of Jewish religious life. In the entire Mandæan literature there is no evidence to show that the Mandæans ever observed the Sabbath, or practised circumcision, or turned towards Jerusalem in the prayer, or observed the forty days’ fast, or read the Scripturés. In the Essenes (q.v.), they rejected animal sacrifices, and believed that the soul was liberated from the body at death; but marriage—in the form of the 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 characteristic of the Essenes, while their views regarding the planets are 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 Mandæans turned towards the north, where the exalted king of light sits upon the throne, while the common Jewish view (held also by Elkesâni) is that the evil spirits and their chief, Satan (from smû’d, ‘the left,’ i.e. the northern one) have their abode in that very region of the heavens.

1 On bar-Khôn’s designation of the Mandæans as Pûdæans see especially EB, xii., 167, 169 f.
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approximate more closely to those found in the inscriptions of El-Hairj, written in the 1st cent. A.D. A more decisive test will be provided when we can disregard the hair-strokes due to the cursive mode of writing. In particular, the circle by which the Mandaeans represent Σ is closely matched by the corresponding characters in col. 58 of Euting's Tabula, and the Θ of an inscription at Borsa, dated 17 B.C., is similar in form to the Greek minuscule e.

Thus, as the Mandean written character dates from about 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 baptistic nature-religion,—The idea that the rivers descended from the celestial world by way of the mountains in the distant north and that their waters impart fresh energies to the pious who bathe in them—a naturistic element of belief retained by the Mandaeans amid all the thoughts and fancies subsequently acquired—is probably inherited from their ancestors. In explanation of that belief we would advance the conjecture that this Semitic people had not always lived among the lower courses of the rivers, but at an earlier period had dwelt in a locality much further north, and nearer the sources—in a district from which they could see, upon their northern horizon, huge mountains towering to the sky (cf. MH, pp. 69-72; MS, pp. 218-217). We scarcely need to dwell on how the belief in a higher world—the belief in a better and a more perfect world, in which all should be restored to a condition of innocence and bliss—was connected with the practice of the Mandaeans of plunging into the sacred waters, the essential significance of which is the appreciation of the territory 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 Urmia is found to agree with the Mandean dialect in the formation of the inflected, in not a few cases, as in Aramaic—a fact which Noldeke (p. xxvii) recognizes as "of great importance." If, however, we set aside the theory of a homogeneous Semitic language, in which the Mandaeans, if we should estimate, a period of at least two hundred years) treated all the texts in their possession—as far as the contents comprised in them, and that the essence of this craft was revealed in the translation of the documents from the first meant for them and their people, that the contents had been revealed to them in the course of time, and that the texts which they wrote were composed of the same materials, and that the contents were preserved by the Mandaeans at a very early period, we are left with the idea that the Mandaeans had a literature.

21. The adoption of 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 interweaving 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 fancy commonly called Gnostic, with which, however, we must here combine the Mandehuan teachings and, in great part, the substance of the Pahlavi books (Panditbana, etc.). The priests of this baptistic tribe were not, intellectually, sufficiently advanced to share in the reflective activity which strives to interpret the objects of home religion as cosmic entities and occurrences; nor had they much appreciation for explanations of the world-process by pre-suppositions which purported to harmonize with the contents of the documents. The Gnostic tracts of the second and third centuries A.D. were written in accordance with them, although this salvation itself and its mythological elements, the ideas of the gods and all their imaginative embroidery, were quite of a kind to make a powerful impression upon them. In reality it was into the hands of a class whose learning was confined to a little reading and writing that "Gnostic" tracts fell, and these texts, written in a foreign language, and, therefore, to be read only with difficulty—documents coming from a remote past, and unveling 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 came to believe that the documents were from the first meant for them and their people, that the contents had been revealed to them in the course of time, and that the texts which they wrote were composed of the same materials, and that the contents were preserved by the Mandaeans at a very early period, we are left with the idea that the Mandaeans had a literature.

22. The rise of Mandean theology.—It seems beyond question that the earlier generations of Mandaeans who held, at least in the main, the same views, practised ablutions (whether in the course of a rite of purification, or should be estimated, a period of at least two hundred years) treated all the texts in their possession—as far as the contents comprised in them, and that the essence of this craft was revealed in the translation of the documents from the first meant for them and their people, that the contents had been revealed to them in the course of time, and that the texts which they wrote were composed of the same materials, and that the contents were preserved by the Mandaeans at a very early period, we are left with the idea that the Mandaeans had a literature.

The Mandaeans never had an orthodox system of theology. They had rather cut 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 fresh 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 again to the bright and joyful realm in which he influences the fate of his kin. If, therefore, we set aside the theory of a homogeneous Semitic language, in which the Mandaeans, if we should estimate, a period of at least two hundred years) treated all the texts in their possession—as far as the contents comprised in them, and that the essence of this craft was revealed in the translation of the documents from the first meant for them and their people, that the contents had been revealed to them in the course of time, and that the texts which they wrote were composed of the same materials, and that the contents were preserved by the Mandaeans at a very early period, we are left with the idea that the Mandaeans had a literature.

23. The religious beliefs of the Mandean writers.

—Amid all the conceptions and the varied views with which the Mandean writers became familiar, and notwithstanding all the reverent interest 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 under went 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 Mandean religion, which is well known both by its splendor in the religious practice, the grandeur of its language, and the sanctity in most sections of the Gnostic 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 splendor. There, where dwell the Life-giving Being, 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 Mandean community. Far beneath, again, is the world of darkness and its black waters. Part of it has been 'thickened,' brought into a solid state; this is the earth inhabited by mankind. The earth has now the black water upon the south; upon the north it stretches over lofty mountains to the world of light; from that world the rivers descend by way of the mountains; and thus the Mandaeans, by baptism (of the spirit of water) may retain 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 religions—and it is they and their creatures or servants who make life a torment for the Mandaeans. Hence the believer waits with earnest longing for his salvation, i.e. his deliverance from this earthly existence. At the hour of death a divine being descends from the world of light, and, as the 'liberator,' takes the soul from the body, and bears it upwards through the celestial spheres to the world of light and of the Great Life.

24. The Mandean typology.—The soul of the Mandean, until the hour of its deliverance, is sustained by the symbolism of the ritual elaborated by the priests. Confessors of the true faith are plants of the world of light or of Mandá d‘hayyé (R 94, p. 79 f.; R 202, p. 163, note). What is implied here is that the water streams from the world of darkness into the world of light, and that it may be said to spring from the river like plants. They were also required, however, to mark their brow with the living water, and likewise drink of it (the draught is called 'gushing'), partake of a loaf (the loaf is termed pekiti, 'opening', 'unlocking'), etc., and those who take part in these ceremonies have a share in the beni fountain of the better world—in the great baptism in the heavenly Jordan, in the gushing of rivers, in that treasure of the Light which is to be opened. The liturgical recitations (drdšé) were meant to represent the beams (drdšé) of splendor which would flow from the house of the Life to meet and to unstop it as it sped upwards from the earth (JÉS, p. 49), etc. The ultimate ground of trust, however, was always the ceremony of immersion; thus in R 18. 13 we read:

1. Your token is the token of the living water, by which you ascend to the place of the Light.

2. At the ceremony of immersion—originally this itself was the sign—it was the practice, as early as the days of the Mandaeans, to utter names, viz. those of the Great First Life (R 196. 8; or of the king of light, R 171.) and Mandá d‘hayyé (MR, p. 104 f.).

To their own rite of immersion, whether performed, as was usually the case, by the individual himself, or, as on feast-days, with the co-operation of a priest, or administered to children, the Mandaeans applied the term migbdí (šemen, presumably for šmené; the old pronunciation given by Sioufi, Mandaean, is incorrect only for the plural form of the noun), a word which certainly comes from the Sem. verb ṣaḥa (the sound of ẓ is lost in Mand.), which the Mandaeans use exclusively in connexion with the religious practice in question (cf. § 38). For Christian baptism, on the other hand, the writers of the Gnostic persistently employ the term used in the Syrian Church, mwhdúth (šamen= [šimenu] and the Atf forms of šaše. They concern and viliy the Christian ceremony because it is performed not in ‘living,’ but in (or with) ‘cut-off’ water.

25. Kustá.—In the ethical and religious sections of the Mandean literature much is said about kustá, ‘straightness,’ ‘rectitude,’ ‘vivacity.’ In the ritual the ceremony of immersion included a gesture called ‘putting forth kustá,’ this being identical with washing the hands with water as a stretching of the hand from the bath of immersion, or (after the performance of some other religious duty) ‘before Mandá d‘hayyé.’ The gesture was made with the right hand, and it corresponds to the clasping 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 loyal devotion. Further particulars regarding the religious ceremonies, which were constantly being increased and rendered more complex by the priests, will be found in § 33 below, and more fully in MR, pp. 96-120, 221-256.

26. Ceremonial purity.—In this period the idea of purity was recognized in the sense of a relation to the world of light so intimate that it carried with it exclusion from every object and condition antipathetic to it (‘Hilil zivá, pure Māna’: L 116. 17, ‘the Jordan of the Life, from which I have taken purity’). Ceremonial cleanliness was perhaps regarded as food came to the Mandaeans through the medium of the ethical code in the doctrine of the king of light, as did also the injunction that husbands and wives should ‘wash themselves with water’ after cohabitation (the institution. It was only later that the commandment of abstinence was extended to many other occasions of life (Sioufi, cited in MR, p. 301 f.).

27. Prayers.—Among the Mandaeans 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 Judaeo-Christian origin, the only prayers enjoined are one in the morning, one at the seventh hour of the day, and one before sunset, while in one passage (R 300) prayer in the night-time is actually forbidden. We read also of a ‘man’ who (like the described in several texts as the Jew) receives the prayers, and stores or preserves them in the treasure-house of the Life (R 221 f., 300).

In the later redaction of a regulation in the ethical code the believer is commanded to ask a blessing upon flesh-food before eating (R 68; cf. 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 book.

28. The masseqá.—The ceremony termed mas-
scyth., 'mounting up,' 'ascent,' consists exclusively of such recitations, and is designed to help the souls of those who are saved, or who might escape to the better world they should be stopped by evil-disposed spirits or because of their own sins. The imagination of the Mandaeans gave itself with zest to descriptions of this ascension and of the stations through which the soul must pass. Each station is pictured as a place where the adherents of a false religion, or various classes of sinful men, are kept in ward and punished, the term applied to such a place being andrē, or matnātē, i.e. 'ward,' 'place of custody.' Some of the descriptions contain features taken from Gersi-Gnostic sources, as, e.g., the 'gates' of the planets situated one above the other (mentioned as Mithraile in Origin, c. Cb. vi. 22, c. 58, p. xiv.), or the guardian spirits who come to meet the soul, and in the latest Gersi texts—the tree of life, the balance in which the soul is weighed, the judge of the dead, etc. (Mc. p. 1951; so, in the Vatican Diviæ, beasts of prey lie in the soul's trail. The souls of the devouts pass all the wards without molestation, because, according to the tracts of the Gersi which describe the ascension (x. 22 and iv. 2), they give the name and sign that they have taken from the waves of the water, i.e., because they profess the name of Gersi and thus show that they belong to the world of light. In place of this name and sign, however, the hymns of the Gersi (about 120 pieces), all of which limit their themes in the destiny of the soul, its imprisonment in the body, its release, and its going to be somewhere in the world of light, insist rather upon the necessity of good works; with these there was probably associated a devoted spirit (cf., e.g., l. 101, 3: 'I loved the Life, and Manda d'hayye dwelt in my heart'). It is by devotion, however, that we find in these hymns a few words referring to the religious practice of the Mandaeans or to the 'Jordan.' The explanation of this curious fact we take to be as follows. The mæsegeta for the dead is in reality a Mandean imitation of a corresponding ceremony in the Parsi religion. According to Parsi doctrine, the soul, after leaving the body, is received by its own good thoughts, words and works—which assume the form of a beautiful maiden—and by those is led across the mæsegeta, or meander, guarded against other objects of fear. Now the hymns in the Gersi are simply mæsegeta hymns, i.e., they were composed for use in the Mandean ceremony. They are the work of Mandean writers, as cannot be doubted, who were the authors incorporated in them, but in composing them the writers must have let their thoughts be guided by the example of the Parsi ceremony and the Parsi texts.

29. Mandean poetry.—Although the majority of the Mandean hymns can lay little claim to real poetic merit, they show at least that the Mandaeans did not deal with their religious knowledge on purely intellectual lines, but found in it a source of true emotion, and the spirit that inspires them secures one of sincere and genuine emotion. As a specimen of the mæsegeta hymns we give here one of the most pleasing (l. 89f.). It should be premised that the use of the expression 'my conflict' rests upon the idea that the soul is entangled in the body and in its earthly conditions generally—an entanglement that is dissolved at death.

1. How I rejoice! How my heart doth rejoice! How I rejoice on the day when my conflict is dissolved, and I go to the place of the Life.

2. I fly and go. At the ward of Sánē (the sun) I arrived. I utter a call: Who taketh me past the ward of Sánē?

3. Where is the work, and mine adoration, and my adoration, I lead thee past the ward of Sánē.

4. And the ward of Sánē, and Sánē, and the ward of Sánē, and the ward of Sánē, and the ward of Sánē; and the ward of Sánē, and the ward of Sánē.

5. How I rejoice! How my heart doth rejoice! How I rejoice on the day when my conflict is dissolved, and I go to the place of the Life.

30. The Mandaeans under Sassanian 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, the mind was one of entire content. They were in no sense a warlike people, and their whole history, as well as their literature, shows that they were able to offer only a weak resistance to persecution and attacks upon their religion.

Babylonia, in the period preceding its conquest by the Arabs, belonged to the empire of the Sassanians. We cannot say whether the Mandean hatred of the Jews was kindled by documents embodying an anti-Djewish Gersi, or was occasioned by the first half-century of our era, when a number of rapacious Jewish satraps, as related by Josephus (Ant. xviii. ix. 1 2; 9 310 f. ed. Nieuw), provoked the whole population to an outbreak against themselves and their conquerors.

The Mandaeans persecuted the Manicheans 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, to the work of Christian monks who went to them as missionaries. In the Gersi (xvi. 11) we find an account of the Roman Catholic clergy and worship, and (1. and ii.) we are told that the attempts to convert the Mandaeans were not always carried out 'with sweetness—without discourse or promises—but were also supported by force. In that satrapy, doubtless, the Nestorian Church had at one time sufficient influence to have the soldiery employed on its behalf; and, accordingly, we read (R. 28. 16): 'When the bishop Simeon [compel you, say, 'We are thine' but in your heart acknowledge Him not, and deny not the word of your lord, the exalted king of light; for hidden things are not manifest to the lying Messiah.'

31. In the period of the Arabian invasion: migration.—Then (c. A.D. 636) came the invasion of the Muslim Arabs, and the collapse of the Sassanian empire. Certain late portions of the Gersi make reference to the gate and the demons of the planet Mars, 'Nirig [Nergal] who is called the Arab 'Abdah.'

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 esplanade to the tribes of the south, 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 him, and deny the name of the Life. In their distress the devout Mandaeans comforted themselves with the thought that the wicked 'Abdah had fallen into one of the eternal prisons, where his followers take him to task, asking why they now suffer torments in the realm of darkness while the servants of the sun (i.e. the Mandaeans) inspire the world with the light, amount up to the world of light (Mc. R. 102).

It must have been about this period, in 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 found later on the Euphrates and the Tigri, had been for some time essentially adopted Islam, or that they concealed themselves among the adjoining marshes.

32. Restoration of the cultus.—Tractate xxvii. R. may be interpreted as a summons to a meeting of the Mandean communities in the places of their assembly. The text itself has been restored in their old home; it is a manifesto in which 'we, the Farmida,' turn with prayer and
adjudication to the Manicheans 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 holy fire), where, in the absence of the priest, they are to stand praying behind the Tarnidās, to take part in the communion, etc. This tractate is unmistakably one of the very latest compositions in the Genzā, and is a documentary witness to the use of an alien cult ritual organization among the Manicheans. In earlier texts the term *termidā* (for *termis*), like the corresponding word *mabχprāi* 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 *khwedēh* (кеиєд; cf. Peshitta of Mt 28:20), was adopted by the Manicheans from Syro-Christian usage, though, of course, through the agency of an alien mixture was added, and to which origin they were ignorant. The manifest urge the due observance of the day (MH, pp. 88, 90). The religious ceremonies enjoined are those of old; immersion, performed by individuals himself or assisted by those 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 *termidā, 'priests,' are still hardly distinguishable from the *mabχprāi, 'believers,' 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 priests formed themselves into an organized body and gradually amplified the religious ceremonials with rites requiring the cooperation of an official celebrant, or, at least, elaborated such rites from the traditional usages, and conferred them with the simple ceremonies of beatific times. Even towards the close of the period of the Genzā as attested in the latest sections of that work (cf. MH, p. 101), we find, beside the rite of marking the forehead with water from the river, a sign made with gold a certain mixture was prescribed, and was to be prepared and applied by the priests. The draught of 'living' water was duplicated, being taken once from the individual's own hand and once from the priest's bowl (qarāt). The priesthood also received even to children the ordinary communion-bread, a host of higher order, the 'superior pekštā, which was reserved for themselves and the Salmānsās (see below). They also instituted a sacrament for the dying (cf. MH, p. 102), in addition to the already one for the living. The latter was an eight days' ceremony, and conferred upon the person concerned the title of *salmānīd tārīd, 'blessed perfect one,' as well as priestly rank; he was thenceforward regarded as dead to the world, and had to abstain from sexual intercourse. The ordinary immersion performed by the individual Manichaeans as time and opportunity permitted—every day, morning and evening (Le-Gonz, *Voyages et observations*, p. 301), or only on Sundays and feast days, and the days preceding them (Siouli, *La Religion des Stambles*, p. 83)—could still be regularly performed without priestly assistance. About this time, however, an annual festival was introduced at which all the members of a community assembled upon the bank of a river. This celebration, conducted by a priest, included, in its first part, all the ceremonies requiring to be performed in the river and with river water; but here the priest, using his right hand, submerging the laymen three times into the river, made the sign upon the recipient's forehead, and thrice, with his own hand, gave him water to drink (Qobštāt, fol. 9. 32 ff.). Further, the first immersion of children now assumed the form of a baptism administered by a priest with one or two assistants (for texts and references bearing upon these baptisms cf. MH, pp. 221-224).

34. Ceremonies wrongly interpreted by Europeans.—The circumstances that the Manicheans worship the cross rests upon references in the *Narratio* of Ignatius a Juse (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 side by side and crosswise, and that he renders homage to this symbol. The structure is termed 'beams of splendor,' 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 Manicheans in Basra to sacrifice a fowl once a year, and Jean Thévenot writes that he himself had witnessed 'la sacrifice de la poule' on the 2nd of November 1665. According to Siouli, the 'superior pekštā' or bird was made once a year, and was in the form of baked 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 dead bird was afterwards buried in a small dish, ceremonially with a view to ratiifying its slaughter 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 Manichean cult that its institution can be characterized only as a gross blunder on the part of the priests.

35. The priestly hierarchy; an order of confession in the Persian settlement.—The priestly system included the following grades: pupils, who were in training if over a certain age; ordinary assistants employed in the sacred ceremonies; priests, who had to pass an examination and be ordained; and high priests, chosen by the ordinary priests from their own number. The name applied to an assistant (and perhaps also to a pupil) was *spradu or shoenda* (cf. MH, p. 169), and to a priest, *termidā, while a high priest bore the Persian title of *gumoād, 'treasurer.' Each priest had his own dishes and table, and partook of food and drink prepared for him by his wife. In the case of the ordination and consecration, might sit with him at meals. There are numerous data which seem to indicate that the clericalizing of the Manichean cult was carried out or in the Persian settlement. Besides the title of the high priest, the names of the main articles of priestly attire (caftā) are Persian words —tagā, karačtā, rōmačtā. The priest's seal-ring (Siouli, 'le chaminavār') bears the device, 'Name of Yawar zīwā'; had the inscription originated in Babylon, it would have been 'Name of Mandā Khwāy'. Again, while the *Narratio* of Ignatius (p. 23) shows distinctly that the Manicheans of Basra knew nothing of the practice of confessing to a priest, Siouli, his 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 repetition of this sin, but after the third time further transgression can be expiated only by certain good works. The passage of the Genzā to which appeal is made in support of this ordinance simply enjoins that the devout shall thrice 're-erect' apostates or transgressors before casting them out of the community.

36. Final redaction of the Genzā writings.—Persian loan-words are found even in the oldest Manichean texts, but names like Yawar (friend, 'helper'), Sām, and Bahrām (Verethragna) could
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hardly have come into vogue among the Mandaeans except on Persian soil. When, accordingly, in no way is said to have taken the place of the undoubtedly more ancient Mandāna d'Anaye, 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 Son, Yāwar, etc., it seems highly probable that most of the tractates in the Genzā underwent their final reduction, i.e. attained their present form, in the Persian province.

37. Religious decadence, obsolescence of the language. By the time when the 'Abbaḏād Khafsī had established peace and order throughout their domains, 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 Brīdāt d'Amīthī and the Sabīrāt d'Alayyī—to placid dialectics and fable-making. The soul which knew that it had come forth from a better world and would again behold its primal abode was no longer a well-spring of sacred lyric; the Mandean had, in fact, become familiarized with his faith, and was now anxious simply to bring his store of ancient lore into order and let it be used properly. It was in this period that the Mandaeans gathered their writings into collections, and composed the liturgical directions or regulations comprised in the Qubāṭah, the Marriage Pacts, etc., the Curāt, Brīdāt, as they now did, in isolated groups among peoples of other faiths, they gradually lost the use of their semi-trad dialect, and Arabic, which had made its way into these districts, became their vernacular. Thus, although Mandaeans were thus excluded from 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 māsāgāt, indeed, the recitations constituted the main element, and, according to Sīnūfī, this ceremonial, designed to succour the departed, lasted for seven days. Since, however, the teachings of the Genzā required all believers to engage in such recitations, the priests came to be instructed by instruction, to come by, upon the laity the ability to read and, as far as possible, to understand the texts, although their own learning was doubtless almost wholly confined to a knowledge of the hyneg and a traditional manner of their sonification of the sentences of the māsāgāt.

38. The Sabians of the Qurān; Muhctasīl and Mandaeans. In the Qurān we find three passages (ii. 59, v. 73; cf. xxii. 17) in which the Jews, the Nasaraeans (Christians), and the Sabians are assured of religious toleration. The famous Muslim scholar al-Masūdī, writing in the 10th cent., speaks of Chaldean or Babylonian Sabians whose remnants live to-day in villages among the swamps between Wāsiṭ and Basra, states that in their prayers they turn to the Caspian and Caspian, and describes them as 'those who wear girdles' (S. de Sacy, Notices et extraits, viii. i. [1810] 132 ff.). The Mandaeans turned towards the north, and wore the girdle. Moreover, the Kitāb al-Fihrist (p. 310, l. 20) states that the Sabians of the marshes are the Muhctasīl, a word meaning 'those who wash themselves,' and it also declares that they wash all their food—a practice which, so far at least, as flesh-food is concerned, is also enjoined in the Genzā. To these Muhctasīl, however, the same writer ascribes a doctrine of dualism—a thing quite unknown in 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 Qurān assumes that the Sabian believe in One God (and in the Last Judgment). To account for these references to the Mandaeans, taking the hypotheses as stated above; we may suppose either that the Sabians of the marshes were descendants of that group of originally heathen baptismists of Babylonia 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 (§ 31), and there, while adhering to their own teaching of bathing and washing, had adopted new and alien doctrines. For further particulars regarding the Muhctasīl cf. art. ELKESAITES, v. p. 298.

The passages in the Qurān and the name 'Sabians' would apply most approximately to the Mandaeans. The Mandaeans, in speaking of their practice of immersion, always employ names of the verbal root μπαπ, as, e.g., in R 286: i. παποιωμ мастер, 'who immerse their sons and their daughters'; by their Arab neighbours they were termed Sabīn down even to recent times, and in European accounts dating from the 17th cent. they were called 'Sabbī,' 'Sabbī,' 'Sabbī,' 'Saharī'—the termination being that of the It. or Lat. plural. The name may formerly have covered the Muhctasīl as well, and the latter possibly also referred to the Caspian Sabians, who are regarded as Christians. As, however, besides the name of 'Mandāyā,' they had also adopted that by which the Christians were known, viz. 'Nāsūrāyā'—in the Genzā 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 Sabians dwelling in the marshes, or if they hoped to evade a tax imposed specifically on chritians, to escape, if possible, under the laity, their learning, they might, for the sake of their kinsmen, assume the Christian name without misgiving. According to Ignatius a Jes. (Novatio, l., a chapter written by himself), the Mandaeans of Basra believed that Muhammad had granted them a dispensation; but it can hardly be supposed that his successors had not respected it. Ignatius also states that the Mandaeans were formerly united with the Chaldaean 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 may yet be used to signify that the Mandaeans, by reason of their baptismic 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 were descended from the disciples of John the Baptist (cf. a letter from Pietro della Valle, dated June 1629); and
from that time, in treatises and text-books of Church History, they have been referred to and regarded (on the ground of Ac 18:3 19:12) as Christian.

It was not without some support from their own side that the designation was persisted in. A number of Mandéans who had transferred their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church visited Rome in the period between 1632 and 1660, and Abraham Eschelensis, who cultivated the 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 "Nasraéens of Yahyá"—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 'kriştianl'. (R 55. 14, 282. 12.)

John the Baptist is mentioned in a single tractate only (cf. § 11), which long lay almost unnoticed by the Mandéans, but at length, when the final addition and a number of titles to the writings of the Gneoé came to be formulated (R 57. 23, 188, 26. 213. 10, 218. 23), a period opened in which the Mandéans turned to the figure of the Baptist with interest similar to that of their old name Yohanná (which they pronounce Yáhánah) was now expanded to Yahyá-Yohanná, or was sometimes simply superseded by Yahyá. Yahyá is the Arabic form of the name—the term by which the Baptist is mentioned and highly extolled in the Qurán (iii. 34. vi. 85. xix. 13-15). May we not, therefore, venture to suppose that the reason why the writers of this period bring John into such prominence and make him a hero of their people? That they had already begun to refer him, in the presence of the Muslim authorities, as the prophet of their religion? Henceforth they could claim, whenever and wherever they thought fit, to rank as 'Nášoryé d'Yáháyah—a name which, to all except themselves, could mean nothing else but 'Christians of John.'

Finally, they are said actually to have introduced the name of Yahyá-Yáhánah into their baptismal formula, and to have done so, in fact, by speaking of themselves as 'Christians of the Baptist.' This has been adopted by Mandá d'haryé, and by John (cf. MII. p. 225, on Sionelli's authority). This innovation would seem to be best explained as a result of the lesson constantly impressed upon the Mandéans by Rome and Constantinople during the 17th century, viz., that their baptism was only the baptism of John mentioned in Ac 18:2 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, they 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 Inquisition. 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 schismatic (Nestorian and Armenian) Christians living in the district. Their attention, however, would soon be attracted by the Mandéans, for the number of the latter in Basra and its neighbouhood in 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-Goz). Decades may have elapsed, however, before the monks learned that the 'Sahib' held John the Baptist in honour and baptised their children, and so came to believe that this baptistic people were already semi-Christians, and needed only a little instruction in order to become good Catholics. The Discursus which is annexed as a supplement to the Norma provides the arguments to be employed in persuading the Mandéan priests; but the latter were not to be won over by such simple means. Thereupon the missionaries, bent upon gaining their end, induced the pasha to order the Sahib, under threat of fines or bodily penalties, to attend the Roman Catholic place of worship and observe Sunday according to the Christian practice of resting from servile work on that day. In this way the work of conversion was set on foot, supported, however, by doles of food and clothing to the children of the poorer Mandéans.

About this time the Mandéan communities suffered a considerable loss from another cause. In the early years of the 17th cent. the Mandéans, who had already embraced the commercial monopoly on the Persian coast was challenged, and by way of strengthening their powers of defence they resorted to the employment of mercenaries. To the Portuguese missionaries this provided an opportunity of winning into the Christian faith and receiving Christian baptism (Le-Goz, della Valle). The fortified inshore island of Hormuz, which commanded the entrance to the Persian Gulf, was invested by British merchants and the military forces of the 'Duke' of Shérza in 1622, and surrendered on the 1st of May of that year. The prestige of the Portuguese was at an end; their missionaries withdrew from Basra, and the Mandéans once more enjoyed freedom in their religious services. Of the period Gov. Le-Goz makes no mention. Islam, while the rest reverted to their ancestral faith—'et ne s'en conserva pas quatre Christens' (Le-Goz).

42. In Basra in the time of Ignatius a Jean.—The place of the Portuguese Jesuits was taken by an Italian mission of Disclosed Carmelites under the leadership of Ignatius a Jean. Within a few years Ignatius came to realize that great or lasting results would never be secured among the Mandéans 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 Mandéans who so desired would receive grants of land in the colonies under the viceroy's authority, on condition that they would give their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. The offer of settlements in Ceylon was accepted by many who were eventually received into the Catholic fold upon being allowed to take their priests with them and to remain loyal to their faith; but, notwithstanding this, a number of Mandéans 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
viceroy of Goa a number of men who were to act as the spokesmen of their people, and also to look for suitable residences in Ceylon, and that at length on the 27th June 1668 the Mandaeans, so-called, wives and children, had set out for Muscat. It may be remarked that between 1638 and 1668 the Portuguese were gradually expelled from Ceylon by the Dutch.

43. Numerical strength of the Mandean communities in the 17th century.—Information regarding the numerical strength of the Mandaeans and their distribution in the contiguous provinces of Turkey and Persia has, so far as we know, been published only through the labours of J. Petermann, who has stated that in 1651, when 2000 families were located in Persia, and 500 families in Basra, the total number of Mandaeans was 2500. In 1665, when the said number had been increased to 3000 families, and 500 families were located in Euphrates, the total number of Mandaeans was 3500. This information, which, unfortunately, bears no date, comprises the area through which the Mandean communities were scattered, and gives on its lower margin a list of the towns in which they were located and the number of families in each community. We find an aggregate of 3279 families living in 31 settlements. By far the largest figure, exactly 2000, is conjunct with Huwaiz, in Persia, and next comes Timn with 500 families and Basra with 400, then one place with 50, two with 30, and others with numbers ranging from 2 to 20, while to four place-names a dotted line is attached, and to several others only a stroke. We shall therefore only err in assuming a total of some 3000 families.

44. Reports of European travellers since 1650.—Ignatius a Jesu left Basra in 1650 or 1651, and the Christians no longer endeavoured to win the Mandaeans, one of whom had to be as speedily as possible anointed as priest, nor was there any attempt to water the mission-house was abandoned, and that the banner of the Cross continued to wave from its roof, while the pasha still received his annual gift; but, when Jean Thévenot lodged there in 1665, he found the church to be tenanted only by a single Italian monk, and that the church stood open for prayer not only to Europeans, but to Nestorian and Armenian Christians. Shortly afterwards, when the station had once more been brought into working order, its director, the Carmelite Archdeacon a S. Theresia, was obliged to expend a considerable sum of money to procure Mandean MSS for Robert Huntington, who lived in Aleppo from 1671 to 1673. The vendors were a couple of Mandaeans, one of whom had to be as speedily as possible anointed as priest, while the other had become a convert to Islam.

A long period elapsed during which little or nothing was known regarding the Mandaeans reached Europe. Paragraphs devoted to them (and often referred to in encyclopaedias in J. Chartin, Logiques, etc. (Paris, 1806, ii.), and F. KNAEMPFER, Annali d'Island, etc., fasc. v. (Leipzig, 1712), simply repeat accounts previously published. In 1765 Carsten Niebuhr visited Basra and found that only a few 'Sabians' lived there; he had their alphabet transcribed for him by a naval lieutenant of whom, of J. R. Wellsted, who, in the spring of 1654, spent three months in Susi es-Siyukh on the Euphrates, learned the Mandean language from the priest Yibo (Manda' an), and in the latter's company was permitted to be present at a number of ceremonies, including the five days' baptismal festival. At length, however, a much greater addition to our knowledge was contributed by the information given to him by a mandean, who had been brought before a judge. The judge translated for the traveller the words of Yahya, who exhibited to his curiosity the manuscript, French vice-consul at Bagdad, in 1875. The fullness and accuracy of the communications are explained by the fact that the informant, before embracing Christianity when about twenty-five, had received an education qualifying him to become a Mandean priest, but it was necessary to state that his knowledge of the Mandean doctrines and legends was wholly dependent upon a late version, from which every difficulty had been expunged (cf. JHE, pp. 17, 19), and that he could describe the methods and customs of his people only in their most recent phases of development.

45. The Mandaeans in the 19th century.—The books of Petermann and Siouti contain observations from which we may learn how the Mandaeans had fared in the long interval from the 17th cent., and it would seem that in this period, too, the vicissitudes of their ordinary life were due to suffering; and, lastly, about the year 1850 30 families in Shushter alone are said to have seceded to Islam, and 'many Mandaeans' are reported to have done so about 1825. The great pestilence which ravaged Persia and Mesopotamia in 1831 carried off the entire population of Shushter; in except of two Ignatii, and at some unspecified date the Mandaeans forsok Basra owing to its deadly climate. In the vicinity of Huwaizn only 25 families remained, all the rest having removed because the river had dried up almost entirely. The second great disturbance which caused the Mandaeans to leave Shushter was the war of 1841, when the district, however, was ruled by a Bedawin sheikh, who so afflicted the village with chicanery and extortion that about 290 of the 260 families composing the local Mandean community abandoned it in 1852 and removed to Annahra on the Tigris, where the second largest community (about 100 families) had enjoyed a more favourable lot under Turkish rule. Petermann also mentions Qurna, at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Shatt el-Arab, to be inhabited by 1000 families, all of which had long since completely dried up. Sitq es-Siyukh (which does not appear in the list subjoined to Thévenot's map), or rather the village of Subbye on the other side of the river, had become one of the main domiciles of the Mandean community. Shortly afterwards, the Shatt el-Arab, with 4, as well as the Persian towns of Dizful with 80, and Shushter with 31. He makes an aggregate of about 500 families, with 10 Mandaeans in a large number of families, with 10 Mandaeans in 6 in Turkish and 5 in Persian territory, and his estimate of the total number of Mandaeans is 4000, of whom 1500 were males. These two enumerations bring us to the years 1854 and 1875 respectively. Whether any Mandean communities still exist the present writer is not in a position to say.


On the Mandaeans in the 16th and 17th centuries: V. GIustin di Pietro della Valle and Pellegrino, La Persia, Rome, 1658, pp. 410-414; P. F. IGNAZIUS a Jesu and others, Narratio originis, Rituinum, et Errorum Christianorum Natiov Joviantis, Cui additurus Discursus per vanum Dianon in quo consu- tantiur XXIII Errores et judex Natis, Rome, 1658 (the title of the text consists of an earlier account which, with the Discursus, had probably been written during the time of the Portuguese mission). Yahya, who exhibited to his curiosity the manuscript, French vice-consul at Bagdad, in 1875. The fullness and accuracy of the communications are explained by the fact that the informant, before embracing Christianity when about twenty-five, had received an education qualifying him to become a Mandean priest, but it was necessary to state that his knowledge of the Mandean doctrines and legends was wholly dependent upon a late version, from which every difficulty had been expunged (cf. JHE, pp. 17, 19), and that he could describe the methods and customs of his people only in their most recent phases of development.

1 According to a statement of Pietro della Valle, dating from 1622, the Mandaeans in Persia lived principally in the district of Ramaul na, not far from Huwaiz.
MANETHO.—This historian of Egypt was born at Sebennytos, the Thoth-Noferet of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and lived during the reigns of Ptolemy Lagi and Ptolemy Philadelphus. His work comprised nearly the Gr. form of Anet en Tebuti, 'Gift of Thoth'—equivalent to the Gr. Ἰησοῦν Εἰγύπτου. The following works have been attributed to him, some of them on doubtful authority:

1. (η) Εὐσεβεία, (δ) Βιβλίον Σεβένη, (ε) Περὶ Βίβλου, (ζ) Συμπέρασμα, (η) Περὶ Εὐσεβείας, (ζη) Περὶ καταστροφῆς κυρίων. Its reputation rests upon the Εὐσεβεία, a history of Egypt which he compiled at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The first part of his work dealt with the mythical era in the history of Egypt, and the first eleven of the thirty historical dynasties; the second began with the XIth dynasty, and ended with the XIXth; the third comprised dynasties XX.-XXX. The work was written in a style unusual and perished, with the exception of the list of kings, which has been preserved in corrupt and incomplete forms by Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and George the Syncellus.

An examination of these king lists shows that in many particulars Julius Africanus and Eusebius do not agree in their rendering,—i.e. in arrangement of the dynasties, in the lengths of the reigns, and in the total number of kings assigned to the various dynasties and to the Africanus and Eusebius; 536 kings reigned in about 5524 years, while, according to Eusebius, only about 361 kings reigned in 4480 or 4780 years. The version of Africanus is clearly the more accurate of the two, agreeing best with the monuments. Authentic dates are found, and it is beyond a doubt that Africanus had access to the actual work of Manetho. The version of Eusebius was based on that of Africanus, and shows carelessness in the copying of both names and figures. It will thus be seen that the work of Manetho must be received with some caution, for his king lists have become very corrupt; and it is probable that the Christian writers who transmitted his system, being unable to refer to the accepted Biblical chronology, have curtailed his lists to some extent. Nevertheless Manetho's work remains the standard authority on Egyptian chronology, and upon it all attempts to restore that chronology must be based.

The chief original authorities with which his work may be compared are: (1) the Tarin Royal Papyrus,—lamentably mutilated, and badly restored; (2) the Tablet of Abydos, containing a list of 73 kings, dynasties L-XIX; (3) the Tablet of Saqqarah,—47 royal names in practically the same order as (2); and (4) the Tablet of Karnak, containing a list of 61 kings—the cartouches are not arranged chronologically. The lists of Manetho are much more complete than any of these; and it is to him that we owe the accepted distribution into dynasties.

Opinions differ widely as to the value of his historical work. A period in which he was regarded as a mere fabricator was succeeded by its recognition, and his authority was considered practically unimpeachable. Thus Lenormant says:

"He is now the first of all authorities for the reconstruction of the ancient history of Egypt." (Hist. of the East, i. 283.)

More modern authorities are sharply divided. Adverse opinion may be represented by Breasted's sweeping dictum:

"A late, careless and uncritical compilation, which may be given wrong from the contemporary monuments in the vast majority of cases where such monuments have survived. Its dynastic totals are so absurdly high throughout that they are not worthy of a moment's credence, being often nearly or quite double the maximum drawn from contemporary monuments, and they will not stand the slightest criticism. Their accuracy is now maintained only by a small and constantly decreasing number of modern scholars." (Hist. of Egypt, p. 28.)

This is so sweeping as to suggest bias at once; and, when it is remembered that an exactly opposite judgment is pronounced by authorities of such standing as Maspero and Flinders Petrie, its oracular tone becomes merely ridiculous. Maspero's verdict is as follows:

"The system of Manethe, in the state in which it has been handed down to us by epigraphists, has rendered, and continues to render, service to science; if it is not the actual history of Egypt, it is sufficient to help to elucidate the true history of the period, and defective, but it is better and more manageable. And it is necessary, when we wish to understand and reconstruct the link between events, to give it the benefit of the doubt, to choose the more reasonable way for each event and correcting the evidence. This does not mean that Maspero's work is chronologically correct, but only that it is the only way of working out the events and revolutions of which the monuments have preserved a record." (D'Urville, p. 71.)

Still more emphatically favourable is Petrie's judgment:

"An authority of the highest order. . . . The internal evidence is strong for the care given to his work by his editors. . . . Manetho has been often accused of double reckoning, by stating two contemporary dynasties or kings separately. . . . But Maspero has been often accused of double reckoning, by stating two contemporary dynasties or kings separately. . . . So Maspero's work is chronologically correct, but only that it is the only way of working out the events and revolutions of which the monuments have preserved a record." (Deutsche, p. 71.)

Possibly the truth may lie somewhere between the two extreme opinions, and Manetho may be neither so careless as Breasted alleges nor so immaculate as Petrie affirms. In any case, even his detractors cannot afford to do without him; for every reconstruction of the history of Egypt is based, and will continue to be based, on the historical framework which he has provided.

What system of dating we are to derive from his dynastic scheme and other sources is another question. Here also there is fundamental disagreement. As far as is known, the only work that has been made is the literature of H.I. Bibby. It is practically no difference between the various schemes of dating, and Egyptian chronology may be looked upon as settled with only a few years' margin of error up to that period. Beyond that lies chaos. The Berlin school, represented by Meyer and Breasted, dates the beginning of the Ist dyn. at 3100 B.C., and that of the XIth, fixed by astronomical data, at 2500 B.C. This school is still clinging to the accepted Biblical chronology, and the so-called 'ela media' seems to lead nowhere. The massive gap between Petrie's dates and those of the Berlin school is due to the fact that Petrie holds that the advocates of the shorter system have dropped a whole Sothic period of 1400 years out of their reckoning. If the astronomical foundation be sound, the truth must lie either with the shorter or with the longer system, and only further
research can bear the problem. Meanwhile the tendency has been somewhat in the direction of the Berlin system, which, according to Petrie, "deals all the history and the collateral facts which support it." Yet, as Overbeck, 24, p. 37; and Duhg wire, credit remains unsolved.

In addition to his 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 uncivilized peoples, 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 Judge, Hist. of Egypt, i. 130-140.


JAMES BAIRIE.

MANICHÆISM.—1. Sources.—Manichæism, the religion of Mani or Manes, is one of those systems which are usually classed together under the name of Gnosticism. The Manichæan religion arose in Babylonia about the middle of the 3rd century B.C., and during many generations exercised great influence both in the East and in the West. Of the literature of the Manichæans 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 in modern times to prove that some well-known books, in which there are allusions to the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts, are of Manichean origin must be pronounced wholly unsatisfactory. Hence our information respecting this religion is derived almost entirely from non-Manichean authors, most of whom wrote with very hasty and partial views. 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) Zoroastric 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 the race, in language, and in general culture nearly akin to the primitive Manicheans, and had every opportunity of becoming well acquainted with the new religion. Unfortunately very little of their testimony has come down to us. Aphraates, in the first half of the 4th century, the earliest Syriac author whose works have been preserved in any considerable quantity, briefly alludes to Manichæism as a dangerous heresy:

"The children of darkness, the doctrine of the wicked Mani, who, as the time has shown, has spread his absurdities, has been banished from the spiritual world (i.e. astrology), the doctrine of Babel." More information may be gathered from the works of a younger contemporary of Aphraates, 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 à Hypatios. The treatise against Manichæism composed by Gabriel, bishop of Hormizdshir, in the 6th century, seems now to be lost. Later Syriac writers, such as Theodore bar-Khônî and Barhebrus, do not supply much that is of importance.

Among Oriental Christian authorities we must also reckon the Armenian writer Enzik of Kolb, who lived in the 6th century, and Sa'id ibn al-Bitriq, generally called Eutychius, who was Patriarch of Alexandria from A.D. 933 to 938.

(2) Zoroastric sources.—The evidence contained in Zoroastrian literature is, if anything, scantier than that which may be collected from the works of Oriental Christians; moreover, it is much more difficult to interpret, owing partly to the unsatisfactory condition of the text and partly to our imperfect acquaintance with the language. The vehement denunciations of Manichæism which are found in Zoroastrian books bear witness at least to the dread with which the Persian priesthood regarded the rival faith.

(3) Western sources.—Accounts by Greek and Latin authors exist in far greater quantity, but they are, from the nature of the case, much less trustworthy. Manichæism was so essentially Oriental (i.e. non-Hellenic) in its character that the Christians of the West would probably have had considerable 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 an attraction to some, but those who are attracted by mere novelty are usually uncritical, while the attitude of uncom-

1 On Aphraates see W. Wright, Short History of Syriac Literature, London, 1893, p. 52. The Homilies of Ephraim have been re-edited, with a Latin tr., by L. Parisot (Paris, 1894).

2 Hom. iii. Why the Manicheans were accused of astrology will appear later on.

3 The first of these discourses and part of the second were published by H. Poggio in his Inscriptiones undantiae duos episcopos (Avignon, 1897-99). It is borrowed in part from Epiphanius; and hence cannot be regarded as purely Oriental. Cf. also F. Comont, La Composition manichéenne, d'apres Theodore bar Khôni (Recherches sur le Manichéisme, 1), Brussels, 1915.

4 The testimony of the Manichæan Church is derived partly from his Syr. Ecclesiastical History, partly from his Arab. Compendium of the Dynasties, ed. 1899, p. 1292 ff.


7 Perhaps the most important passage on this subject is that which W. E. West has translated in his Peshab Texts, ii. 216 ff. (SCE xxvi. (1919), 58-62). Eutychios' treatise manicha. (Prag. 1915, re-edited by H. E. B.)
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promising hostility, which was adopted by the great majority of Christian theologians, naturally proved even less favourable to accurate comprehension. The foreign origin of Manichæism is duly emphasized. The work by which this notice, which the

librarians, in the several times, and the present work, was translated into a Latin translation, made

from a Greek text of which we possess some long fragments. According to Jerome, the book was originally composed by Arethas himself in Syriac ('Syro sermones') and afterwards translated into Greek. But it object from the study clearly proved that Arethas is not the author, and that the narrative is to a large extent, if not entirely, fictitious.

Nevertheless, some modern writers have endeavored to show that, through the work, in ascribing the Acts to Arethas, he was right at least in believing them to be composed in Syriac. The arguments which Kessler has advanced in support of this theory have been shown by T. Noldeke 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 Stranghas as the Western boundary of the Persian Empire—a notion which is derived from the Greek Romance of Alexander the Great (pseudo-Callisthenes), as Noldeke points out. A writer who was capable of falling into such mistakes can scarcely be supposed to have had any definite knowledge and must be therefore the work of someone else, by one of his followers.16 He afterwards mentions a Manichaean work entitled The Treasure, but whether this is identical with the book cited previously cannot be determined. In either case it is important to observe that, according to Titus, the Manichaens made every effort to conceal from outsiders the writings of their founder, apparently in obedience to his express orders. Another fact, not less significant, is that Titus professed 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.’17 In estimating the evidence supplied by the Book of the Treasures, this tendency must be constantly borne in mind.

A more popular but a much less respectable authority is the Acts Archenlhi, a work which professes to record a dispute between Manes and Arethas, bishop of Persia.

17. Titus, p. 21; and cf. the passage (bk. 1, l. 23) quoted above in the Account of the Manichaean ceremonies (bk. 1, l. 22). The muttering use of mine, mine, etc., in allusion to the name Manes, is extremely common. 18 Syr. viii. 60, etc. 19 See bk. viii. 60, etc. 20 Syr. i and ii. 63, etc. 21 The name is doubtless. Possibly the author, or a later writer, may have confused the two places, Karkha and Karkshar; the latter form agrees with that given by Ephraem in his version of the story.

Here for the first time we meet with the remarkable theory that Manichæism originated, not with its reputed founder, but with a certain Sycyannus, from whom the system was passed on to Manes. These two are extant in a Latin translation, made from a Greek text of which we possess some long fragments. According to Jerome, the book was originally composed by Arethas himself in Syriac ('Syro sermones') and afterwards translated into Greek. But it object from the study clearly proved that Arethas is not the author, and that the narrative is to a large extent, if not entirely, fictitious.

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1. I. xi. 31. 2 ed. A. Brinkmann, Leipzig, 1895. 3 Of the four books into which this work is divided only the first two and the beginning of the third have been preserved in the original Syriac; but all four are extant in a Syr., which must have been made very early, as it is contained in a Brit. Mus. MS written in a.v. 644. 4 By Brinkmann, p. 578. 5 The best edition is that of P. A. de Lagarde (Berlin, 1859), who also edited the Syr. version. It is to be noted that the br. text has a long insertion (printed as an Appendix by Lagarde, pp. 60-103) which is absent in the Syr. 6 In Sylloge P. 1884, p. 470, August Brinkmann has endeavored to prove that this piece is a fragment of a book against the Manichaens by Severus of Tammis, a friend of Athanasius. 7 'Ακτο τους εν ξεια τους εν άλλος εν έλθες (bk. 1, l. 21); ἆλλος δε σαμινα τ' έν άλλος εν άλλος εν έλθες (bk. 1, l. 22). 8 These states that the source used by Titus was the work of a certain Addeus: εν έπει τους και Λαπροτος γραμμες, αλλα σαμινα τνα τνα τνα τνα ακτα (bk. 1, l. 40). 9 Explanations in the Notes: the name of the Manichaean writer is the same as that of the author of the De utilitate, and his name is borne in the Manichaean ceremonies (bk. 1, l. 21). 10 The name is doubtless. Possibly the author, or a later writer, may have confused the two places, Karkha and Karkshar; the latter form agrees with that given by Ephraem in his version of the story.
union of the *Ezatike* Church. In its present shape this document cannot be older than the 9th century. It consists of a series of anathemas, directed partly against doctrines and partly against persons, put together without any definite plan. Several of them are undoubtedly Manichaean, but some emanate from other sects, and some appear to be gross misrepresentations. Yet, in spite of the unscrupulous manner in which it is compiled, the *Formula of Abjuration* contains a certain number of interesting facts and will be of interest to Oriental Christians and less misleading than those by Western writers.

For this several causes may be assigned. In the first place, the Manichaean 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 Manichaean Empire, was also the ecclesiastical centre of Manichaeism, and accordingly, in that country the text and the traditional interpretation of the Manichaean Scriptures were most likely to survive. It is true that after the Manichaean conquest the Aramaic language gradually declined and became so obscure that 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 Manichaean historians, who treat of pre-Manichaean or early Manichaean times take some notice of Manichaeism, 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 Ishao, who probably lived at the end of the 10th cent. of our era, and is known as the author of the *Fihrist*, i.e. *Catalogue*, a great storehouse of information respecting literary works of various kinds; (c) al-Hariri, who died A.D. 1018, of the most learned men that the East ever produced, the author of a book on *Chronology* and other important treatises; (d) al-Shahraustari, who died A.D. 1153, the author of a work on the history of the Nestorian and Manichaean sects. All these authors write in Arabic, although the last two were of Persian nationality.

The story of Mani in the *Sixth-century Firdausi*, the well-known Persian epic poet, is almost entirely legendary, and the same may be said of nearly all the popular Manichaean accounts, whether written in Persian or in Arabic.

2. The founder of Manichaeism.—With regard to the history of the founder we are mainly dependent on Manichaean writers, and the Western authorities either tell us nothing definite or else repeat, more or less faithfully, the legends contained in the *Acta Archelii*. The story there related is briefly as follows:

In the time of the Apostles there lived a man named Sychassus, who is described as coming from *Sycia*, and also as being a *Saramos* by race (vex *genere Saramocho*).


2. Col. publican published under his death by J. Buerger and A. Muller, Leipzig, 1871-72. The section relating to Manichaeism was published separately by Flugel, with a Germ. tr. and introduction by J. C. M. Weber under the name of *The Martyrium, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1892. The author of the *Fihrist* is sometimes called al-Nabi, but it is doubtful whether this name, or rather nickname, belonged to him or to one of his ancestors.


He settled in Egypt, where he became acquainted with the *wisdom of the Egyptians*, and invented the religious system which was afterwards known as Manichaeism. Finally he emigrated to Palestine, and, when he died, was buried in the hands of his sole disciple, a certain Terebinthus. The latter betook himself to Babylonia, Nevertheless, the *Manichaean*...
Before he was twenty-five years old he had privately gained a few disciples, but he began his public propaganda on the day when Shapur, who was the king of Persia, had already captured the town of Ardashir, was crowned king (March 20, A.D. 242); he succeeded in securing the patronage of the king's brother Peroz, and through him obtained access to the royal library. In the course of his travels he may have visited Central Asia, India, and China, but it does not appear that he ever penetrated evil, or death, but that he held the kingship, and was able to think and to deliberate of thought and volition; in other words, his dualism was of the imaginative, or poetical, not of the philosophical kind. The following is an abstraction of the account given in P. We. 1900. Originally the light and the darkness bordered on one another, but were mingled, the light being limitless above and the darkness limitless below. The Preserver, who is called the King of the Paradies of Light, but the realm of light includes also an atmosphere and an earth which are co-eternal with the heavens. The unseen and the seen, the earth and water, the wind, the light, the fire, the sun, the moon, and the stars, are all animal and vegetable organisms, but even objects which we regard as wholly inanimate, such as metals, contain portions of divine light. Hence the distinction was made between the elements of light and the elements of darkness. Out of this confusion the heavenly powers fashioned the actual world which, as is known, consists of all animal and vegetable organisms, but even objects which we regard as wholly inanimate, such as metals, contain portions of divine light. Hence the distinction was made between the elements of light and the elements of darkness. Out of this confusion the heavenly powers fashioned the actual world which, as is known, consists of all animal and vegetable organisms, but even objects which we regard as wholly inanimate, such as metals, contain portions of divine light. Hence the distinction was made between the elements of light and the elements of darkness.

1. Wisdom and deeds have always from time to time been brought forward by the Manichees as evidence of this in one age they have been brought by the messenger called Bihdha to India, and again by Sabour (Shdpara'jdn, Susa, in another by Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) to Persia, in another by Jesus (brinkmann, he saw very clearly that these conclusions had been reached by abstract 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 Mani himself says, in a passage which al-Biruni quotes from the Shdpdragn (see above):

2. The fullest list of Mani's writings is to be found in the P. We. 1900. The works of the Arian titles are done away, and even those which are certain seldom give us any clue as to the nature of the contents.

3. That king Shapur was ever connected with Manichaeism, as al-Biruni states, is very improbable.

4. The fullest list of Mani's writings is to be found in the P. We. 1900. The works of the Arian titles are done away, and even those which are certain seldom give us any clue as to the nature of the contents.

5. According to al-Shahristani, some Manichaeans held that the mingling of the darkness with the light had taken place blindly and by accident (khu), while others regarded the Manichaean akh as 'motion without order' (aswara) as 'motion without order'.

6. It is inexact to compare this narrative with the parallel passage in Turkestan, bk. i. ch. 17. For 'the Primal Devil' Prima substitutes 6., for 'the Devil' 6.

7. The nature of these gods is not clearly defined; they are regarded as the offspring of the gods, and are called 'the first man' (ed. Brinkmann, p. 6.).

8. The moon, as it waxes and wanes, is compared to a bucket which alternately fills and empties itself.

9. It is to be observed that Adam, the first man (in Arabic 'al-khawil al-anwar'), is wholly distinct from 'the Primal Man' (al-khawan al-adn).
As we learn from the passage of the Shāhānāgōja quoted above, Mani held that a series of divine revelations had been promulgated in the world by Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, and finally Mani himself.1 Al-Biruni adds that Mani, in another of his books, speaks of being the mediator of the final revelation announced by Christ,2 and this we learn from other sources also, both Christian3 and Muhammadan.4 As the Muhammadan authorities use the Greek word, it may be assumed that it was used by the Manichaean writers themselves, but we are not to conclude that Mani knew Greek, still less that he had read the NT in the original. The term Paraclite was in common use among Aramaic-speaking Christians, from whom Mani doubtless borrowed it. Precisely what meaning he attached to it is a question not easy to answer. From the statements in the Fibhist as to his parentage and birth we may infer with certainty that, though he laid claim to a divine commission, he did not profess to be more than a human being in the ordinary acceptance of the term.5 And it is to be observed that in the Shāhānāgōja the earlier prophets, including Jesus, are placed on a level with Mani. This would seem to imply that they also were regarded as mere men. Nothing, therefore, can be found that Christian authors, such as Titus of Bостa and Augustine, frequently represent Mani as holding a Doceitic theory with regard to Jesus, namely, that He was not born of a woman and that therefore Christ was a phantasm. This is a phenomenon of a-certaining what was really the Manichean doctrine on this point is still further increased by the statement in the Fibhist that Mani pronounced Jesus to be a devil (ab)ās.6 The Fibhist informs us (p. 336, line 16 ff.) that one of Mani's works, The Book of Secrets, contained a chapter on 'the son of the widow, that is to say, according to Mani, 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 reconciled with that in which Jesus is said to have been called a devil, 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 seem certain that these men, who had denied the fact of his crucifixion, hence, according to Augustine,7 they were in the habit of contrasting the unreal sufferings of Christ with the real sufferings of Mani, which they solemnly commemorated by an annual festival at which they placed in a reliquary the Manichaean 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.6 The teaching of Mani 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 Manichean 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 following passage, it will be 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.8 Another misapprehension, initiated by the Manicheans themselves, is: Duabus Animabus, that man was represented as having two souls, one good and the other evil.9 In reality the passages which are cited as proofs of this theory allium only the existence of two opposite 'teaching' Sula, the one 'righteous man' the other 'unrighteous man'; but the soul itself is not wholly good, the soul is not wholly evil; for, according to the Fibhist (p. 335, line 16 ff.), the Manicheans held that after the death of the righteous man the 'power' contained in his body, namely, the water, the fire, the breeze, have to be 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 Hearers' or 'the Combatants,' and the inner circle of teachers or necties, whom Western writers call 'the Elect' (e.g. Eusebius, Electi) and Muslimahans al-Nabijun. The Elect again were subdivided

1 Cum kepse a voso querere olim temporum, qui vos suadens, qui causa causa, quod facta Domini perperaque nulls interdum a pancia temporis celebrati frequentat... mulis vigili, nullo proferens innumer discebentaribus, nullo denique fisipes apparente... cum vestrum hanc, id est, diem quo Manichaeanus occisus est, quinque gradibus instructus tribunali... nec prefato litiges adhuc nunc in promptu posit et objecto adarboribus, magnae honorium postquemata... hoc ergo cum quererem, respondente ille diem passionis celebrans... tibi vero posses sustinebamus... si Manichaeanus adorabat... qui non poenae retributionis... magne verum sed nimium carmen humani orinis ostendentes... non punctualiter, sed fore resurrectionem (Augustin., E. Epistola, Fundamentum, viii.)

2 It is well known that, according to the Qur'an (iv, 157), Christ was never crucified; but, when His enemies sought to say Him, He was removed from the earth and a likeness was made to appear to them. Futhera more, the Qur'an clearly states that Christ does not imply any denial of the reality of Christ's body. That Muhammad borrowed the conception from the Manicheans is very improbable, both because of the absence of any allusion in the Quran, and because the Manicheans were considered an abundant mine of divine light and wisdom, whereas the other 'proselytes not' were considered by Islam as being understood in the sense of its etymological equivalent in Syri...
into several grades and formed an elaborate hierarchy, at the head of which stood the representative of Mani himself. But the position of the Ecclesiastics, or priests of the Christian clergy, inasmuch as the Elect exercised no sacerdotal 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. Hence the main characteristic of the religious life of the Manichæans, that Manichæans 'the three seals,' which Augustine more definitely characterizes as signaenum avis, signaenum mamuth, and signaenum sine. The first 'seal' imposed restrictions with respect to food and speech. The second, with respect to outward acts, the third with respect to thoughts and desires. Thus the Manichean asceticism implied no thought of expiation; the idea that self-inflicted suffering atones for sin—an idea which has exercised so dominant 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 diabolical, and therefore retard the liberation of the light. In matters of detail the Manichean code naturally appears arbitrary to us; it is evident that in drawing the list of prohibited foods, which is the 'Satanic' and what is now Mani was guided much more by his fancy and by various casual associations than by any abstract logical principle. Thus, for instance, all Manichæans were forbidden to eat leeks. The Elect abstained from both flesh and wine; they were also forbidden to pluck fruit or vegetables, so that the food on which they subsisted had to be supplied by the Hearers. Similarly the Hearers were allowed to marry and to engage in worldly avocations, whereas the Elect might neither marry nor acquire property, 'except for one day and clothing for one year.' It is remarkable that among the things most strictly prohibited by the Manicheans, fasting and magic. As in nearly all Oriental religions, fasting played an important part. Sunday was observed as a fast-day by ordinary Manichæans, Monday by the Elect; viz. Zaddik, 'the righteous,' which we may assume to have been the form employed by the Manicheans themselves in C. W. Mitchell, op. cit. I. 50: 'A Manichean who is called a *Zad- dick,' p. 127 n. 3: These idle women of the party of Mani, those whom they call Zaddikoth.' Neither Kessler nor any previous writer seems to have noticed that from the same Syr. word is derived zaddik, or zaddik, 'herein,' a term which was applied especially to the disciples of Mani by the Persians of the Sassanian period, and afterwards by the Manichæans. 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 term, Keter, from, *sopher, the Persian term for the 'Heaven' and the 'Elect' respectively are Niyoshah and Vildghosh. According to Augustine (c. Faustianum, 1.), the Elect were supposed to celebrate a kind of Eucharist in their secret meeting, and the Manichean Eucharist, at least as described by him, was thought to be the same as the Eucharist of the Christian Church. The prohibition of idolatry is the first of the ten commandments which, according to the *Fihrist (p. 333, line 140), all Manicheans were required to observe.

there were also monthly and annual fasts. Of the prayers, which were recited several times in the day, the following specimens are given by the author of the *Fihrist (p. 333, line 140):—

(1) Blessed is our Guide, the Paraverte, the Ambassador of Light, blessed are his guardian angels and adored are his shining hosts.

(2) Adored art thou, O shining one, Mani our Guide, source of brightness, branch of life, thou great tree which art wholly medicinal.

(3) Io prostrate myself and adore, with a pure heart and a truth-speaking tongue, the good god, the Father of Lights, the Essence of Lights, adored and blessed art Thou, all Thy majesty and Thy blessed words which Thou hast called, 'I adore' a man who adores Thy hosts, Thy majesty, and that which seemeth good to Thee, because Thou art the God who art alone, the Lord and holiness who art concealed.

(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, expelled, and overcome the darkness.

(6) I prostrate myself and adore the Father of majesty, the Great, the Luminous:—

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 justified in arguing that such conceptions were alien to the Manichean system, since their stress seems to have been laid on repentance and the forgiveness of sin. Therefore, since the Manicheans did not admit the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice, their theory of the forgiveness of sin necessarily differed from that which is 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, 'since man is not punished for sinning, but for failing to grieve over sin.'

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, ascend by means of 'the pillar of glory,' to the moon, and thence are conveyed to paradise: the Hearers must pass through a long process of purification and of wandering to and fro, before they join the Elect; while the souls of the wicked roam about the world, in a condition of hopeless misery, until the final condemnation, and are then consigned for ever to the realm of darkness. 

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 theories that Manichæism is a combination of Christian with Zoroastrian or

1 For 'holy,' 'blessfulness,' we should no doubt read *eusebèia,* as Socleæ has suggested.

2 That is, apparently to use the above passage— the Arab, verb dâ'a seems here to be a rendering of the Arab. gâru, on the use of which see E. Förstemann, Inscriptions budéennes, p. 43, and note 1. Here follows a short clause which is unintelligible.

3 See Baur, p. 262, and the *Khaemustafi,* ed. A. van Le Coq (JELES, 1901).

4 Non enim puritrit quae pecavit sed quae de pecato eum dedit' are the words of the Manichean Secundinus, cited by Augustine (c. Secundinum, 1.).

5 Fihrist, p. 333. In this passage we find nothing which distinctly confirms the statement of Augustine, and it seems more likely that the Hearers and of the Wicked were believed to pass into plants and animals (c. Faust. bib. v. 10, de Hær. xlvii). At the same time the idea of notopsychia is not definitely excluded.
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 has been to explain everything in the ancient world as due to Babylonian influence; hence Zoroastrianism and all other forms of Mysticism are simply modifications of the old Babylonian beliefs.

But to those who impartially examine the sources none of these hypotheses will appear satisfactory. Whatever elements Mani may have borrowed from 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 characteristic feature of the system share with primitive Christianity are not necessarily derived from any Christian source; they are, for the most part, products of a general movement which, as mankind outgrew the older religious systems, rearranged and assumed various forms, according to the special circumstances of each case. The general movement in question has been well described by H. Odenberg as a shifting of the centre of gravity, in religious milieus, without reference to the actually existing religions, for the sake of the primitive Christianity.

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, success, and victory over his enemies, gradually faded away, or sometimes was violently shattered, and in its place there arose a new form of belief, which held much more of earthly enjoyment, triumph, and dominion, but rather of rest, peace, and redemption (Buddhism, Berlin, 1897, p. 3).

In the time of Mani the old heathenism was a no-man's land, and Judaism, the Zoroastrianism had become the religion of the State. Moreover, large Jewish colonies had long been established in the country. Of the early history of the Christian Church in those regions next to nothing is known, but it is certain that the time was ripe for the beginning of the 3rd century. Christianity had taken root among the Aramaic-speaking population which occupied the Western provinces of the Parthian Empire. It is also tolerably certain that the Christians of Babylon 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-ajáin (Barjesanes), who died in A.D. 222, seems to have had great influence. Ephraim Syriac was the teacher of Mani; this is not meant to imply that Mani was born a Barjesanes, but merely that he adopted certain Barjesanist 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 Mithraic-sce, the community to which Mani's father attached himself.

The hostility of Mani to popular paganism is sufficiently shown by his strict prohibition of idolatry. That he clearly distinguished between orthodox paganism and Zoroastrianism appears from his inclusion of Zoroastrians 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 believed in the theory that Zoroastrianism as a separate religion, till after the overthrow of the Parthian dynasty (about A.D. 224) rests on trustworthy evidence.

The Hodie, and oriental Christianity (London, 1894), relates chiefly to the Christianity of Edessa and its immediate neighborhood; but much of what he says probably applies also to Babylonia.


The view that Zoroastrianism did not become the State religion till after the overthrow of the Parthian dynasty (about A.D. 224) rests on trustworthy evidence.

1 See, for instance, the beginning of the account of Manicheanism in al-Shahristâni (i. 150). The statement in the Firdaus (p. 326, line 8, ff.), that Mani rejected the prophets generally, is an exaggeration based mainly on his treatment of Moses.

2 In this respect, of course, Mani did not differ from some of the early Christians. Thus the Epistle to Diocletian, which is usually regarded as a product of orthodox Christianity, speaks of animal sacrifices in terms of contempt for them, and even in Rabbinical literature a tendency to disparage sacrifice occasionally shows itself.

3 Mani's dualism was due mainly to Zoroastrian influence would be an unwarranted inference of a very vague kind. It is manifest, however, that in matters of detail he appropriated freely elements derived from very different quarters. Thus we can attach no great importance to his adoption of certain ancient Babylonian myths, e.g., such as relate to the nature and movement of the heavenly bodies. In like manner he borrowed narratives, directly or indirectly, from the OT, although his general attitude towards Judaism was one of decided opposition. That he refused to recognize Moses as a prophet is abundantly proved by his influence in Christian writings directed against Manicheism the defence of the OT generally occupies a prominent place. It is probable that Mani's aver- sion to Judaism was largely due to his horror of a practice which Judaism noted, more than any other with popular paganism, namely, the sacrificing of animals.

Towards Christianity he was much more favourably disposed. Whence he derived his information on this subject and his view of history of Christ, can only be but that the great part of the NT had been translated into Syriac some time before Mani was born, we cannot safely assume that he had access to it, Much of his peculiar teaching as to the person and history of Christ, which is not found in the NT, seems to have been derived from a later source, and may have been made ab above, may be due in some measure not to perversion of the gospel narrative on his own part, but to the beliefs of his Christian informants. In any case it is clear that some of the more 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, namely, that he provided a much more secure dogmatic basis for asceticism than any other teacher.

The Christian ascetics, in conducting 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; belief in the distinction which they were taught to make between human nature and as such and human nature in its present corrupt state gave rise to endless difficulties. On the other hand, the Manichean dogma that humanity is of Satanic origin, however shocking it may be to modern sentiment, greatly simplified the problem. In this, as in some other points, Mani displayed a boldness and originality of conception which entitile 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.
sect, scattered over a great part of the Persian Empire and drawn from the ranks of various older religions. Some of them belonged to the Persian aristocracy; hence the bitterness with which the Zoroastrians accused their see. If al-Walid, Mani's immediate successor, as head of the community, was a certain Sia (Gr. Σαίος). For many centuries Babylonia continued to be the headquarters of the Manichean 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 Manicheans were treated even worse than the Christians. For this no political party could be held, since the Manicheans were politically offensive, whereas the Christians not infrequently brought persecution upon themselves by an ostentations display of their philo-Byzantine sentiments. The principal result of these attempts to suppress Manicheism in Babylonia and Persia was that large numbers of Manicheans took refuge in Central Asia, where they carried on a successful propaganda among the Turkish tribes.

The precise date at which Manicheism began to spread in the Roman Empire is not certain, but it was undoubtedly well known there early in the 4th century. With respect to its prevalence in N. Africa, two or three generations later, Augustine furnishes the densest evidence. Though as we might have expected, showed themselves no less intolerant towards Manicheism than the kings of Persia. In the persecution of the Manicheans Pope Leo I. played a specially prominent part. As to the extent to which the charge of Manicheism was brought against the Byzantine Empire and the Albigenses (p. r.) 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 Manicheism.

On the overthrow of the Persian Empire by the Muhammadan Arabs, about the middle of the 7th cent., the followers of Mani in the East enjoyed a period of comparative repose. Strictly speaking, they were not quite driven into hiding by the new religion which was being propagated. The Qur'an, which expressly recognizes Jews, Christians, and Sabians as capable of deserving the favour of God (q. 59. v. 73), does not mention Manicheism. Nevertheless, it would appear that in the early days of the Muhammadan empire no penalties were inflicted upon the Manicheans. The extreme simplicity of their cult, and in particular their abhorrence of idolatry, may for a while have served to protect them from molestation under Muhammadan rule. At length it began to be rumoured that some Muhammadans in high positions had secretly adopted Manicheism. In many cases these reports were certainly false; thus, for instance, the Khaib al-Walid II. (A.D. 749-754), whom Muhammadan historians depict as a monster of iniquity, is accused of having Mani's name inscribed on his episcopal throne. In other cases, however, no shadows were left. Thus in 840., 1 a Persian official, in dealing with persons suspected of Manicheism, describes the curious method of requiring the accused to 'kill ants,' just as Christians. In the Roman Empire, were required to throw incense upon a heathen altar (see E. Rodiger. Christenheims Schweigen, B Stettin, 1838, p. 94). The Sabians (a name which, of course, has no connection with that of the ancient Sabines) seem to have been a sect, possibly a group of sects, who existed in Arabia at the time of Muhammad. The disciples of Muhammad were at first called Sabians by the Persians, and in later ages the title of Sabian was falsely assumed by several religious communities, as a means of protection—e.g., by the pagans of Harran, in Mesopotamia, and by the Manicheans of Samarqand, as we learn from al-Biruni.

1 See the very interesting paper by I. Goldscheider, "Son der Bibel" (Abel-al-Kudus und das Zodiakum während der Regierung der Chalifen al-Malik), in Trans. of the Ninth Intern. Congress of Orientalists, London, 1903, II. 294 f. Goldscheider is of opinion that the Manicheans propagated under the early Abbasids was somehow connected with the anti-Manichean movement of the Persian nationalists (so-called Shabaked). Whether there is any truth in this view may be doubted, for Manicheism had nothing to do with political parties. At the same time it is not surprising that Muhammadans should oftentimes have confused these widely different tendencies.

2 See p. 3059, note 2.1

3 Thus from the statement in Ibn Qutliba, Kitab al-Ma’rif (ed. F. Westenfeld, Gotha, 1850, p. 545) to conclude, with O. Jacob (Arabisches Rechtsbuchlein, Berlin, 1857, p. 107), that there were Manicheans at Mecca in the time of Muhammad.

4 Al-Tahari, III. 588.


6 Pfister, p. 357; Flügel, Mani, p. 106.
of its long history was not altogether free from internal dissensions might have been safely assumed. But the positive information which we possess on this subject is very scanty. We learn from the Fihrist (p. 334, line 4ff.) that at a date which is not specified, but in any case some time before the 4th century, 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 century, when a branch-sect was formed and became known as the Migliasa, after the name of their leader Miglias. The majority of the Manicheans, who remained faithful to the head of the community, a certain Milhr, were henceforth called the Mihriya. The points in dispute between these parties seem to have been matters of discipline rather than of religious belief.

Laihaobns.—In modern times, the first serious attempt to investigate the subject was made by the French Protestant theologian I. de Beausobre in his colonial work, Historie crée de la religion du maichiane, Amsterdam, 1739. Dealing with the sources he shows considerable acumen, but his book is ill-arranged and contains many irrelevant digressions. An admirable survey and examination of the evidence, so far as it was then available, will be found in The Theology of the Manichees, the translation of J. C. Baur, Das mauchische Religionssystem nach den Quellen neu untersucht, and entwickeh, Tubingen, 1853. Perhaps the best general account is F. Speiser's Erklärung der alten Religionslehre der Manichäer, Stuttgart, 1871-78, 6 vols.

The works of K. Krass—Mani, Forschenage über die mauchische Religion, Berlin, 1809, art. 'Mani, Manichâcher,' in Préf et Pré2—supply much valuable information, but they should be used with extreme caution; the author's speculations are often fantastic and his linguistic knowledge is very superficial. A. Harnack, art. 'Manichäismus,' in Ehr (revished by F. Courtenay in Ehr 1891), is largely based upon Krass's works, and he quotes an essay of E. Rechab, Essai sur Mani et sa doctrine, Geneva, 1897. Very important contributions to the study of the subject are contained in a series of monographs by F. Cumont and A. Kugener, entitled Recherches sur le Manichâisme, Brussels, 1896-1912.

MANIPURIS.—Officially the Manipuris are Vaishnavite Hindus. They cremate the dead, they 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 sacred groves, they are kamakari (under the influence of alcohol); 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 Brahmin. It is one of the exercises of devout worship to observe a fast which applies to their social order. Knowledge of the Vaishnavite 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. 1709), is of social and political value in that it separates them from the ruder tribes inhabiting the hills and from the subordinate peoples of the valley. It provides the rites and ceremonies which are the daily bread of the ordinary life.

The historical records of Manipur, Ningthouja, 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 so 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 among the rest. The principal order of divine beings is the simang lai. There were originally, as recent research has shown, nine simang lai, or forest gods, with whom were associated seven latremus, or goddesses. These are now 264 such deities. The gods married with mortals, and their issue were promoted to divine rank. The deities have different names in different places, and there are cases where Rajas have been deified after death. The creator deity is identified both with the chief of the gods and with the snake ancestor of the royal family. Other gods are identified with the clan deities of clans still existing. Yet others are members of a special group, whose function is to guard certain states and who are therefore known either as coolies, watchers over or guardians of direction, or lamalai, 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 god deity. Then among the simang lai is the rain-god, and last is the god of the household (Sena-meih), who is occasionally said to be the son of one of the seven goddesses. The function of the maniekongkim deities was to keep sickness from entering the house. 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, water, grass, rice, iron, fish, gold and silver, salt, cotton, fire, and the winds are sprung from these goddesses, either directly as the leader of the group or as the group deity has a laiphorn, or god's place, specially sacred to him or her. Some reside on hill-tops, but for the convenience of their worshippers have abodes in more accessible spots. Such laiphorn abound, notably on hill-tops or at the site of a sacred grove, and are marked by heaps of stones and leaves. In the sacred groves near the villages of their 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 material objects. They also reside in the chief official of the group, village, or family which forms their special clientele. The principal deity is, so far as external features are concerned, the religion of the Meitheis. 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 religions development in India to study at close quarters the process by which in Hindum animism is tempered by metaphysic, and magic transformed into spiritual exercises.

The state of the world is depicted as a state of social stress, as is shown by the grief and derangement caused by death. The gods benefit directly by the rites, which give 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 acts in order to avert all evil influence. Special precautions have to be taken—e.g., clean fire must be manufactured by means of a bamboo and a cane in cross friction. Dancing is a necessary accomplishment of the rite, which often includes the use of foul 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 purpose of the rite is to maintain the solidarity of social life and to produce in the worshippers a sense of religious efficacy. The social divisions, resting on age and other lines of social cleavage, function separately on these interesting occasions. The offerings are in some cases such as render the active participation or professing Hindus a matter of some difficulty, but the difficulty is surmounted by substituting a Lol, a member, i.e., of the non-Hindu section of the community, for the Hindu believer and by whom and on whose behalf the rites is performed. The Hindu may save his conscience by merely sniffing the savour of the sacrifice, unmindful of the fate of the Pit 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 undoubtedly practised, probably at no very distant date.

The priests of the ancient order are designated maibis and were, and by the admission of those who become possessed by the deity at one of the high religious festivals. Insanely as sickness and di-sease are attributed to spiritual beings, the maibis is also the doctor of the community, and his practical knowledge of the maibis is far from despicable. The wide-spread belief in possession as a token and source of abnormal power and religious authority is beyond a doubt at the root of many of the customs found in Manipur. There is no evidence forthcoming as yet from Manipur to show that the priesthood is hereditary or that the members of the order, like bhakats and jogis, are regarded as jinnmokta (g.v.), or that their funeral rites differ from those of ordinary people. On its practical side the religion ministers to the simple needs of an agricultural community dependent on the regularity, adequacy, and seasonability of the rainfall for their subsistence. There are rites to secure rain and rites to stop excessive rain. Not the least interesting of the numerous rites to secure good fortune for the State is the annual selection of the chahibtib, the person who gives his name to the year. Various means of divination are employed to the selection of the man who shall bring the good luck that is dependent on his personality.

Beliefs in evil spirits, who accompany animals and fish, and are ever hurtful to mankind, in beautiful stirs who lure young men and make them insane, in vampires, in witchcraft, in the power of trees and of tree-spirits to cure as to cause sickness, and in the maleficent activity of the ghosts of those who die by force of war or who die in childbirth are also notable features of their organized religious system. The rites which are performed for the purpose of protection and exorcism in these cases are full of interesting detail, but in general outline resemble the rites performed elsewhere on a similar level of culture for similar purposes.


T. C. Hodson.

MANITU.—Manitu, a word originally applied by the Eastern Algonquins to a spirit, is properly okei spirit, with the sign m, meaning any spirit or god or being in Hindu, and in a hill of Hinduism, 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 ot or keht prefixed to anit; thus Keht-anit, or Kintanit (Kittanit), to which was again added the syllable wot, meaning a mode of existence; hence Kittanitowit, 'the existence (known as) the Great Anito,' the phrase of God as taught by the missionaries. That the Indians themselves had evolved no such conception is abundantly manifested by the absence from 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 Penobscot Indians, Keitawan, Keitanitowit, being merely variants of this artificial compound. As no conception was introduced in opposition to a spirit variously called Hoh, the Evil Spirit, or Maltsun, 'the Wolf.' Another form of the latter appears to have been evolved in antithesis to a contracted form of Keitawan, namely, Tanutau, as opposed to Squantum, the Devil ('angry god'). Manitu is, therefore, the proper word for any sort of a demonium, good or bad, and it has reached a higher significance by purely artificial means.

Nevertheless, the missionaries did not invent the idea of a good spirit, or of an evil spirit, or of a spirit-creator. What they did was to seize upon ideas already current in another form, fuse them, and present to the Indians the fusion (really confusion) as the embodiment, and the explanation, of one another. The Indians believed that a spirit might be a good or a good-natured power, and that he might be an inimical power, and they also believed that a certain ancestral spirit had always been favourably disposed towards his children, but it was far from the thought of the Algonquins that there was an ever good and supreme Great Spirit, creator and benefactor, opposed to a Great Spirit of Evil. Wherever such ideas are found, they reflect the thought inherited from forefathers who had been under Christian influence. Thus the Mandans painted upon one side of the tent a figure representing the Good Spirit and on the other side a figure representing the Evil Spirit, that they might be under the protection of both these powerful spirits; but this is merely the degradation of teaching originally strange to them. They recognized certain spirits who aided and certain spirits who opposed them, but not as in any case Great Spirits. They believed this one great man could control all spirits. Similarly, when the 'epic' of Kuloskap describes this god of the Passamaquoddies as the son of a divine unknown mother and antithetical to a twin evil spirit, as the principle of goodness opposed to a sort of Ahri, it must be remembered that the Passamaquoddies have long been under higher religions 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 any evil spirit as such, but also that worship is not paid to any good spirit as such. The manitu is often confused with the wakan of western tribes. But the latter is only less a spirit than a power, like the mana (g.v.) of the Polynesians, 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 okei, which at bottom is one with wakan, but is conceived as containing but a certain number of times a spiritual power. There is some corresponding word to be found in most of the languages of the American Indians, and every one of them con-
notes a power which may be called spiritual. Sometimes it is the purely shamanistic power contained in the medicine-bag at all, but a collection of objects of 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 power which may be present in any one, though nowhere otherwise ascribed as inherent in matter or may 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 man may have it in certain cases.

But there is no sharp distinction between this power and that found in spirits proper, where it becomes individualized. It is this very power that is the 'medicine' of the conjurer and nature-subduing priest. Whether it be called manitu, oke (oko), waken, or even ku (in Maya form), it is always the same thing under a shifting terminology, except that among certain tribes it is more apt to be conceived as impersonal and among others as personal. Manitu is generally personal, waken is generally impersonated, but the alternate use of either is not unusual. Waken has been defined by Brinton (Myths of the New World, p. 45) as 'supernatural in its etymological sense,' in that it means forms of life among the Iroquois, Hurons, and Dakotas, namely, oke and oke respectively, 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 etymologically allied, and a possible connexion with Sioux oke is possible; but it would be unprofitable to attempt, with Brinton, to connect these terms with the above-mentioned ku of the Mayas. The Quaker of the Powhatans is another form of the same word. It is a word, however, not the higher but the lesser spirits.

This word, like Tan'tun and Squantum above, is an adaptation from approximately corresponding Indian sounds (Quaker is qyi-oki, 'small spirits') and contains the oke of the Iroquois and Algonquins, but it is not probable that it is one with the southern kucon, ku, etc. The Algonquin oke means a spirit of any sort—e.g., the spirit of a body of water, the spirit of winter—and expresses also the idea of an essentially dynamic wind, but not in a devilish manner; for, especially among the Hurons, the oke gives good fortune and regulates the winds for the benefit of the good Indian. It also implies a ghost, and in this respect differs from the English concept; in other respects it is difficult to perceive any distinction between the anim (manitu) and the oke; perhaps, as appears from the geographical distribution of the two words, the anim was confined to the East, while the oke penetrated from the West to the Eastern tribes.

The manitu of greatest authority among the Algonquins was Michabo, and an analysis of this peculiar being shows that he was far from being a supreme spirit. Like many of the Indian spirits, he was a very superior animal, Michabo meaning 'great hare' (originally manibocho). This manitu was revered from the Northern line of the States to Virginia and from the East as far West as the Mississippi. He was represented as the creator 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 in turn tricked and deceived; he was the terror of the buckoon, whose exploits amused the Indians, as those of Brer Rabbit amused 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, steal, and carry off the fruit of the earth, and when not thus engaged he is very often seen with his pipe before turning in to sleep through 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, somewhere near the Mississippi, is now known as Michabo, which appears as Missibizi and Messou as well as Nanibozho and Manibozho, apparently because the name was sometimes rendered michi ('great') and sometimes manitu ('spirit'), with wabos, '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 wabos means 'white' (tepeo means the eastern light), yet nothing is more apt to lead one astray than reliance on such etymological chances.

We are, then, far from agreeing with Brinton when he says that 'beyond a doubt this is the compound in the names Michabo and Manibozho which is therefore meant by Great Light, the Dawn' (ibid., p. 160). Michabo has done more for American studies, he wrote under the dawn-myth influence of his day and probably laid more stress upon etymology than upon etymology. The truth is that the 'great hare' is 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 illustrous difficulties; the tiger gods being good; but, as has been said of similar Indian spirits, a spirit of good-nature. He is the son of the wind, one of four brothers born at a birth, but he took command of them. As they were born North, South, East, and West, it seems as if he represented one of the four winds. Yet the early missionaries declared that he and the four winds were the chief Algonquin gods. As expressed in the account of the year 1616, Michabo and the four winds were the power ruling the winds at that time. Further, it must be remembered that Michabo is sometimes portrayed (as among the New Jersey Indians) as a devil, while at others he is represented as the 'ancestor'—a term which has often led to the great conclusion that believe in an ancestor spirit must necessarily believe in a creator-god. Other tribes also have ancestral or at least specially revered animals, such as the bear, deer, and wolf of the Mohicans. None of the Western or Southern American Indians had the conception of a Creator-God, but many of them derived their stock from certain animals. To this class of animal-gods Michabo, the greatest manitu of the East, appears to belong. The history of the brothers is told in various forms in various tribes, and has been interpreted as additional evidence that, when there is a good and a bad brother, we have a fundamental dualism, which, however, is unsubstantiated by any close analysis even of the tales as handed down. In the Iroquois version there are two brothers, the Beautiful Spirit and the Ugly Spirit or Good Mind and Bad Mind, as interpreted by the missionaries. But these are in reality the two brothers, 'White' and 'Dark,' Ioskela and Toseka, who met in the woods and were another till White Spirit conquers and rules from the East. Both are grandchildren of the moon, but Ioskela becomes 'father of mankind'—an expression which means that he is the ancestor of
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 supports the world, namely, how to make fire. In the knowledge of this, and often of the power, 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 losing the myth upon anything 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 essentially interpreted by Brant in 1626.

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 forms of spirit-power more or less unknown to the Algonquins. Thus it has come to denote the personal guardian-spirit of certain Western tribes which has occasionally arisen out of the personal guardian of an individual. The myth that is that of a god who 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 powerful, is organized for ceremonial purposes as the guardian of the clan, though with a marked tendency to become simply a totem-crest. The tutelary guardian-manitu thus becomes a mere symbol. Sometimes such crests become merely the property of the guardian of the ancestors who received the totem-manitu received with it the powers or privileges still retained by the protectés of the spirits, who continue to appear to the young men of the tribe, 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 organization of the clan is in a decayed state, is no longer identical with that of the ancestor and is no longer inherited. The youth at this period wanders from his father's lodge and in a secluded spot fasts and cries to the spirits, inviting any one of them to become his spiritual patron (cf. art. COMMUNICATION WITH SPIRITS). If he survives, 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 mysterious protector during life. He then returns home with 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 manitu, though in some cases a later development than the clan-totem, is in other cases notably among the Eastern tribes, of independent origin and as antique as the totem-manitu. Even among the Eastern Algonquins the acquisition of a special manitu-spirit in animal form by the youth who fasts is not unknown.


E. WASHBURN HOPKINS, M.A.

MANJUSRI. —Like the majority of Buddhist 'gods,' Manjusri is represented under various aspects: (1) in the Great Vehicle, or Mahayana (q.v.), properly so-called, he is a bodhisattva, an entirely Buddhist personage in definition if not in origin (his origin is obscure; cf. AVAROKITESVARA); (2) in the 'Tantric Vehicle,' which is of very early date and is not always distinguished from the Great Vehicle proper, Manjusri becomes one of the names, and often the principal, of a world-vehicle, for example: (1) the cult of Manjusri, originating in India, took a peculiar development in China: it probably spread from China into Nepal, where Manjusri is the mythical giver of civilization.

1. As Bodhisattva. —The most famous of his numerous names is perhaps Manjushreya, 'pleasant voice.' Its usual epithet is kuumbra, or kuumrabhuta, 'young man.' 'royal prince'; this title, whatever its origin, means technically a bodhisattva at the stage where having received consecration (abhihek) as a prince, he is associated with the power of a Buddha and becomes his right arm (see BODHISATTTVA, vol. II, p. 748). He is named in the first rank of bodhisattvas, before Avalokiteshvara, as the beginning of the List of the True Law (translated into Chinese a.d. 147-190), where he is represented (cf. xi.) as a great converter. The 'scholastic' sitras and devotional works give him as a type of bodhisattva, a holy vow, attribute to him moral qualities peculiar to true believers of the Great Vehicle, and celebrate his power. Legend associates him with the revelation of the body of the Prajnaparamitā.3 Revealer of the Prayit, god of the Word, he is the patron of the 'Madrid' and 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. 46), the 'followers of the Manjushri' killed the Yakshas, the gods of the earth, and Manjushri became a god of the universe.

We have many images of Manjushri; the most ancient, with two arms, are those which make his characteristic mark the Prayit carried upon a lotus.

2. As Tantric god. —It is in the Tantric section of the Tibetan scriptures (Royog, Konjug, and especially Tanjur) that Manjushri takes an extraordinary development. Half a dozen Tantras (Konjug) bear his name; among them is 'The List of the true Names of Manjushri.' A name is: (1) Essence-of-knowledge (?),3 is opposed to the name bodhisattva, and is more dignified. We find it again in one of the numerous magic rituals devoted

1. On this expression see H. Kern, in SEP. xxii. (1884) 4; cf. Suddhamapunyatara, ed. H. Kern and B. Nanjo, Petrograd, 1890, p. 16: 'a certain period of live twelve cosmic ages, not counting the time he is kumara.'

2. Various legends are told of his former human lives, but they are not so developed as the legends relating to Manjushri's relations to Buddha

3. "Ch. Chayana, 'Le Sutra de la paroi occidentale de l'inscription de Kiu-yong Kean,' in Manjushri, vol. vii. 225 (this sutra is a dharmas, sacred to Vairocana, 'the Brilliant,' the Buddha to whom Manjushri is sometimes subordinated); (2) the Manjushrisukakarstara (translated into Chinese a.d. 390), where Manjushri tells how he took this bodhisattva vow; (3) the Mahāprajñāpāramitā (translated into Chinese in 312), a book patronized by the Mahayana, giving the story of the conversion of a light woman by Manjushri in the guise of a handsome young man; the only real sin of the bodhisattva is the sin of lusted (asakṣa-mćchchaya, p. 140). Manjushri's works are scholastic, as in the Bodhipaksa-śāstra, an account by Manjushri of the 'wings' (pokt) of illumination. The devotion to Manjushri, the virtue of his name, which protects against all female birth, and his glorification as the hero (bhadra) are to be noted. Manjushri is one of the 'Stambas of Good Practice' (Bhadragāraṇīṣṭha), one of the classical texts used every day by the Bhikṣus of the Great Vehicle (Nāyākārama-śāstra, pp. 267, 268; Boddhitātvanasūtra, [introd. à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas, Paris, 1907, p. 87]).

Taranujav, Fotos, des Bodhisattva, tr. A. Scheiner, Petrograd, 1895, p. 22.


6. Probably this term has been invented on the model of bodhisattva for the purpose of implying sovereignty; it is less ancient and yet more mysterious, than the word bodhisattva. This heaping up of terms is characteristic.
by the Tanjur to Manjusri: 1 spell (sādhana) of the Adinatha, the Essence-of-knowledge Manjusri, 2 which begins thus as follows:

"Hymn to the Buddhas 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. But it is not difficult to accomplish, since every man is essentially nothing but deity, though particularized and stained. These operations include "diagrams" (māndalas), geometrically drawn and inscribed within each other, upon which is ranged an endless succession of deities, represented by magic syllables. 3 Manjusri often occupies the centre of these māndalas.

Tantric gods have two aspects, a 'right-hand' aspect and a 'left-hand' (or erotic) aspect. Under the former Manjusri is called 'Lord of speech of the ontological Universe' (Dharmadhātu-Vajravāra); under the latter he is "Diamond-Love," 4 'Thunder-bolt-Love' (Vajra-phāna). 5 His right-hand aspect is represented from the following:

"Oh sūntātha the Dharmadhātu-Vajravāra, who has a body complete, four faces, four arms, half black... the five kinds of knowledge of which Manjusri is the synthesis orms his crown of joyous... the two malas (or globes) are the source of the prostration... the three others are the gale, the face, the hache; the three others of gauche, the le vel de la Prājñā."

Here, 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 Manjusri and Brahma share the favours of a common sakti (divine energy, feminine aspect, of a god). Sarvatvā 6 is noteworthy, and shows that the Nāma-mantrājñāti (viii. 19) gives Brahma among the names of Manjusri. As soon as the Buddhists and bodhisattvas became 'gods,' they inevitably became gods after Hindu fashion; Avalokita has more likeness to Siva, and Manjusri to Brahma. Manjusri 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, the Hinayana (g.r.), contained traditions foreign to India—c.g., the legend of a town of Khotan—and he wondered, therefore, whether this canon had not been considerably augmented and modified in Turkestan itself. He has shown correctly that "SemiSia" 7 and later, China itself collaborated in the development of Buddhism. The story of Manjusri, who, according to the Chinese pilgrim, 8 now dwells in China, who is represented in the miniatures of the Nepalese MSS as a god worshipped in China, 9 and who, according to the Nepalese tradition, came from China to Nepal, is interesting from this point of view. 10

LITERATURE. — This is sufficiently cited in the footnotes.

3 On the word rajya, "diamond," "adherent," "thunderbolt," etc., see note 7 above.
4 Foucher, Études sur l'icoiographie bouddhique, ii. (Paris, 1903) 47.
6 Études de littérature bouddhique, viii. — La Destruction de Rombu (Bell of the Etole français de l'Extrême-Orient, vi. [1900] 625. 7 From the Pamir mountains to the Great Wall 8 Laitin, A Record of the Buddhist Religion, tr. J. Takakusu, Tokyo, 1895, p. 95.

MAN OF SIN.—See Antichrist, Eschatology.

MANTRAS.—See CHAMPS, Amulets (In- dian), 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 sacral and cosmic; they are the expression of a pantheistic and pessimistic philosophy; but they, nevertheless, appeal to devotion and worship. Brahmā-brahman 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 Brahmanic information on these gods is, as a rule, scanty, and, in many cases, we are largely indebted to Buddhist or epic sources.

This is the case with Māra, who is not unknown in the Atharvaveda, that aristocratic compendium of demonology; he is an important figure in Buddhism, and the Upaniṣads show the elaboration of the ideas which constitute his frame in Buddhism. The Atharvaveda joins together Yama, the old Aryan king of the dead, Mṛtyu, Death, Agha, Māra, the evil slayer or hateful murderer, Nīthā, the destroyer, and Sarva, the prototype of Siva (vi. xxii, i). Elsewhere (xi. viii. 19) it mentions the 'deities called Misfortune, or Ill, or Evil' (pāpānta, pāpam, or pāpa), and the "deprecatory invocations (vi. xxv. i-2, xxvi. 2, xvii. 29) to Misfortune (pāp- man). Māra, or Mṛtyu, is Death personified, the god who kills, and he has already acquired his Bud- dhist qualification pāpam, 'the evil one' (Pali, pāpapāpa). With 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 thinkers of the Brahmanas and of the Upaniṣads, who admit transmigration and are anxious to find the path to the other shore of transmigration, Māra, or Death, may be regarded as the sovereign of this subsolar universe; whoever obtained a certain number of lives before he reaches the goal 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 Rāthasaka Upaniṣad is of importance for the history of Death: a young Brahman descends to Hades, and, un- moved 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 being the knowledge of Brahman which confers immortality.

H. Oldenberg rightly compares this Nachiketas-Yama legend with the Buddha-Māra legend. Buddha also rejects the offers of Māra in order to obtain the sāmanāh bhumon; but, whereas Yama is the tempter, 1 in the Buddhist scriptures all these promises are fully developed. Māra actually assumes the role of the sovereign of the world, both of men and of gods; god of death, he is also the god of the living, who are only the food of death; he is the god of re-birth. Māra is Kāma, 'Desire,' since desire is the root of Ehe and birth. Kāma, Desire, Re-birth, Death, and Māra, because 1 Oldenberg, Buddha, tr. Hoyt, p. 64.
MARCIONISM

Buddha is the deliverer from death and birth, Māra is the personal enemy of Buddha and Buddhism, the evil one, the tempter of Buddha and Buddha's disciples.

The dogmatic position of Māra is clear in all our texts: Māra embodies desire, the universal fetterer, the sensual life both here and in the other world.

In scholasticism three Māras—devaputra māra, the deity Māra, muraṇāmāra, Māra as death, and klesomāra, Māra as vices and passions—are distinguished. In ancient times these Māras were confused; Māra is not an allegory in the Pali stories of temptations; he is a demon; he is spoken of as Nānuchi, a Vedic demon killed by Indra.

It follows that mythological features are not wanting, even in the oldest tales of the Pali canon. They are not, however, predominant. We are actually confronted with the temptation of Buddha by Māra's daughters; but these daughters are Desire, Unrest, Pleasure (Tān̄hā, Arati, and Rati).

It has been said that these stories—the intervention of Māra in order to make the future Buddha abandon his austerities (a common topic in the Mahābhārata: gods grow jealous of the power acquired by penitents, and dispatch fair damsels to trouble their meditation), or in order to make Buddha abandon the realized beings are only poetical descriptions of the crise de conscience of 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 conceptions, naturally follow from this belief. The Akan man, and more, when living in the 'hermitages,' knew that Māra could appear to them under any form, and ensnare them into philosophical discussions.

The Sanskrit sources, fate when compared with the Pali ones, but not insignificant even for the restitution of the passages which they have in common with Pali, indulge in much more dramatic and would-be poetical descriptions of Māra's attacks upon Sākyamuni. Some episodes are entirely unknown in the Tipitaka, viz. the battle for the bodhi-tree, the possession of which, for the compilers of the Lalita-vistara, seems to be almost identified with the possession of the bodhi, the Enlightenment itself.

It has been pointed out that even in the Pali canon the Māra-stories show a gradual development, and that the inventions to be found in the more modern biographies of Sākyamuni, the Lalitavistara and the Buddhakatha, mark a further point in this development. There is truth in this statement—the multiplication of Māra'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 chronologically progressive. Less or more mythological versions may be productions of the same age in different circles.

It appears that the Māra folklore has been more luxuriant 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 Māra roams everywhere, 'in the visible shape of murky smoki nalike ghosts, in the invisible souls of the dyning.'

It is worth while mentioning that Māra, who is often associated with Brahma ('the world of men and gods with Brahma and Māra'), has no fixed abode, no heaven of his own, in the official cosmology of the Sarvastivādin (see art. Cosmogony and Cosmology [Buddhist]).

See art. Temptation (Buddhist) for the comparison between the Buddhist stories of temptation and the Gospels.


Original sources, Vedic, Pali, and Sanskrit, have been studied by Senart and Wüschke.

1. DE LA VALLÉE POSSESS, MARCIONISM.—I. The Founder.—According to the earliest and most reliable accounts, Marcion was a shipwaster (nauclerus, or ναὺκρης) of Pontus, and may have been a native of Sinope. The story 1 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 teaching and doctrine is by-nature 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, 1 according to Hippolytus (see Epiph. Hær. xii.). Whether or not a recent convert, he at first became a zealous member of the Roman Church, to which, according to Tertullian (de Exorc. 30), he presented the sum of 200,000 sesterces, a sum to which long trouble arose through his falling under the influence of the Syrian teacher Cerdo, who had a certain connexion with the Gnostics, and whose distinctive doctrine was that 'the God proclaimed by the law and the prophets was not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the former was known, but the latter unknown; while the one also was righteous, but the other benevolent' (Trem. Hær. i. xvii.).

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 public place about the year 144, and from that date the 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' (viii.).

2. The doctrine.—The teaching of Marcion may be reviewed under five heads; (a) theology proper, or the doctrine of God, (b) Christology, (c) criticism
and exegesis of the Scriptures, (d) the application of religion to practical life, and (e) the ritual of worship.

(c) Theology.—In theology Marcion's main assertion was that the just God of the law and of the OT generated another, less perfect 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. xvii. 107) that Marcion, 'being contemporary with' Basilides and Valentinus, 'compounded with them as an elder with younger men.' At all events, Marcion's theology differed from the Gnostic in excluding any doctrine of avatars, and, indeed, any element which could not be derived from his interpretation of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.  

Of the OT side by side with opposed statements by Jesus and Paul about God in the NT, he further differed from the Gnostics by abstaining from any attempt at a 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 δυσκολία 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 son of God — the Stranger — of 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 Cesar (i.e. Jesus Christ) came down to the Galilean city of Capernaum1—to which Tertullian adds the explanation, 'of course meaning from the heaven of the Creator, to which He had previously descended in the days of His own life.' The relation of Christ to the good God His Father does not seem to have been otherwise defined than by the idea of sonship. Of the human experience and suffering of Christ Marcion took a wholly Doctic view, and ascribed the powers of a human birth, he represented the supposed sudden appearance of Christ in the year 29 as an entirely new phenomenon, without any root in the past history either of the people or of the human race. And, while he regarded the life of Christ on earth and His crucifixion as the means of salvation for men, he nevertheless believed that our Lord suffered only in appearance. On the other hand, he did accept the historical facts narrated in those portions of the Gospel which he followed. Thus 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 a yet higher Messiah whom even he 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.

(c) Criticism and exegesis of the Scriptures.—In his dealing with the Scriptures Marcion combined a high estimate of the objective truth of the OT as a historical document with a startling and audacious subjective criticism of the NT. His mode of handling each was largely dictated by the necessities of his position. Convinced of the fundamental discrepancy between the 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 even verse in the Jewish Scriptures which seemed to him to set forth the Jewish as opposed to the Christian view. His treatment of the OT has at least one great merit—he rejected allegorical explanations such as were current among the Gnostics; he took the history literally, and laid full stress on its distinctive characteristics. In the NT, on the other hand, while he similarly preferred the literal to the allegorical 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, whole he was the only one to adopt this, 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 Man, and he believed the Third Gospel—which he did not call Luke's,—had been written under Paul's supervision and expressed Paul's view of the life of Christ. The other Evangelists he regarded as having written on a false Judaic tradition which had been grown up among the Twelve, and he therefore rejected their works in toto. In the rest of the NT he accepted only ten Pauline Epistles, rejecting the Acts, the Pastoral Epistles of Paul, and the rest of the NT writings so far as known to him. And in the ten Epistles he used considerable freedom in rejecting or altering passages which conflicted with his views. An understanding of his detailed treatment of the NT can be best obtained by reading the fourth and fifth books of Tertullian's adv. Her. xiv. 7.

(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 lay in the practical aspects of his creed. Marcion was a retiring, 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 made them necessary. The condition of asceticism was 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 point of order he followed the usage of the orthodox Church, but admitted ecclesiastical to the same privileges in Church worship as baptized persons, and forbade the use of wine in the eucharistic service. Some

1 There is no definite evidence as to whether Marcion knew the Fourth Gospel.
of the peculiarities of usage in the Eastern branch of the Marcionite church may be gathered from the few passages (below) which have come down to us.

He allows not one baptism only, but three after (successive) transgressions, and in place of catechumens who have died he recognizes women to administer baptism—which no one from the other sects has taken upon himself to do—but not to administer a second or 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 in the constitution of the sect was probably nicely epochal, though on this point we have not much information.

3. Later developments.—Among the followers of Marcion some, like Ptolema and Basilius, were 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 'an opposing spirit' who owed his existence to the supreme God. The materialistic doctrine of Apelles of Marcion, was created by this 'opposing spirit,' and so Apelles also attained an ascetic view of life. On the other hand, he rejected Marcion's Doceism, and held that Christ really felt and suffered in His earthly experience, although He was saved by his nature in the orthodox sense. But he maintained that in the Crucifixion lay the hope of man's salvation.

The doctrines of Marcion were for a time widely spread both in the East—Armenia, Syria, Armenia, Cyprus, Egypt, and perhaps even Persia. After sharing in the persecutions inflicted on the Church, particularly under Diocletian, the Marcionites seem to have enjoyed a period of toleration early in the 4th cent., to judge from an inscription of A.D. 318-319 discovered a few miles south of Damascus, which records the existence of a village community of Marcionites. But their worship was soon prohibited by Constantine. In the West they seem early to have succumbed to the more powerful propaganda of Manicheism (q.v.), but in the East they may have been found to exert a stronger and more enduring influence. We infer from the attention given to Marcion in his personal works, the Ephraim, and from the careful account of their doctrines left us by Eznik, an Armenian writer of the 6th cent., that they counted for much in Eastern Christendom. So late as the 12th cent. the writers of the Divina institutione of Aristotle display an active regard for Marcion.

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, placing with him also Hyle, by way of essence, and three heavens. In the one (they say) the stranger, and in the second the God of the Law, and in the third his armies; and in the earth Hyle, and they call him the Power of the Earth.

He also orders the world and the creatures, as the law says. But he adds that in union with Hyle he made all that he made, and that out of a woman a wedded wife. And after making the world, he went up together with his armies into heaven; and Hyle and her sons remained in the earth, and they each held authority—Hyle holding the world, and the God of the Law heaven.

And the God of the Law, seeing that the world was beautiful, thought to make it a man. And going down to Hyle in the earth, he said, "Give me thy clay, and from myself I will give a spirit to breathe upon it for a license." Hyle giving him of her earth, he moulded it and breathed into it a spirit, and Adam became a living soul, and therefore was called Adam because he was made from clay. And moulding him and his wife, and putting them in the garden (as the law says), he gave them commandments, and reposed in him as in a common son.

And (he says) the God of the Law, who was lord of the world, seeing that Adam is noble and worthy of ministration, pondered how he could steal him from Hyle and appropriate him to himself.

Taking him nude, he said, "Adam, I am God, and there is no other, and beside me thou shalt have no other god. But if thou takest any other god beside me, I will smite thee, and I will destroy thee in the end." And when he said this to him and mentioned the name of death, Adam, struck with fear, began by degrees to separate himself from Hyle.

And Hyle, coming to give him commandments according to custom, saw that Adam was not obeying her, but was perversely holding to women to administer baptism—which no one from the other sects has taken upon himself to do—but not to administer a second or 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 in the constitution of the sect was probably epochal, though on this point we have not much information.
round of absorbing and consummating etiquettes which, in the reign of Hadrian, made up the official life of the capital. Through his uncle Antoninus, whom Hadrian appointed Quaestor c. for the administration of Italy, he was brought from childhood into personal touch with the Emperor, and the work attributed 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 fabric of his being. In the antiques, the cult of the divinity of Roman religion, dependence upon God, pervaded every turn and act; and from the simpler life of the home and farm the ancient piety and rituals had never died away. Under Augustus the historic festivals and shrines, the ancient brotherhoods and colleges and guilds, of Salian priests, of Arval Brothers, of Vestal Virgins, and others were revived, and a profusion of new cults was introduced. Priesthoods became the dress of leadership and rank, and patriotism found articulate expression in the worship of the Emperor and in countless forms of mystery worship. To this religious complex Marcus was acclimatized from youth. At eight years old he was enrolled among the Salii, the most exclusive and antiques continuity colleges at Rome, and "got all the forms and liturgies by heart." At sixteen, as Profectus feriarum Luti Arum, he solemnized the feast on the Alban Mount; and besides the formal dignities of Pont. Maxim. XF. c. Sacr. Pont., and VII. c. Epul., he wore the cowl of Master among the Arval Brotherhood. The prayer of the college is still extant which besought blessing for him and L. Verus in their conflict with the Marcomanni. At the outset of captivating her people with the solemn ritual of the Lactametria; 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 the cithara, and extolled the mischievous excitement of the circus and the theatre; at Locrum he rode, hunted, walked, and shared the glee of rural industries and festivals. The correspondence with Fronto, his master in rhetoric, shows the diversity of type. Boyish experiments in philosophy ended in complete conversion under the pen-name of Ariston, the influence of Rutilius, and the charm of Epicurus.

His life falls into three sections: A.D. 121-138, boyhood, ending with his adoption in 128; 138-161, apprenticeship 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 Danian campaigns begin, the years are filled with untrivial administrative activities. The Edictum perpetuum of Salvis 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 Stoic principles the rigours of the patriarch potestas, the slave-owner, and the creditor were brought within control; protection was accorded to women, children, wards, minors, freedmen, slaves, debtors, and all charitable endowments were multiplied; professorships were established at Universities; and medical service was organized for communities. Commerce, industries, and communications were liberaly fostered by pro-

vision of roads, aqueducts, bridges, and havens, while in special crises, as of famine, war, or inundation, State aid was ungrudgingly extended. The collection and distribution of taxation were vigilantly supervised, and vast extension given to the forms and activities of local and municipal government. Verissimus, according to the remarkable authority of the Christian apologist, in the formal address of the Christian apologist.

Another influence, which he himself attributes to his mother's fostering care, sank deep into the fabric of his being. In the antiques, the cult of the divinity of Roman religion, dependence upon God, pervaded every turn and act; and from the simpler life of the home and farm the ancient piety and rituals had never died away. Under Augustus the historic festivals and shrines, the ancient brotherhoods and colleges and guilds, of Salian priests, of Arval Brothers, of Vestal Virgins, and others were revived, and a profusion of new cults was introduced. Priesthoods became the dress of leadership and rank, and patriotism found articulate expression in the worship of the Emperor and in countless forms of mystery worship. To this religious complex Marcus was acclimatized from youth. At eight years old he was enrolled among the Salii, the most exclusive and antiques continuity colleges at Rome, and "got all the forms and liturgies by heart." At sixteen, as Profectus feriarum Luti Arum, he solemnized the feast on the Alban Mount; and besides the formal dignities of Pont. Maxim. XF. c. Sacr. Pont., and VII. c. Epul., he wore the cowl of Master among the Arval Brotherhood. The prayer of the college is still extant which besought blessing for him and L. Verus in their conflict with the Marcomanni. At the outset of captivating her people with the solemn ritual of the Lactametria; 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.

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in point of fact the penal provisions—deportation for those of higher rank, and death for humbler offenders—would mitigate, not enhance, the penalty to which all avowed Christians stood liable. In their social organization the Christians remained as frontiers other sects. In Rome itself Church-membership and jurisdiction, episcopal authority, and literary activity advanced aspace. Apologists, such as Justin, Melito, Athenagoras, one after the other addressed their pleas to the Emperor in person; Tertullian and Hermas return scorn and ineffect on their antagonists. Christians served in the Imperial households and, as the story of the Thundert Legion proved, 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—barely sufficient for conviction adverse to the Christian confession, and, on refusing to abjure or to offer sacrifice, was ordered to execution. Marcus was at the time resident in Rome, and, on no doubt, endorsed the sentence passed by the Stoic's friends and six preceptors. Still more famous is the persecution 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 the life and death of these religious associations, 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 attempted, the true believers, rescued from the fury of the mob, were remanded to prison, their sentence was referred to the Emperor himself, whose ruling was that, if they still persisted in recalcitrance, the law must take its course. The incident was fresh in his mind when he wrote down his reflection on Christian perversity and bravado. 2 In Asia too, and in Africa, sporadic acts of persecution took place, and martyrdoms were judicially inflicted, though for the most part Christians were put to death by the inquisitorial agents of the Empire, from outbreaks of popular fanaticism or dislike. Of systematized persecution there was none, and, to the Church historians and apologists of the next generation the era of the Antonines was an age of peace and toleration.

Marcus's latter years were clouded with calamities, public and personal. In 166 Italy was desolated by plague, from which it never recovered; in its track came famine, earthquakes, and inundations of unusual severity. Marcus, in turn, was terrorized instead of barbarians, streaming across the Alps, and knocking at the gates of Aquileia. From that date onwards the regions of the West were locked in a life-and-death struggle with Marcomanni, Quadi, Jazgges, and other trans-Danubian hordes, sustained and carried to a triumphant conclusion only by the dogged and intrepid leadership of Marcus himself.

3. The 'Thoughts.'—From these oracles the Thoughts emerge. They are not the exposition of a system, but a criticism of life; reflexions confided 'To Hmself' in the hours of loneliness and interstices of strain; a retrospect and record of experience; a manual of duty and endurance. In them, the soul, self-examined, motives, probes illusions, corrects or re-forms conclusions, emits the sigh of weariness or the ejaculation of disgust, but perpetually resolves, unalterably clinging to the noblest hypothesis with which it was familiar. Beginning in almost random reminiscence, composition gave relief from strain, returns a satisfaction for 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 and the beneficence 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 σωφρασίαι are in part sense-impressions of the proper, derived from things, in part impressions of aims, qualities, or attributes, moral or aesthetic, belonging to things, and conveyed to the reason. It is for reason to sit in judgment on them, determine their true content and value, and firmly maintain its own prepotency. In the one passage in which he formally discusses the doctrine of assent (σεισασώστεν, v. 10) he drops the Stoic claim to final certitude—τα ἐπιστήμου ἀκάδημα. But there remains a tenacity of moral assurance which underlies the proposition of the divine immanence attains a coherence, a consistency, and strength which give the indissoluble assurance of truth.

(2) Theory of being.—In Stoic monism matter, form, and force are an inseparable unity. The life-power, self-determined from within, is embodied in the various forms of phenomenal and spiritual being. The variety of being is explained physically by the doctrine of ὅνωμ, that is, of tension within the more than religious associations, the sovereignty, the divinity which the divine immanence attains a coherence, a consistency, and strength which give the indissoluble assurance of truth.

Each type finds its guarantee of individuality and perpetuity in the seminal or generative principle, the σεισασώστεν ἅμα, which becomes and reproduces the type. Yet it survives immutably, and its final re-absorption into the 'seminal principle' of the universe, the primal reservoir of life (iv. 14, 21, vi. 24). That of the universe at large contains and is likewise immanent in the countless individualized σεισασώστεν ἅμα, which determine, conserve, and reproduce life in all the several orders of being, through their productive capacities of realization, change, and phenomenal succession (iv. 14, ix. 1).

(3) Soul.—Man, the microcosm, within his individual range, is the counterpart of the macrocosm, in which he dwells, and with which he reciprocates currents of sensation (ἀισθήσεως), impulse (ἐναρμόνεια), emotion (ἐνέργεια), and reason (ὁρισμα, νοῦς). All these are activities and reactions of the soul, the counterpart and product of that cosmic soul which permeates and moves the universe. Soul is self-moving, within the range of those seminal principles.
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 (φόρα), inclination (σάρκιζε), aversion (ἕξιολογία), will (προσφάρεια), or in intellectual, such as perception (σαφωσία), reason (ἀφιξία), mind (νοῦς), or reason (διάλογος), so, too, the world-soul operates in energies no less diverse in operation, now as the natural forces that 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 persuasive 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 ambiguities.

(4) Cosmic unity.—Cosmic unity stands at the centre of Stoicism, the whole of which its 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 vital activities centred in and radiated from Marcus himself. The Emperor was the indwelling god of the State, as earth was of the universe.

Unity is written large upon the face and in the heart of things. The idea that the world-order can result from chance, from the confused clash and collision of atoms, is simply to be 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 live' (vii. 9), as is shown by the ramifying bond of ubiquitous design (οὐσίαν τοιοῦτον, iv. 45) and that unfailing rapport between the constituent parts (παραλληλαμορφωμένα, v. 26, ix. 9) which results from perfect interpenetration (καθάρσις τοῦ θεοῦ), and makes the whole inseparably one.

Design is everywhere apparent, in small and great things, 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 'concatenation of the web.' Nature is a vast laboratory, in which there is no destruction and no waste, but processes of cyclic transmutation and repair. Divination, oracles, dreams, add their corroborative testimony to the providential plan that runs through all.

Without reserve Marcus embraces the Stoic explanation of things, whether in 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. 16), 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' (vii. 9), x. 8, 7. But the preference is for terms which associate it with those analogies in human consciousness on which the whole conception is based. Marcus speaks not only of the world-mind and thought (νοῦς, διάλογος), world-soul and moral sense (ψυχή, συνε
dέση), but also of world-impulse and world-sensation. The world, as a living whole and being (τὸς, iv. 40, x. 1), throbs to one master purpose 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 gravity, κοινός ἐπίκεφαλις, reveals itself in man as truth, beauty, and love, combines, constrains, and co-ordinates all to a common end (xii. 30). It finds its type or organ in the central sun.

'I am the eye with which the Universe Beholds itself, knows, itself divine.'

(Shelley, Hymn of Apollo, vi. 44.)

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 discord, which swell the great accord. Not only the heavenly bodies in their orbits, sun and stars, rain and air, the living beings, the social forms of things, all adjustment, all perfection, all growth, all fulfilment, reveal themselves in themselves—the cracks and crevices in bread-crust, the foam that flecks the wild bear's mouth—appeal to him who is in unison with nature, and touches hidden springs of answering admiration and desire.

'Earth is in love with rain, and holy other loves—Yes, the world-order is in love with fashioning what is to be. To the world-order I profess Thy love is mine.'

(Shelley, Hymn of Apollo, vi. 45.)

(6) World-soul.—The unity of the indwelling mind corresponding to personality in the individual man is commensurate 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. 16, 30, vii. 53, xi. 10, 18, etc.), and all is for the best.

(7) Evil.—The oneness of the cosmos is utilized to explain the theory 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 seems to exist, or changes its complexion (vi. 30, vii. 26). 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.'

(8) Providence.—The mind of the universe is social, 'civic' (τεκνικός) in all its aims. Fate, destiny, necessity (μάρτυς, τοῦτον, τοῦξαμάντερ, οὐάγατος), overrule all things for good; man's freedom is in accord with the movements of the universal Providence, the object of his reverence, trust, regard.

(9) The round of being.—Everywhere there is the recurrent transformation of elements, pursuing their continuous round. Change is nature's joy (ix. 35, iv. 56), the life of individuals, of nations, and of the universe at large. The 'passage up and down' repeats itself in history, upon the small scale and the great; always 'the same dramas, the self-same scenes are repeated': the life of Hadrian, the court of Antoninus, the court of Philip, Alexander, Creusus; the same stock roles, only with change of actors (x. 27; cf. vi. 46). This is the depressing side of the Emperor's philosophy, the resignation from which he would not deign to extricate himself by self-deception.

(10) Man a part of cosmos.—Man is by nature an inherent part, a living and organic member—φύς, not μέρος merely—of the whole. He draws from its organic life as vitally as the branch draws up 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 fulfilled in freedom and privilege, and achievement of reciprocal relation to the whole. And this alone is able to minister interior content, 'life with the gods,' 'citizenship in heaven.' The soul—a particle of Zeus (v. 27), the good genius or the God within (iii. 4, 9, 16), the lord and law-giver (iv. 1, 36), the pilot reason (vii. 64), the fellow-citizen, the priest and minister of God—is the power within which makes for righteousness. The indwelling presence becomes almost that of the Holy Spirit in the Christian believer, a bubble that bursts and vanishes (iii. 7, ill. 10, iv. 3, 19, viii. 20, etc.); gratitude is precarious and belated; virtue is its own and sole reward; it consists in mastery of the will, ability to uphold and satisfy the instincts of reason. In howship within, the nature and God. If ever that is forbidden or deserted, then indeed God sounds the signal for retreat. Unnumbrating and displeased, we quit the rank. The exodus is quick and easy—a 'bare bodkin' is enough. The play is over; the glory rings. Death is the natural end of man's ephemeral endeavour. Whatever be its physical analysis, extinction, dispersion, or transmutation (xi. 3)—alternatives which are dispensationally considered—the dissolution of the material elements end the present resistent; they take their place in other compounds, while the 'sensual 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, and obligations proper to his own experience. But the imperial position assumed gives him a different view, and the fixed sincerity of the writer atones for lack of form, or method, or variety. The commonplaces and paradoxes of Stoicism—the inseparateness of virtue, or the indefectibility of the wise—are not disputed by the material element. The motive—dependent causality of later Stoicism, with its scheme of conditional duties (officia, or πράσεος), its belief in 'proficiency' (πράσεος), or progressive growth in philosophic grace, is everywhere assumed, though seldom in scholastic phraseology. The philosopher is on the throne, and passion is outlawed. Duties of inferiors, sins of the flesh, all that marres of the tyrant's profligate, even the licence and the luxuries of city life, are not in view. The whole attitude is one of strained, insistent obligation, wrought out in patience inexhaustible; men are the recipients, himself the dispenser of benefits; in realization of the social relationship, duties to equals and duties to inferiors monopolize the field. Against ingratitude nature has provided forbearance as an antidote. Of the four cardinal virtues courage seldom receives mention; truth is not praised or rewarded, but that singularity of word and act, that quiet undeviating 'pursuit of the straight course,' which power and place make doubly difficult; justice comes urging, not the rights of the oppressor, 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 it dreads are those which beset power and place, such as ingratitude, discourtesy, distrust, obnubilation, or such more delicate defequencies as self-absorption in the press of current duties, the want of moral nerve or fixity of aim, or the indulgence which, rushing to hasty conclusions, admits unwarranted impressions or desires. And beside the solid virtues and charities incumbent on the ruler are set the social graces which adorn the official and the gentleman—consideration, tenderness, modesty, tact, continuous perception. Prudence 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 men.—Man is indeed part of the universe, but how immeasurably small a part—a morsel in the mighty sum, a moment between two infinities. Fame is as transient as it is brittle and precarious—a short-lived rattle of tongues, a bubble that bursts and vanishes (iii. 7, ill. 10, iv. 3, 19, viii. 20, etc.); gratitude is precarious and belated; virtue is its own and sole reward; it consists in mastery of the will, ability to uphold and satisfy the instincts of reason. In howship within, the nature and God. If ever that is forbidden or deserted, then indeed God sounds the signal for retreat. Unnumbrating and displeased, we quit the rank. The exodus is quick and easy—a 'bare bodkin' is enough. The play is over; the glory rings. Death is the natural end of man's ephemeral endeavour. Whatever be its physical analysis, extinction, dispersion, or transmutation (xi. 3)—alternatives which are dispensationally considered—the dissolution of the material elements end the present resistent; they take their place in other compounds, while the 'sensual 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.
2. Geographical distribution of the market.

The institution of the market is not universal; in many parts of the world it is either altogether unknown or known only in its most rudimentary forms.\(^1\) It has been pointed out that certain geographical conditions and certain racial characteristics are more favorable toward the 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, or because, whose economic status is the same, and whose daily needs are supplied by the bounty of nature seconded by their own exertions. In such regions the occasion for a market arises only where different economic conditions come into touch—e.g., a tribe of fishermen have a tribe of agriculturists for neighbors.\(^2\)

According to J. G. F. Riedel,\(^3\) there are no market-places in Ceram and, while we may call the markets in Java and Borneo,\(^4\) 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 does exist, it is to be regarded as imported rather than as indigenous.

In New Guinea, markets are to be found in the German\(^5\) as well as in the British portion of the island.\(^6\) W. Ellis\(^7\) supplies an account of those in Madagascar; and we have a few notices of Polynesians and Melanesians or Micronesians who live in distant parts.

The market thrives best where, in addition to favourable geographical conditions, the natural bent of the population is towards commercial pursuits, just as in the case of the Negro and Bantu races.\(^8\)

In New Guinea we find only few and scattered indications of the existence of the market;\(^9\) but to the hunting tribes of the eastern part of America it is practically unknown, the peoples of Central America,\(^10\) and especially in the old thrives.

1 As to native markets in Australia see art. Gitt (Primitivo and Savage), 6 (C.


5 See the various less native papers, the Daily News, Sydney, N.S.W., and the Caledonian, London, 1847, p. 222.

6 "D'History of Madagascar," London, 1855, p. 335; 1

7 We, the inhabitants of the island of the sea, are often invited to games at a religious festival, a popular assembly, the formation of a camp, the temporary sojourn of a court at a royal residence, the stay of a caravan at one of its customary halting-places, the contest at a sport's tournament, the race, the combat, the battle-place of a hero, or the temporary cessation of hostilities between besieger and besieged.\(^1^1\)

1 Ed., e.g., "Fair"; P. Hurelin, Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires, Paris, 1857, p. 306.

2 P. Hurelin, loc. cit., p. 36.


4 Ed., e.g., "Fair"; P. Hurelin, loc. cit., p. 36.


8 Ed., e.g., "Fair"; P. Hurelin, loc. cit., p. 36.


11 See account of the P. J. Hamilton-Grierson, The Short Texts, Edinburgh, 1894, p. 91; see also a § below.

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market spread from Massilia, from the north of the Balkan Peninsula, and from the onward march and market spread to the countries of the neighbouring barbarians. In Latin the terms were of great antiquity. In Rome and in Egypt they were associated with religious festivals and popular gatherings of Norway and Sweden and, in ancient Germany, the tribes assembled at so-called market days (Markttag) and places of 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.

A. Origin of the market.—We have seen 6 that one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the forms of commerce that 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 border-land—a locality which is very generally regarded by primitive peoples as holy ground—and such a situation is frequently chosen by traders for their gatherings. Its sanctity, characteristic, but because it is easily accessible. 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 returns and visits the same spot, 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. 7 Richard Lasch, however, in his admirable essay on the 8 Primitive Market, 8 argues two objectives of the market. 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 means 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


13. Lasling, Gymnasium, 7. 3. (Oster); Pliny, H.N. xii. 40 (Hara).

17. Lasling, Gymnasium, 7. 3. (Oster); Pliny, H.N. xii. 40 (Hara).
37. Loc. cit. p. 277. 38. Lasling, Gymnasium, 7. 3. (Oster); Pliny, H.N. xii. 40 (Hara).
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 time of harvest, the buyers being driven by the convenience of the traders. But the existence of such arrangements presupposes an exchange of views between those interested; and such an exchange involves a complete breach with the principle of dealing by barter, the best way of dealing with arguments such as these is to turn to what evidence we have regarding the market in its beginnings. We shall find that it is attended by men only, and that, in some instances, it exhibits features which recall us to those of the silent trade.

8. Passage, e.g., describes a market on the Benue to which a riv. r tribe resorted for the purpose of exchanging fish and crops for the cotton and hides which were brought in by a tribe of bushmen. The former left a man in each canoe to hold it in readiness in case of a quarrel. On the men were present, and each man stood, weapons in hand, in two lines, a long distance from the bank. An alarm the bushmen sprang into the jungle, and the river-men took up their positions and, and arrows began to fly; and, in the end, after a few men had been killed on either side, each party returned home, satisfied with the day's work. The market is supposed to be held at any fair or market held in the island of Hawaii on the banks of the Waikiki River, inhabited by the recent inhabitants of the island on which the island was parcelled out, although frequently at an inconvenient time, frequently this meeting-place for the purpose of exchange of the island. The market consisted of mats, native cloth, dried fish, hogs, and tobacco.

9. From bank to bank the traders shotted to each other and arranged the boundaries of the country. From these the articles were taken down to a large square rock which stood in the middle of the stream. Here they were examined by the parties immediately concerned in the presence of the king's collectors, who stood on each side of the rock, and were the general arbiters in the event of any dispute arising. To them also was committed the preservation of good order during the fair; and they, of course, received a suitable remuneration for their services. Again, we are told that at Sonou-Sonou, in the Fiji group, the market is held on a certain day in the square, where each deposit in a large heap what goods and wares he may have. Any one may then go and select what he wishes, and carry it away to his own home; the other then has the privilege of going to the heap of the former and selecting what he considers to be his equivalent. This is all conducted without noise or confusion. If any disagreement takes place, the chief is there to settle it; but this is said rarely to happen. It is reported of the Ekimo of Point Barrow that, in their intercourse with those of the Tschukchi, they "seem to be very wary, as if they constantly keep in mind that they are the weaker party and in the country of strangers; they watch, taking up a position opposite the place of barter on a small island to which they can return if the goods could not be brought; and from it making signs of friendship. They say that great distrust was formerly manifested by both sides by the way in which goods were sold at Point Barrow when a large deposit was made; but in later years women go, and they have dainties and amusements, though they never remain long enough to sleep there."

10. As a supplementary instance, in which women were the traders, and in which the method employed recalls that example of the silent trade mentioned by K. and J. Landor, is recorded by Torquemada in his account of the Mexican markets. He tells us that the Indian women made exchanges without a word being spoken: one held out the article of which she wished to dispose to another, who herself had something to barter. The latter took what was offered in her hand, and indicated by signs that it was worth very little in comparison with the value of her own article, and that something must be given in exchange which was commensurate to the exchange. If the addition required was made, the bargain was complete; if not, each retained her own property.

11. In some instances we have the mutual distrust, and, in some of them, traces of the strange methods, which marked the silent trade. Further, the evidence shows that, so long as the market may at any moment become a battle-field, it is, even in business is exiled to the exchange of provisions, entirely in the hands of men. So soon, however, as women can visit it in secret, they assume the entire conduct of its traffic in articles of food, and the men attend only as guardians of its peace, or confine themselves to dealing with the objects of their special concern, such as cattle. In this way the market is made secure. Two further observations may be made in reference to Lasch's arguments. In the first place, there are many instances in which perishable articles, such as fresh fruit and fresh meat, are articles of barter, but not of trade. Two. In the second place, many cases can be cited in which the places where the silent trade is to be found in operation are matters of common knowledge.

4. Situation of the market. — The primitive market was held, just as the silent trade was practised, at spots so situated as to secure the safety of the trader.

Thus, a river separated those who resorted to the market on the Wairuku, the articles to be bartered being laid on a flat rock in mid-stream. In many instances the market is held within a borderland, as in the Bahuma country, in the east of the Congo, and in New Guinea. We have already mentioned the border markets of Greece and Rome; and we are told that the frontiers of the Roman world formed a kind of 'last zone of markt.' The same is true of the market held in British New Guinea; the markets are held on the borders of different districts and of the districts, in the wild forest and those of Angola are generally equidistant from the nearest villages. Among the Abikiki the site chosen for the market is an open field; several districts can conveniently attend, in the Congo countries the market-places are often situated in an open country. In both cases a hilltop is chosen, the Gallar of the Western Abyssinian country markets are usually held on the top of a hill, near some big tree; in the Casazel Peninsula, on plateaux, about an hour's journey from the coast; and, among the Lapps, sometimes in open fields, and sometimes in the forest. See above.


Mogelo, at Andshira, and among the Kabyles markets are situated in uninhabited places, while in Benin the two great markets were held in large clearings, with only small villages around. In Dahomey, the market is generally held at some distance from the town, and a like practice is frequently to be found elsewhere. In some cases, the entire population of a township, as in Madagascar, or in an open space near a village, as in German New Guinea, or of a large portion of the western Mandingoes, lies between the town-wall and a river, as at the chief town of the Wymar country. Markets are not infrequently held on islands. This is the case among the Komandare islands an exchange takes place between natives of Asia, America, and Asia; and a fair, attended by the Chotokos and other nomad tribes, takes place annually on a hill, some three miles from the town of the Samuru. Markets are held on river banks, as on the Niger, and on the Benue, at points equidistant from the neighboring villages, as on the Congo, or at cross-roads, as on the Congo and in Dahomey, at spots easy of access by visitors from several districts, as in Sonnalland, on the seashore, as in New Caledonia, and among the ancient Northmen, on the banks of great lakes, such as the Victoria Nyanza, and, at Guntz, on a plains between mountains.

Many of these situations point to a time when the fear of attack was prevalent; and Schurtz suggests that the arrangement in the Mabes country by which the weekly markets were held outside the walls, so that strangers might not enter the towns, while the daily markets attended by the inhabitants were held within it, is a survival of the old state of things. Where an established order exists, however, the market is generally held within the town.

In Dahomey the market-place is within the walls; and at Kanó it is situated on a neck of sand stretching across a marsh, which nearly intersects the city. The markets at Hāng-Ch'üan and in the city of Mexico were held in great squares within the town. Timbuctu may be cited as an instance of a town which had its markets in a temporary market, in Java the markets are held under large trees on spots dedicated to the purpose from time immemorial. In Sililango the market-places 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 by the side of large trees; and in the upper Lualaba frequently take place on grassy mounds under the shade of groundnut trees. In Uganda, at Losage, at Paweens and Soka in the Mazech country, among the Kabyles, and in the Mekeo district of British New Guinea the markets are held under the shelter 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 Abeokuta, at Igbekele and Onitsha, at Kong, and at Bolo, in the Mekeo district of British New Guinea, in ancient Mexico, and in many other places. At Ikorodu, on the lower Ogun, the market between the town and the bush folk takes place every eight days, and in the Bayangye country markets are generally held with an eight days' interval. In regard to the markets on the caravan routes between Matadi and Leopoldville, a distinction must be kept in view between those held daily by the neighboring tribes, and those that constitute the caravans' supply and the weekly market. The Fioti week is one of four days; but frequency the market is held every eighth day. In order to mark the week when there is no market, it is called couduka, 'little,' 'unsignificant.' On the Lower Congo each market bears the name of one of the days of the Fioti week, followed by the name of the village where it is held. The Khisis of Assam, the Battaks of Sumatra, the tribes of the Lower Niger, and the Alikyus, hold a market every four days. On the Lualaba the

2. O. Leon, Timbuktu, Leipzig, 1884, l. 79.
8. W. Ellis, Madagascar, i. 333.
9. Hagen, p. 229. It is sometimes held within a village.
14. See Corts, §§ xi, xxx; Gomara, i. 99; and other authorities cited in § 3 above.
15. Raffles, i. 169.
16. I. von Tschudi, Reise in Kongo, 1847-53, p. 82; Pissarou, i. 34, quoted above; cf. Marchand, p. 360.
19. Rassow, p. 79.
21. Duncan, ii. 56, 100.
22. Hesse-Letourneux, ii. 78. These markets are situated, if possible, near a water-course.
29. W. B. Bailey, Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Kinneri and In and In 1850-51, London, 1852, p. 237.
31. Haddon, p. 255.
32. Gomara, i. 185; Clavigero, i. 348; Schwabe, iv. app. xiv. 110, Duran, ii. 210. There was also a daily market of less importance (Clavigero, loc. cit.).
33. See Schurtz, p. 117.
34. Burton, i. 77.
market is held every fourth day, other markets being frequented in the interval. At Ambala Bay the market takes place the third day; and there are daily markets at Louango, at Kan6,2 and at Mogogo.3 The Bini have now eight days in their week; but formerly they had four only. On each day a market is in or near Benin city. Three markets a week are held at Kassouo, Kan6, and two a week at Mararkee, at Koolin,9 and at Banjaribuan.10 Weekly markets are held in Morocco,11 at Poppalahum in the Sherbro,12 in Lega-land, among the Orom6,13 among the Kabylia,14 and at Passamali in the southern part of Sumatra.15 In the Kuantan districts of Central Sumatra each market has its own special day of the week allotted to it. In Sillimong there is a daily market, but the place where 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 Kukwana, Maseni, Kan6, Sokoto, and Tihoutu, the market is held in the hottest hours of the day. In the northern districts the market at Kan6 is crowded from sunrise to sunset. The Yo (Bororo) market begins about 9 a.m. and ends about 3 p.m.16 and the Congo markets commence towards 10 or 11 a.m. and cease at 3 or 4 p.m.17 In the neighborhood of Marrar the markets begin about noon; and at Gire in Adamana they are in full activity by that hour.18 At Sarra the busiest time of the market is from 2.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m.19 and at Kukila in Bororo a market is held in the late afternoon,20 and at Coosoo21 in Yoruba in the evening. It takes place at Aden two hours after sunset,22 and at Bida and Ilorin23 and in some parts of Malacca24 in the night. On the upper Ubangi it is held from 8 to 10 in the morning.25 On the Livingstonia it is deserted after noon.26 In the Padang district of Sumatra it is little frequented in the early morning, but by 10 o'clock it is full.27 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 closer to the day, and because those at a distance cannot attend them.28

7. Frequencers of the market; market-women. —H. II. Johnston29 observes that both men and women make long journeys to sell their goods, the men always travelling further. Among the Bondet, if the market be near, the woman goes and her husband supplies the goods. If it be at a distance, the husband generally goes alone.30 And among the Batak of Sumatra, traffic in slaves was confined to the men. Among the Bakulu the men bring goods and palmwine to market, and in the Mandingue markets they trade in cloth.31 At Woodie the women sell milk and honey, bowls and herbs, while the men sell oxen, sheep, and slaves.32 At the Horar markets the freqencers are grouped by sexes, i.e., according to the articles which they sell.33

In many instances the business of the market is entirely in the hands of women. Thus, in the districts near Kilimanjaro,34 to the women do all the trading, have regular markets, and will, on no account, allow a man to enter the market place.35 At Kokulo, the principal town of Sipe, nine out of ten of those who resort to the daily market are women;36 and the Foulahs or Falatlas have the market in their hands.37 A similar state of things is reported in other districts.38 It is of interest to observe in this connexion that, in the Congo area, when a thief is caught, his punishment is placed upon his people.39 In Nicaragua no male above puberty might enter the market-place of his own village to buy or sell. He might not set out, even on the distance. But men and women from other friendly or allied villages might go to it.40 The women selling at the market of Brasil in Borneo are generally old slaves,41 and the principal slaves are generally the traders, while their masters look after, speak in their behalf.42 The Portuguese market people form a caste by themselves; they attend all the larger markets in person, and send their servants to the smaller ones.43

8. Religion and the market; the market peace. —The market peace is provided for, and this religious duty may be due to one cause or to a concurrence of

References:
1. Lasch, p. 705.
2. Schurz, p. 118.
5. Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Major Denham's Narrative), p. 53.
6. Paulischke, p. 314.6. As to the division of labour according to sex in primitive times, see K. Bichler, Völkerkunde, Titnhen, 1894, p. 36; Schurz, p. 122; J. G. Fraser, GB, vb, The Spirits of the Land and the Wld, London, 1897, I, 113 ff.
11. Lasch, p. 705.
13. In Madagascar (Elias, l. c. 323). Among the Aklukon (W. S. and K. Routledge, p. 103) the date of the market each fourth day is fixed so as to avoid clashing with other markets in the district.
15. Lasch, Clapperton, and Oudney (Capt. Clapperton's Narrative), p. 52.
16. Lasch, p. 705 (on Thursdays and Fridays).14. Among the Aklukon (W. S. and K. Routledge, p. 103) the date of the market each fourth day is fixed so as to avoid clashing with other markets in the district.
17. Lasch, Clapperton, and Oudney (Capt. Clapperton's Narrative), p. 52.
18. Lasch, p. 705.
19. de l'Huillier, p. 797.
22. Lasch, p. 705.
25. H. Bucher, p. 137.
28. In a Chinese account of Malacca it is said that "women hold

29. Scharft, p. 118.
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several causes. It may be due to the nature of the relation between traders which the act of execution inflicted on the place, where the trading takes place, to the consecration of the market at the time of its foundation, or to the fact that the market is under the protection of a god, or is associated with a religious festival.

Large fairs, held at different points on the Niger, are properly regarded as sacred ground, whatever wars there may be between the tribes. If the laws of 1807 were not irreparably violated, still the traders return with remarkable promptness. The Shilluk enacted the Khatarr traders to their camp, dispensed with market taxes, and even furnished them with arms and ivory; at the close of a Babakau market the chief had to give his guarantee to his bodyguard, and Livingstone speaks of a massacre of Manmanwa market-women by Arab traders. "But," he observes, "they have great tenacity and hopefulness. An old established custom has great charms for them: and the market will again be attended, if no fresh contract is committed.

Sometimes such violence kills the market. "To "revive" a "dead" market, there must be an assemblage of the local magnates; a pig or pigs must be furnished by the town to which the market belongs, and slaughtered, and divided up among the towns represented. Whenever possible, the culprit who caused the disturbance, or his substitute, if he is a wealthy man, is burned or buried alive; if other ways of killing are resorted to, his skull is fixed upon a post in the market-place to "strengthen the law."

The Congo markets, held at points equidistant from several villages, are neutral spots; and the market at Msogo, held within an enclosed space, is neutral. Market-places on the banks of the Luvua and Lualaba, where the bodyguard is not represented, are resorted to by the aborigines of either bank, and are regarded as neutral ground, as a sort of privilege attaches to a fair held on the Lualaba, in the territory of the Kololo, and to a trading-place which lies deep in the forest at a point where the countries of the Babakau and the Bambuti touch. Dennett says of the "silent" markets of the Kavall that he has never known of their being abused; and in many great places, especially in Minambo, commerce is carried on at regular intervals on neutral ground by the method of the silent trade.

During the last two months of one year and the first seven months of the following year, war was suspended throughout Arabia, and fairs were held; at Gunzala there was a complete trade three days a week, when the markets were held, and for two months during the annual fair. Again, at the great fair at Praire du Chien hostile trade was resumed from all unfriendly acts; and during the fair the markets, the bodyguard of the Babakau, and the Bambuti, following the example of the director or manager of the fair, discharges his leading into a mummers' fair, in which, before his departure, he searches for his ball. Among the Babakau the market is a neutral ground placed under the aegis of its owners; and, whatever it be, either the whole or all who frequent it are under their protection. By the Kika, the market, with the ruling leading to it, is regarded as sacred, and is free from the exercise of private vengeance.

Women from different districts, even when these districts are engaged in actual hostilities, pass to and from the Lualaba markets unmolested; and a like immunity is secured to the women of the Maani and Wachoga, by agreement, although those tribes are mortal enemies. A compact to the same effect is good to the Maass and Wa-Kikuyu; and at Nyangwe and among the Somali fees are summoned during the market, and their markets to and from market. This protection is afforded by the tribes where the form of society is tribal, by the king where it is monarchical, and by the lord or feudal lord where it is feudal.

The history of the boundary-stone and of the market-cross is of great interest in this connexion. It has been pointed out that the intimate relation of the market, the border-land, and the supernaturals is illustrated by the characteristics of Hermes-Mercurius. His symbol was an upright stone; and, as boundaries were marked by such a stone,


3. H. Kingsley ('African Religious and Law,' in National Review, xxviii. (1897) 134) tells us of a W. African market-ghost who takes the cheat and the thief; and among the Efe-speaking peoples Amin is the protector of markets and public places, performing the functions of the omniscient gods of the bronze peoples. (See M. Coquilhat's Le Peuple de la Cote de l'Ouest Afrique, London, 1888, p. 52.)

See below, § 4. A man once an agreement has been made between two villages as to the price of victuals, it is solemnized by digging a ditch between them, and throwing into it a slake whose arms and legs have been broken, and to whom no may give either meat or drink. Among the Bondeli, when a market is founded, the witch-doctor sets up his store at every road which opens into it (Bole, JAF xxviii. 231); and in the Congo countries a gun is buried on a like occasion, and an agreement made that no arms of any kind shall be introduced (Dennett, p. 48). Cf. also, in general, art. Foundation, Founders of States, in Encyclopædia Britannica.


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6. See above, § 2. In the ancient North the market place was a of God, when the market was held during a religious festival. When the king went to the frontier to settle boundary questions, and a trade arose, the peace was a host's peace (K. H) and a treaty was made. If the king is a religious person, extended beyond the territory where the great festivals were celebrated, and secured the person and property of those who frequented it, even in their passage through a hostile district (Hulvcin, p. 276; see above, § 4).


10. Last Journals, ii, 132 f.

11. "Hs. 119. 139. It is for this reason that sellers prefer to do their business at these markets, if the goods do not -come on the market, they cannot be sold. If we come to the market ("Come to the market") (Il, 52, ill, 123). The same view prevailed in Indonesia (Babun and Cogniaux, 143).

12. When the market has been "killed," all law is suspended, and crimes may be committed, the responsibility for which falls upon the traders; the traders are not held liable for anything they may deliver up (M. de Saenger, Les Comptes des indigènes de l'état indépendant du Congo, Bulletin de la société d'études coloniales, Brussels, 1894, p. 81).

13. In this period the seller prefers to do the business at these markets, if the goods do not come on the market, they cannot be sold. If we come to the market ("Come to the market") (Il, 52, ill, 123). The same view prevailed in Indonesia (Babun and Cogniaux, 143).

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15. Cameron, p. 284.

16. B. Hagenauer, "An account of the market ("Come to the market") (Il, 52, ill, 123). The same view prevailed in Indonesia (Babun and Cogniaux, 143).

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21. Hagenauer, "The Indian's market statement ("Among the Indians of Malaya, London, 1885, pp. 214, 271) that in British Guiana the trading Indians, who bring up specialties of their own, are not allowed to pass unhindered through the country of their countrymen, by whom they are for the time being treated as fellow-travellers."


stones, he came to be regarded as the god of boundaries. In many cases the border-line consisted of tracts of neutral territory whither merchants repaired to exchange their wares; and thus the god of boundaries became the god of traders. 1

Now it was said that the ancient Germans used to raise poles at their public meetings, which were consecrated to the god of the public assembly. 2 These poles were, in all probability, erected upon a stone; 3 and it has been suggested that this 'pole upon a liquid pedestal, replanted in a stone column, is the prototype of Ermin- sulen, Rolandsäulen, perrons, 4 and many of the market-crosses of Scotland 5 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. 6

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 market became a permanent market.

China an official notified the beginning and end of the market peace by hoisting and lowering a flag; 7 in British New Guinea a drum is beaten at the opening and closing of the market. 8 In case between the people of the Bofi and the Spanish garrison whom they were besieging ceased on the ringing of a bell. 9

Many instances might be cited of trading during a truce, followed by a resumption of hostilities as soon as the trading was over. 10

1 See also Schrader, Ling. Hist. Forsch., pp. 97-100; Hamilton-Griffon, pp. 29, 69.
2 Willem H. van Overveld, The Migration of Symbols, Westminster, 1834, p. 116. This god was probably Thunmus, the Germanic equivalent of Zeus Agoraios (see note below); see, however, Munich Texte (Teutonic), comp. vol. vii. p. 849. According to Cesar (de Bell. Gall. vi. 17), the Gauls worshipped a deity whom he identified with Mercury.
3 D'Alivi, p. 117.
4 D'Alivi, Les Perrons de la Wallonie et les Marchés-Crosses de l'Estaque, Brussels, 1914, pp. 37, 42. The Migration of Symbols, p. 103 f. 5) indicates his agreement with the views of E. Monceur (Supplément litteraire de l'indépendance belge, 3rd May 1833). He observes that, before the diffusion of Christianity, the poles, to which we have referred, were at once the symbol of the god of assemblies (Thunmus, the equivalent of Zeus Agoraios) and of the autonomy of these associations. It is not improbable that, for the purpose of ornament, a representation of the avenger, the avenger of the collective injury, was attached to them or carried upon them; and that, when the meaning of these representations came to be forgotten, the popular imagination gave to them the name of the Paladins most popular at the time, and the Erminsulen became Rolandisulen. When the last Paladins established in the baronies passed on, the old columns continued in many places to serve as the rallying points of collective life. Sometimes they bore the emblem of the avenger; 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 signs of possession.
6 The resemblance which many of the market-crosses of Scotland bear to the person has been pointed out by W. G. Black (Glasgow Cross, with a Suggestion as to the Origin of Scottish Market-Crosses, Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1833), and his suggestion as to the origin has been approved by d'Alivi, in the latter of his two works cited above. At p. 29 of this work d'Alivi figures certain of the Scottish crosses, and it is curious to observe how closely the similarity of some of them with the image of Hermes figured by him on p. 194 of The Migration of Symbols.
8 Huvilen, p. 354, note 4, where the authorities are cited. See also the Legend of the Cross in the Church.
9 A Töchterlein, i. 509.
10 Haddon, p. 599.
12 Laving and Anderson, i. 92 (Bärmeland); Nr. i. 725 (Mosque of Ali near Tunis); K. F. von Martinus, Geschichte der osmanischen Traders unter den Vorderstenbrasilianen, Munich, 1832, p. 44; The Constitution of the Free State of Hayti, ed. F. B. Burton, London, 1871 (Hinisiy Society), p. 88 (arboignes of Brazil); J. E. Poelke, Narrative of Travels in the Interior of Brazil and Adventure Through the Peruvian Andes, London, 1832, ii. 312; G. F. Angas, Savage Life and Scenes in

g. The Law of the market and its enforcement. We have already seen 1 that acts of violence perpetrated upon the frequenter of a market may and probably will "kill" it—for a time, at all events. The recognition of this fact appears to produce two effects: (1) The Drury committed within the market are punished with exceptional severity, as imperilling its peace. In the second place, since offences committed outside of the market are not regarded as a danger to its peace, but in later days by a stone column, is the prototype of Ermin-sulen, Rolandsäulen, 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 market became a permanent market.

In China an official notified the beginning and end of the market peace by hoisting and lowering a flag; in British New Guinea a drum is beaten at the opening and closing of the market.

Many instances might be cited of trading during a truce, followed by a resumption of hostilities as soon as the trading was over.

Among the Khyles every offence committed in the market is punishable with death without trial. He who kills the market-winner and stone him without mercy. It is the strangers that execute the law. The tribesmen try to avoid these executions as they discredit the market.

At Athens both the interior or the coast who by his conduct does serious injury to trade must pay the death penalty. Still, such as an execution occasionally occurs, it is avoided as far as possible. The fairs of ancient Ireland were regulated by strict rules, any breach of which was punished with death.

In ancient Greece, in ancient Norwegian and Danish law, 8 and in the France and Germany of the Middle Ages a breach of the special peace of the market was dealt with more severely than was a breach of the common law.

In Mexico he who stole in the market was punished with death; 10 and he who was suspected of having stolen goods, if he could not tell from whom he had received them, was condemned to death. 11

As we have already indicated, there is evidence to show that, in many instances, those who had committed deeds of violence or contracted debt before coming to the market were safe from pursuit or arrest so long as it lasted and they remained within it.

Thus, among the Khyles the avenger of blood who kills a man in the market suffers the same penalty as a common murderer; 12 and the same rule seems to have been observed at Berlin. 13 They are not held to have made stolen goods to the market could not be proceeded against. 14 Those who recurred to the armed man was attached to them or carried upon them; and that, when the meaning of these representations came to be forgotten, the popular imagination gave to them the name of the Paladins most popular at the time, and the Erminsulen became Rolandisulen. When the last Paladins established in the baronies passed on, the old columns continued in many places to serve as the rallying points of collective life. Sometimes they bore the emblem of the avenger; 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 signs of possession.

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A Töchterlein, i. 509.


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of the common law which attracted not only the merchant but those in search of pleasure.

10. Administration and execution of the law of the market.—It has been observed that, where the land is divided into districts, the law of the district is administered and executed in part by those who reside within the territory of a tribe, its commerce, and the like. This is the case in the Kabyre markets, e.g., where the chief of the market is the leading family of the tribe which owns it, and it is the responsibility of the chief and other members of the family to see that the laws of the district are observed. If these laws are broken, the chief is responsible for the disruption of the market. In the same way, the law of the market is administered and executed in the hands of the market chief. An assembly of those belonging to the district, or the trading-officials, enter into the matter of the law of the market. Its execution is in the hands of the market chief. An assembly of those belonging to the district, or the trading-officials, enter into the matter of the law of the market and the duties of the officials of the market are confined to the preservation of the peace, to the exclusion of the various tribes. At Kano the judge of the market sits all day to try disputes arising in the course of trade, and in the Lomango market an official is charged with seeing that no deceits are practised 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 Jakohe, however, is daily subjected to examination, and it is the duty of the officer appointed to inspect the provisions offered for sale. He must constantly attend the markets and see that purchases are not overcharged; and, in view of the fact that many of the commodities exposed, he must fix the prices. At Kanu the shahk of the market fixes the prices, and among the Skyapa the price is fixed by the chief with reference to a standard. At Meda and Jekka a public officer fixes a maximum price to all trading-traders. In some cases the market-regulators regulated the prices, and in ancient Mexico they were fixed by the superintendents of the market. In all these places, however, there is a public officer placed over the market who is 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. 1 The Greek apólogetes appear to have similar functions both in regard to the preservation of peace and the use of weights and measures. They also fixed the hours of the market, and regulated its conduct generally.

The Roman adules preserved order by means of his officers, and imposed fines upon the peace-breaker. He collected his fines, and brought them to the treasury. He also supervised the market, and saw to the accuracy of weights and measures. To assure the good faith of transactions, the market was his special care, but a penalty for frauds and by rejecting articles which were unfit for sale. In the market of Tenextitan ten or twelve judges sat in a house on the market-place to deal with cases as they arose and to see to the punishment of delinquents. The president of the market-regulator could arrest the people, saw what was bought and sold, and broke any false measures which they found in use. It was the duty of these officers to see that the market was open to the public, and that it was free from frauds of one kind or another.

11. Market dues and their collection.—In some markets e.g., at Silindong—dues are not exacted. 16 Among the Hausa, while dues are levied, entrance into the town is free under the market regulation. 17 Each man who enters the market and trades 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 Lukalla, in Kasunba's country, the king himself had a market with whose representatives were present must make a gift to the queen, Kasunba, who performed a series of dances in the market, after each dance received their contributions from the market-women, who danced as they paid. 20 In the Boma a market grants its protection and collects the dues; 19 and in the horse-market of Kivu, 22 and at the market of Rached, 24 an officer levies a small percentage on behalf of the government. At Adamana 25 and in Humbe, 26 king's collectors are present in the markets; and in those of Usambara the superintendent (nem) takes a double handful of the market-women's produce.

2 Proshort, p. 224. Between the natives themselves fraud is not unknown. A native collector is apt to do as he pleases, and that he will not be cheated. All the articles for sale are divided into parcels of the standard weight of equal value. There is no advantage in comparing those of one kind with another, the contents of each parcel being the same in quantity and quality (ib. p. 160).
5 Jb. p. 709.
6 Denham, Clapperton, and Goudie (Capt. Clapperton's Narrative), p. 61.
7 Coquillot, p. 305 f.
9 W. Ellis, Narrative of a Tour, p. 390.
10 Salagha, viii. 38.
11 Le Tonkien, xiv.; Hulvin, p. 53.
12 Anthropology in Hulvin, 742.
13 Jb. in p. 131 f.
14 Cortés, Carta de Relación, y., XXX., Connon, p. LXXIX., Turquiana, xiv. 14, and Oviedo (Historia General), p. 13, show a similar account of the administration of justice in the Yucatan markets; on those of Vera Pasa, see Roman y Gomez, l, 306, and on those of Nicaragua see Oviedo, Historia de Nicaragua y Otras Partes del Mundo, in Terras-Comanis, Faguer, xiv. 76.
15 Jambalpah, ii. 229.
16 Standing, p. 297.
17 Lander, f. 165.
18 Taubachter, Deck. Plant., iv. 4.
19 Von Wissmann, Second Journey, pp. 199, 129. We are reminded of the dances which accompanied trading in New Guinea (Lambert, Market, hearing complaints, dispensing summary justice, and selling thieves and traitors of the peace.
20 Lahai, loc. cit.
21 Paulitschke, ii. 127.
visions for the king, and levies a contribution for himself. Among the Caddo, a chief appointed by the king collects duties upon every sale; and at Quapawas the people pay a tax on every article sold except for food. In the Luseno market, the chief of police sees to the payment of the dues; and at Kano the chief of the market lets the stalls at so much a month for forming a part of the governor's revenue. In China there are special markets, in which are collected by a special officer. In ancient Greece the Askapanids collected dues; and it is mentioned in the first instance to the needs of the market; and in the markets of imperial Rome, and especially in those of the Decennalia, a fully-developed 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 the Indians.

In ancient 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 freemasons of the Balba market at Kuban must pay three crowns to the chief, whatever the value of his goods may be; and in the Insam market every person who brought articles for sale had to hand over one of each kind. In the Azeroi district, the dues amount to one-twelfth. Sometimes the king and chief themselves sell goods; as Nyangwé to a tenth or a sixth. Those who expose goods in the Whydah 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.

12. The arrangements of the market-place.— Among the Yaga-Gallas 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 M'Bong, on the borders of the Gold Coast, shops or booths, the articles for sale being set out upon mats. The markets on the Luallaba are held at uninhabited places, except at Nyangwé, where there are houses for traders and huts for slaves and porters. When the caravans arrive at Berbera from the interior, booths and dwellings are erected; and, within a week, on what was previously a desert spot several hundred huts are ready for the strangers coming thither over sea. At Semara the slaves trade their business protected by temporary erections of boughs and mats; and at Gazulga the wares are exposed in tents and shelters of boughs, where stranger merchants are entertained and housed, while in some of the Sumatran markets the stalls assigned to the different traders depends on the nature of their wares, the result being that, where these wares are traded in by only one of the sexes, a specific portion of the market is allotted to each sex.

In the markets of ancient Mexico each class of merchandise had its appointed place. At the markets of the Incas, commerce was confined to the neighbouring streets, or in floating on the canals; and in those of the Middle Ages, the goods were displayed only in the street, and not only the character of his goods, but his nationality; and, in some cases, the latter was the sole determinant.

13. Modes of bargaining in the market.—Of the most characteristic practices in the primitive trader is that of transacting business by means of a third person. Dall¹ tells us that the Abents never trade with one another directly; and we have suggested that some light on the origin of this method is given by the instance of the exercise of the silent trade reported by Lander.² It is said that, among the natives of Australia, children are made agin-aginagme in order that they 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 acts as his host, but assists him in buying and selling, and is generally responsible for his conduct.

At Berbera each stranger must choose a protector (abbah). He dare not trade without him, and must pay him one cent on the value of every article which he brings into the market. The abban is his broker; he protects him against the extortions of the natives, and settles all disputes in which he may have become involved. A similar protection is given the merchant by the shopkeeper who acts as the party held out the article of which she wished to dispose; and the other, taking it in her hand, makes signs that it was not a fair equivalent for what she proposed to give in exchange. If the first party refused to add anything, she ran the risk of losing her customer; if she added what was demanded, the bargain was concluded.

14. Methods of securing attendance at the market; its place in public and social life.—In some of the Congo countries it is a custom for a man to go to his farm on a market day. To the desire to induce the stranger to come to market Heeren²¹ describes certain Lydian and Babylonian regulations.


1 Art. STRANGERS, 2 (9). In ancient Germany the host in many cases was at once protector, broker, and interpreter (see C. C. Kocher, 'Markt, Rabhimmans und Handelsrecht in primitiven Civilverhaltensformen, 27 (1894), 400.) 1 Hagenmacher, p. 56. 2 Hagenmacher, p. 172. 3 Hagenmacher, pp. 106, 112. 4 Hagenmacher, p. 193. 5 Hagenmacher, l. 175. 6 Le di Varehena, l. 108; Pyrran de La Vallée, 'Voyages to the East Indies', London, 1859-60 (Hakluyt Society), l. 178. 7 Hagenmacher, p. 37; see Pauvitsch, l. 322. 8 Bruce, II. 175. 9 B. Frech, 'Voyages, in H. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, 1, i. 780. 10 See Varehena and Pyrran de La Vallée; see also PCU, 240 note.

11 Art. STRANGERS, 2 (6). In ancient Germany the host in many cases was at once protector, broker, and interpreter (see C. C. Kocher, "Markt, Rabbimmans and Handelsrecht in primitiven Civilverhaltensformen, 27 (1894), 400.) 1 Hagenmacher, p. 56. 2 Hagenmacher, p. 172. 3 Hagenmacher, pp. 106, 112. 4 Hagenmacher, p. 193. 5 Hagenmacher, l. 175. 6 Le di Varehena, l. 108; Pyrran de La Vallée, 'Voyages to the East Indies', London, 1859-60 (Hakluyt Society), l. 178. 7 Hagenmacher, p. 37; see Pauvitsch, l. 322. 8 Bruce, II. 175. 9 B. Frech, 'Voyages, in H. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, 1, i. 780. 10 See Varehena and Pyrran de La Vallée; see also PCU, 240 note.

112 Bentley, p. 400. According to the ancient laws of India, in ancient Mexico, and during the Middle Ages, the market was the only place where it was permissible to sell movable goods. He who sold outside of it was regarded as an illicit trader, and he who bought from such a seller was not held to be a customer (Lusen, p. 725; Torquemada, xii. 16; Hucvelin, p. 457.).
MARRIAGE (Introductory and Primitive).

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 former function, the more strictly social functions of marriage have been largely overshadowed by its moral aspect, and it has not been sufficiently recognized that the function of marriage as the regulator of social relations may be of the most definite kind where the institution is in the hands of those who regard from the moral standpoint of civilized man.

The institution of marriage may be regarded as


2. Marsden, pp. 247, 269; Hagen, Eine Reihe nach dem Tobah See. Berlin, 1892, p. 156; the game booths which are found in the most populous parts of Sholaland seem to be the only centres of trade (Snoeck Hurgronje, p. 279).

3. Wellhausen, pp. 547, 159. According to Burnhard, p. 449, it was the custom among the Assy. Aramaeans, before the Wahlhadi conquest, to bring to their marriageable daughters to market, and it was formally that they were married.


5. Joyce, loc. cit.

6. H. ib. 441.

7. O'Conor, ib. 429, 531.


is there that the public announcements of the sovereign are made. In the Kabylie market beasts and fowl and all the matters that affect the community are proclaimed. It is the place of news, gossip, and friendly intercourse of planning, and of private. The Paphos markets list all, and are enlivened with feasting and dances; and similar announcements accompany some of the Ekibo markets. Those who resort to the Congo markets go not only to buy and sell, but to make friends, drink masafon and enjoy a gossip with them, to settle petty question, to hold palavers, to arrange disputes between clans and villages, to decide on peace and war, to bargain about the purchase of a wife, to describe slaves lost or stolen, and to give publicity to transactions such as the purchase of hostages or prisoners of war, or the payment of the price of blood. It is there that the man who is robbed gives information of the robbery, and that the creditor, if the ransom be not paid, proclaims the infamy of the debtor. It is there, too, that oracles are proclaimed and criminals executed. Under the trees in its vicinity the drinkers of palm-wine, the politician, and the news-monger hold rendezvous.

MARRIAGE. See POLYNESIA.

MARRIAGES. See POLYNESIA.


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 polygamous, it will consist of a man, his wives, and their children; while in polyandry, the family will consist of a woman, her husbands, and her children by those husbands or assigned to those husbands by social convention.

The institution of marriage also underlies the extended family, this term meaning the social group consisting of all persons related to one another either by consanguinity or by those social conventions which so often take its place (see art. KIN, KINSHIP). 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 differentials are regulated.

1. Regulation of marriage. See in all forms of

Ellis, Hist. of Madagascar, i. 1324.

Hanoote-Leotourouux, ii. 777.

Hagen, Unter den Papuas, p. 219.

J. Simpson, p. 290.

Guide de la section de l'état indépendant du Congo, p. 69.
human society there are definite rules regulating whom the members of the community may and may not marry. These rules are of many different kinds, but they all fall under one or other of two main heads, namely, regulations of endogamy or exogamy, and regulation by some form of social mechanism, consisting of class or similar social groups. The rules may also be distinguished according as they prohibit or enjoin certain unions. Among all those peoples who have the family as their main form of social grouping marriage is regulated solely by kinship, and the rules regulating marriage consist exclusively of prohibitions, forming the 'table of prohibited kinds and affinities'. People to whom the family 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 entirely of prohibitions, but, side by side with the regulation by kinship, there are often definite rules which enjoin marriage with certain relatives.

The regulation of marriage associated with modes of social grouping assumes certain definite forms for which there are well-established terms, such as endogamy, exogamy, etc.

2. Exogamy and endogamy.—Much confusion has been produced in the use of these terms through the mistaken idea that the processes which they denote are opposed to one another, this being due, probably, to the influence of McLennan, who was the first to draw attention to the practice 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 clans, the members 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, whereas those who are exogamous. From this it will follow that exogamy and endogamy are not antithetical processes, but, where both exist, supplement one another.

Endogamy in this sense is a relatively infrequent practice, being most fully developed in the caste system of India, in which the caste is the endogamous group and the gotra (q.v.) or other corresponding sub-group the exogamous unit (see art. CASTE). The social system of the Todas is another pure case of the division of endogamous social groups into exogamous clans. In other parts of the world obligatory endogamy is rare. There are many people who 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 their case differs fundamentally from that of the Hindu or Toda in that there is no definite prohibition of marriage within the community, and if the opportunity arises, such marriages 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 reproba- tion that we come very near to true endogamy. It would seem that this tendency to endogamy is especially pronounced where the people of the village follow up or generate manuring or country, and the prohibition of endogamy with occupation is not only characteristic of the caste system of India, but is also found in one of the exceptional examples of obligatory endogamy, which occurs in Africa in the case of the smiths, 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 occupational castes of priestly 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 social or territorial base, the exogamous unit will be the village, the bare or ideal form of rules which enjoin marriage with certain relatives. The regulation of marriage associated with modes of social grouping assumes certain definite forms for which there are well-established terms, such as endogamy, exogamy, etc.

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 seven-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 its father or mother, but to the other section of the moiety of one or other. In another form, known as the eight-class system, each of the four classes is composed of two sections, in which descent follows the same kind of rules as in the seven-class system, but of a more complicated kind. This form of social organization has until recently been supposed to be unique, but A. H. Brown has shown that it is nothing more than a systematization of the regulars of marriage by kinship which is associated with exogamous systems. In Melanesia there are probably similar groupings, though of a less definite kind than in Australia.

4. Hypogamy.—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 or sub-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 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
regulated exclusively by genealogical relationship. Marriages with certain classes of relatives are forbidden and those with other classes allowed, while other marriages may not be strictly prohibited, though looked upon with more or less disfavour by the community, the chief example of this difference of attitude occurring in those cases where a man marries a cousin. We do not know, however, of any 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 relationship is not limited to peoples whose system of relationship is based on the family, but occurs also among many people 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 all these peoples, however, the results of this type 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 Biver, Peru, and Bantu peoples, the rules do not go so far 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 rule forbidding marriage 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 prohibitions of marriage by genealogical relationship, a frequent form of such limitation being the exclusion from the prohibition of those cases in which cousins are descended from persons of different sexes. Thus, among many peoples the marriage of any two brothers or of two sisters is strictly prohibited, but not only is the marriage of cousins who are the children of a brother and sister allowed, but, as will appear shortly, these relatives may be the natural consorts of one another. The people who thus regulate marriage exclusively by relationship have lost the clan-organization which their use of the classificatory system 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 prohibited outside the circle of the exogamous group. Sometimes this prohibition takes the form that a man must not only seek a wife out of his own clan, but must avoid the clans of both father and mother, and perhaps the clans of all the grandparents. More often, however, the prohibitions rest more directly upon kinship, and do not involve all the members of the clans with which the man is related. Many gradations occur between people who regulate marriage solely by kinship and others among whom marriage is chiefly regulated by the clan-organization, but we know no people who have been sufficiently investigated and have been found to be wholly devoid of the mode of regulation by kinship.

6. Marriage with relatives.—Among many peoples, and especially among those who use the classificatory system in the classification of marriage by kinship and others among whom marriage is chiefly regulated by the clan-organization, but we know no people who have been sufficiently investigated and have been found to be wholly devoid of the mode of regulation by kinship. 6

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MARRIAGE (Introductory and Primitive)

Clasping of all or some cousins with brothers and sisters in different forms of the classificatory system.

The marriage of cousins is frequent among Muhammadans, 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 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 cousins in the wide classificatory sense, but between the children of own 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 each other.

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 more frequently being that he marry's 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 formerly more widely distributed. It is also found among the Hausa and a few other peoples of N. America, but has not yet been recorded from South America. In Africa it has recently been found by Mrs. R. F. A. Hoernle among the Hottentots.

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 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 Melanesia this form of marriage includes 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 son or 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.

(d) Uncle and niece.—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 systems of relationship. This marriage occurs in northern Australia and in some parts of Melanesia. It has also been observed in some parts of Europe. Several peoples of South America permit a man to marry his sister's daughter. In some cases it is only the daughter of an older sister who may be married.

Another marriage which may be included under this heading is one occurring 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 Osetes 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, or has been, the custom to marry the daughter's daughter of the brother; and this marriage with one who, through the classificatory system, has the status of a granddaughter has imprinted itself so deeply on the nomenclature of relationship that it may have been the habitual custom of the people. This form of marriage has also been recorded among the Diari 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 Ambrin, 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. This form of marriage was first inferred from the nature of the terminology of relationship in Fiji and in Tongawale 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 grandparent and grandchild outside of Australasia, 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. The next to be considered arise out of the number of the persons who enter into union. The term at the head of this section is most conveniently used as a generic term to include all such cases other than monogamy. Its different forms are polygyny, in which one man marries more than one woman; polyandry, in which one woman marries more than one man; and communal marriage, in which more than one man marries more than one woman.

8. Polygyny.—Though this form of marriage exists, or has existed, in every part of the world, it is very 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 are in vogue, it is only the wealthy who can marry more than one wife. Sometimes polygyny is the privilege of those who have shown their superiority to the rest of their community in some way, as in Eddystone Island in the Solomons, where a second wife is allowed to men who have taken ten heads in warfare.
Polygynous unions differ considerably in the degree of social differentiation accompanying the union. The different wives may live together in one household, or be scattered throughout the community. 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 (see below, § 11). Sometimes there are definite rules regulating the behaviour of the husband to the different wives.

The continent in which polygyny has reached its highest degree of development is Africa, in many parts of which the custom is associated with the development of the social condition in which it exists. In Africa, polygyny forms part of an organized system of monopoly of the young women by the old men of the community. It is sometimes the custom in polygyny that the wives shall be sisters, a man who marries a woman having the right to take her sisters also as they reach marriageable age.

In the Marquesas and in Tibet and neighbouring regions, where polyandry exists in its purest form, it is of the fraternal variety. Usually the 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 Nayar, 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 eicithe rather than husbands—a point difficult to decide, since the purely matrilineal institutions of the people make the fact of fatherhood of little social importance.

A variety of polyandry which may be distinguished is one which occurs among several peoples of India, in which a young boy marries a wife who consorts with the boy’s father or maternal uncle or some other man. The wife’s offspring are counted as the children of the boy-husband, and, when the boy reaches adult age, he will consort with the wife either of one of these children or of some other boy. The motive of the custom is said to be that the boy shall have a son to take him out of Put (hell). A similar practice has been recorded elsewhere, as among the Ostiaks and Oscutes. In Melanesia, a man may have a sister’s wife; in some cases they have 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 this variety of polyandry. The polyandry of the Marquesas is peculiar in that the husbands are of different social status, one husband belonging to a more influential section of the community than the other.

We know very little of the social mechanism by means of which the number of the children is determined in cases of polyandry. In several cases it has been recorded that the children are assigned to the different husbands in order of age, but it is certainly not true of the Todas, who were once credited with this practice. Among this people there is no need for any special ascription of the children to the different husbands when these are brothers, owing to their common habitation and their common possession of property. It is only when the husbands are not brothers that the necessity arises, and then fatherhood is determined by means of a ceremony at the seventh month of 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 suggested that the polyandrous marriage is the 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 such unions do occur, but there is a point of view which conform to the definition. This form of union is found among the Todas, for instance, but there it seems to have arisen as a combination of 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 two or more individuals, 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 led to doubt the existence 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 eicithe.
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-malkun: this exists side by side with the pirraura, which is a relation between the Ngarrabula men and women who call one another naupa would, therefore, seem to correspond with the tippa-malkun union of the Dieri, except that they are group-relations, while the tippa-malkun union occurs between individuals. The tippa-malkun 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-malkun union is regarded as a true marriage, it is difficult to withhold this name from the union between naupa which seems to correspond with it among the Ngarrabula. In order to reach a positive decision on the matter, however, we should like to be more fully informed about social relations 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 groups 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 social fact 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. Seligmann among the Massim of New Guinea, in which all the members of a brotherhood who called one another eriam have marital rights over the wives of the eriam.

11. Concubinage and cicisbeism. 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 if there should be offspring. Similarly, the term cicisbeo would be most conveniently used of the male partner in a similar union. If the terms were used in this sense, the pirraura and pirrauran of the Dieri and Ngarrabula would be concubines. Their distinction would be especially applicable in such a case as that of the Todas, whose mokhtotoxviol would be distinguished as cicisbeio from the husbands proper, there being the important difference between the two that the mokhtotoxviol partnership is not subject to the law of endogamy which regulates the polyandrous marriage. The mokhtotoxviol also never obtains the status of father to his partner’s children except in those rare cases where he is the brother of the woman as an expectant mother whose husband is dead or missing, he is called upon to perform the ceremony which determines fatherhood.

The difficulty in using the term ‘concubine’ in the sense thus proposed is that in some of the cases, such as those of the OT, in which the use of the term is fixed, concubinage carries with it the social relation of fatherhood, sometimes even with full rights of inheritance and succession (cf. art. CONCUBINAGE, Introductory).

12. Marital relations.—In this article marriage has been considered chiefly as a social institution by means of which the relations between parents and children become part of an organized 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 heinous offence and those who allow very great freedom in this respect. Of all the cases of which we have any knowledge, however, the extra-marital relations of married persons are subject to definite restrictions, the clue to the nature of these restrictions resting upon the conception of a wife as the personal property of her husband. Thus many peoples who will kill or make war upon the offender, if a wife is found to have transgressed, will never allow their wives if their consent is asked, or will offer no objection if relations with other men form part of the saturnalia or other occasions when relaxation of the ordinary moral rules is allowed.

The 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 some other kind of compensation is, however, very 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 people the premarital chastity of the wife is so highly valued that it may lead to such a practice as infanlulation (cf. ERE, ii. 668*, 669*), 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 benefits which they would otherwise obtain from 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 marriage, and those who have been successful in this career may be especially sought as brides. In other cases sexual relations before marriage may be more or less freely, though they are not openly conditioned. Among many peoples such sexual relations are allowed so long as they do not result in offspring, and, as in many parts of Europe, the occurrence of pregnancy forms the usual 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 the marriage, 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
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 society, by means of the Sinhalese words deega and beena, but the above terms, first proposed by N. W. Thomas, are now coming into general use. Intermediate cases between marriage and betrothal are also frequent, 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 months or years, to serve the parents of the bride—categories which may be taken by some such other relative, as the mother's brother or the father's sister. In some parts of Melanesia the consent of the father's sister is essential. She usually chooses a wife for her nephew, and has the power of vetoing his marriage if he should choose for himself.

17. Marriage by purchase.—In most parts of the world marriage is accompanied by pecuniary transactions. In some cases payments are made by the husband or his relatives to the relatives of the woman, this payment being usually known as the bride-price. In other cases payments are made by the relatives of the bride, these being usually known as a dover. In other cases again there are complicated transactions in which payments pass between these persons, either by these being chiefly of a ceremonial nature, either existing alone or, more frequently, accompanying the transference of the bride-price or dowry. Sometimes the payments made for a wife or husband may be so large as to form a definite impediment to marriage. They tend to raise the age of marriage, or may even prevent some members of the community from marrying at all. In some cases, however, in which the payments seem to be very large, such as in Melanesia, the political or social system 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 for them to be paid. Among peoples who follow the custom of marrying certain relatives it sometimes happens that the payment for a wife is made only in those cases in which a man marries some other woman.

The most frequent manner of marriage takes the form of the bride-price; but in India, and in some parts of Europe, the dowry or payment to the husband is the more usual custom.

18. Marriage by exchange.—The most definite case of this mode of contracting marriage is that in which a man gives his sister to the brother of his bride, and, since this custom usually occurs among peoples who use the classificatory system of relationship, it may lead to the exchange of women between groups of considerable size. The motive usually assigned for this form of marriage by those who practice it is that it does away with the necessity of paying a wife; but there is some 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 well known through its occurrence in the OF, 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 infrac- tion by taking a lenient view of the consequences.

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 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 habitually 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 persons a vested interest in the women of their own community. The vague of the cross-cousin marriage in southern India makes it probable that a conflict which takes place be- tween the husband and his wife's cousin in some parts of Malakar is a survival of that form of marriage in which the cousin had a prescriptive 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 shade off insensibly into trials before mar- riage on the one hand and into cases of divorce on the other. A union should be called a trial marriage only if there is a definite contract or ceremony entered upon with the condition that the union shall be annulled if it is unfav- oritable 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 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 conduct are usually most pronounced in the case of a man and his wife's mother, and the avoidance in this case may be such that the two are not to see one another or to be in the same house or even in the same village. A more frequent form of avoid- ance is that a man may not speak to his mother-in-law or may not speak to her familiarly, and so the man may be said to avoid his mother-in-law's son 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, but usually the avoidance is less strict, and the avoidance between a woman and her husband's parents is also, in general, less rigid than that between her husband and her parents. In some societies, probably everywhere, these customs of avoidance are definitely associated with the idea of the likeli- hood of sexual relations between those who avoid one another, 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. Some- times the duty of helping one another goes so far that a man may use any of the property of his brother-in-law. Sometimes the men must defend their sisters-in-law from the attacks of other men. The avoidance 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 helpfulness may possibly be explained as having grown out of the relations which arise when marriages habitually take place between hostile peoples, or the dual nature of the marriages which form part of the process of fusion of two peoples.

24. Marriage ceremonial.—The rites accompa- nying marriage vary greatly in duration and complexity among different peoples. Sometimes they are so fragmentary that they can hardly be said to exist, while in other cases the ceremonial may consist of rites of the most diverse and elaborate kinds, prolonged over weeks or months. In the lower forms of culture the ceremonial of marriage is, in general, scanty, especially where it is the custom to marry relatives. Its greatest complicity, on the other hand, is reached in India, south-eastern Asia, and the Malay Archipelago, the ceremony of the Polynesians being probably 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 in many 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 no are not allowed to the two partners in the marriages, and are probably indications of interference with vested interests affected by the marriage.

A large group of ceremonies consists of acts symbolizing a special covenant of marriage. Such are the joining of hands and the tying together of gar- ments. Allied to these are the acts which seem
to show the superior status of one or other partner to the union. Thus the superiority of the bridegroom may be symbolized by presenting him with a whip or by boxing the bride's ears, and possibly tying the tali in India and the use of the wedding ring of our own ceremony may have had a similar meaning. Elsewhere, as in Morocco, the bride may perform various acts, such as riding a jack-saddle, which are designed to give her power over her husband.

Similar to these are the many forms of rites in which bride and bridegroom eat together or march round a fire. Other rites, such as that of pouring rice or water on the head of the bride, probably have as their motive the desire to promote the fertility of the union, or to ensure an abundance of food for the household.

Another large group of rites seems to be connected with the idea that some danger is attendant upon entrance into the marriage state. It may be that rites of this kind at marriage form part of a general custom of performing ceremonies at any transition from one period of life to another—the rites of passage of A. van Gennepe.1 Another motive may be the idea of the danger accompanying sexual intercourse to which so great an effect has been ascribed by Crawley.2

Among features 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. The 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 and others are designed to impart to others the spiritual sanctity which is supposed to attach to newly-married persons.

Many of the motives for ceremonial so far considered are of the kind usually supposed to underlie magic. Other features are definitely religious in that they involve specific appeal to some higher power. Such are definite rites of sacrifice and prayer, while the practice of divination to discover whether the higher powers are propitious also falls under this head.

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 actuate the ritual, its performance tends to pass more and more to the hands of a class of persons especially set aside for the performance of this and other religious functions.

25. Marriage to inanimate objects.—In several parts of India it is the custom, under certain circumstances, that persons shall go through ceremonial marriages with such objects as a tree, a bunch of flowers, a dagger, a sword, or an arrow. One occasion for this kind of marriage is the entrance of a dancing-girl upon her career, the motive being 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 inanimate object in order that his succeeding union with a woman shall be his third marriage. It is probable, also, that marriage to a tree may, in some cases, especially where this forms a part of the ordinary marriage ceremonial, depend upon a belief in the influence of the tree upon the offspring, possibly in the future reincarnation of an

1 Rites de passage, Paris, 1890.
2 The Mystic Rose, London, 1892.

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 (ELE II. 22). The Aryan practice seems to have been confined when the custom of killing the wife on the death of her husband, and to have had on its motive the desire to provide the man with a wife in the life after death. We do not know the motive for the modern Indian practice.

27. Widowhood.—In some parts of the world the re-marriage of widows is absolutely prohibited, and in others widows normally become the wives of certain relatives, while intermediate cases occur in which their marriage is allowed, but is subject to any special rules. Among many peoples, especially in the case of chiefs and more influential members of the community, wives are killed as part of the 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, particularly as the latter practice is often found in the neighbourhood of places where the killing of wives on the death of the husband is or has been practised. We are, however, in some 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 objection is intended to represent a ceremonial death. It would seem that the prohibition of re-marriage is adopted when the 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 had no children, the motive of the marriage being to raise up seed for the dead brother. The term is now used for any case in which a man marries 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 possible to see how this limitation can arise out of the motives for the practice already mentioned. It was supposed by McLennan that the levirate is a survival of polyandry, and it is possible that in these Indian and Melanesian cases the practice is derived from either polyandry or communal marriage, the limitation being connected with some social functions of the relationship between elder and younger brother of which at present we have no knowledge.

Though the OT motive does not wholly account for the custom of the levirate, it shows itself in
other forms among many peoples. In many parts of Africa a child born to a widow even many years after the death of her husband is held to be the child of that husband, and the Dinkas of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan have a custom according to which a widow without male offspring who is beyond the age of child-bearing will purchase a girl and pay a man to beget children by this girl for 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 some other man to beget children by his wife.

29. Re-marriage of widowers.—We know of no people who prohibit the re-marriage of widowers, and the chief point of interest in this subject is the difference of attitude towards marrying with the deceased wife's sister. It has already been mentioned that in polygynous unions it is often the custom to marry sisters, and among people who follow this custom and many others the wife's sister is the natural spouse of a widower. Other peoples prohibit this form of union. Among many of these peoples the wife's sister is regarded as a sister, a conventional relationship often shown in terminology, and the prohibition of marriage is doubtless connected with this idea. It is an expression of the general reprobation of marriage between persons who stand in the relationship of brother and sister, even when this relationship has come about through some social convention, and when the nature of the term is only metaphorical.

30. History of marriage.—Widely different views on this topic are at present current. On the one side are those who regard monogamy as the original state from which the other forms of marriage have developed; on the other are those who believe that monogamy has come into existence by a gradual process of evolution from an original condition of complete promiscuity through an intermediate stage of group-marriage. Lewis Morgan, who has been the chief advocate of an original state of promiscuity, based his opinion on evidence which we now know to be fallacious, and at present not only do we have no knowledge of any promiscuous people, but there is also no valid evidence that a condition of general promiscuity ever existed in the past.

The problem of group-marriage stands on a different footing. Whether the communist unions of different parts of the world be regarded as marriage or not, there is no question that such unions exist, and there is much reason to believe that they have been more general in the past than are explained by the origin in communist conditions. Even if this view be accepted, however, it does not commit us to the position that this condition was once universal among mankind. It is possible that only some of the main varieties of mankind have been communist. Still less does it follow that sexual communism was the primitive condition of mankind. No people now in existence can be regarded as primitive, or even as a sure representative of primitive conditions. Even if it be accepted that sexual communism was once widely distributed or even universal, it would remain possible, if not probable, that it is not a primitive condition, but only represents a stage in the evolution of human society. If, as there is much reason to believe, mankind has never lived in small, patriarchal 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 must be ascribed to some factors which came to action as the social group increased in size. Even if the classificatory system be founded in communist conditions, it has features, such as the clear recognition of generations, which are most naturally explained by its having taken a still earlier condition in which the unions between the sexes were monogamous, or were restricted to such small groups of persons as to approximate to that condition.

MARRIAGE (Christian).—1. The Christian ideal. — The NT does not pretend 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 passage in Genesis which records the original institution of the holy estate of matrimony (Gen 2:1-24). 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 exhortations in which the duties of married persons are clearly declared. The supremacy of the husband as the head of the wife is recognized, and the duty of wisely obedience declared. Mutual love and consideration are urged with considerable insight, while the perfect unity of husband and wife as "one flesh" is duly emphasized.1

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 Jewish world, monogamy was the universal rule. Polygamy is not expressly forbidden in the OT, nor was it uncommon in ancient Israel; but the Jewish teachers of the post-Exilic period had come to recognize that it was not consistent with the spirit of the original institution, which plainly demands the union of one man and one woman in marriage. Extra-matrimonial connexions might not be seriously condemned in the Gentile world, but, for the begetting of legitimate children, it was the rule that there should be only one wife to one husband. While it is safe to say, however, that monogamy is assumed throughout the NT, there is perhaps only one passage which a lover of proof texts could quote as distinctly forbidding polygamy, viz. 1 Co 7:2-4 '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 is most true that the religion of the gospel has done inestimable service, not only in restoring and preserving preci-

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1 The passages of the NT dealing directly with marriage are Mt 19:4-6, Lk 16:18, Mk 10:2-12, Lk 20:27-28, 2 Cor 6:14, 1 Co 7:1, 1 Th 4:3, 1 Pet 3:3, Col 3:2, Eph 5:22, 1 Pt 3:7, 1 Th 4:3, 1 Co 7:1, He 13:4.
ous principles which were being forgotten in an age of luxury and gross moral laxity, but also in changing profoundly men's ideas of the marriage relation, of its duties and possibilities. The result is the direct outcome of the teaching of the NT.

(1) The spirit and teaching of the NT tend to put the mutual love of husband and wife in the forefront. Marriage has been described as a provision for the propagation of the race and the proper bringing up of children. The NT recognizes the importance of the Christian household and the rightful education of Christian children, but does not describe this as the main object of marriage. Again, marriage has been regarded as a provision for the satisfaction of a natural desire and a restraint upon unbridled indulgence. St. Paul acknowledges that marriage serves this purpose, but does not give it any great prominence (1 Co 7:8). According to the book of Genesis, marriage was instituted, in the first instance, to satisfy the need of man's social nature. Because it was 'not good that the man should be alone,' because companionship with his fellows was necessary for the perfect development of his nature, marriage was instituted to provide him with the closest and most intimate form of companionship. Thus the words, 'The twain shall be one flesh,' imply much more than a merely social relationship—a thought which is instructively developed by St. Paul in Eph 5:28.

(2) It is not too much to say that our whole conception of the marriage relation has been changed and changed for the better, by the high and honourable position accorded to women in the NT, and the general improvement in the status of woman which has been brought about under Christian influence, and which has not yet, perhaps, reached its final goal. Gal 3:29 so far as all blessings, privileges, and responsibilities are concerned, under which husband and wife are taught to remember that they are 'joint-heirs of the grace of life' (1 P 3: 17). The necessity tends to be equalized, and, if it may be so expressed, to equalize, the marriage relation.

When St. Paul compares the marriage-bond to the union between Christ and the Church, he is, no doubt, making use of a high and honourable position accorded to women in the NT, and his own improvement in the status of woman which has been brought about under Christian influence, and which has not yet, perhaps, reached its final goal. Gal 3:29 so far as all blessings, privileges, and responsibilities are concerned, under which husband and wife are taught to remember that they are 'joint-heirs of the grace of life' (1 P 3: 17). The necessity tends to be equalized, and, if it may be so expressed, to equalize, the marriage relation.

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mind of the Apostle. The idea may not seem altogether absurd to a modern metaphysician; but, if it should seem inconceivable, we are not bound to deduce the infallibility of St. Paul's metaphysics, and may perhaps adopt 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 Middle Ages, which is still the accepted doctrine of the Roman and Eastern churches, and which has had important practical consequences for Christian thought and Christian life.

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. A marriage by a religious ceremony is, therefore, no new thing peculiar to the Christian Church. In fact, there is not a single feature in the marriage-services of the Christian communities that cannot be traced back to the ancient, that is, the nuptial ceremonies, of the Roman Empire. On 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 step as the contract of matrimony without the knowledge and consent of the whole congregation. This is implied in the words of Ignatius:

`prius ut ego sciat et ut patriae gaudet, mecum in matrimonio invenire etiam in locis sanctis.`

It is inconceivable, therefore, that the celebration of marriage should not have been accompanied from the very first with suitable acts of Christian worship, or that the accustomcd marriage-rites should not have been celebrated as a solemn religious function. With the expansion of the Church and the consequent weakening of the close bond of social union between members of the same congregation, the necessity for ecclesiastical sanction for marriage would be less strongly felt, and marriages might be contracted without any formal benediction.

The testimony of the Fathers, from the middle of the 3rd cent., onwards, shows what we should now describe as civil marriages were not unknown, perhaps were not uncommon, but at the same time were strongly disapproved 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 for 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 there can be little doubt that the celebration of marriage with ecclesiastical benediction was the almost universal custom. The inference which has sometimes been drawn from the fact that about A.D. 802 Charlemagne prohibited marriage without benediction (Capit. vii. 638) and that so late as A.D. 900 Leo the Philosopher issued a similar edict (V. Vet. 99), that purely civil marriages were very common up to the end of the 8th or 9th cent., is not borne out by anything that we know of those ages.

Nevertheless, no valid 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 and form, which remains, as before, the right 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 Churches the Confession of Peter Mogilas of Kiev (A.D. 1640), in which the priestly benediction, the accustomcd formularies, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit are declared to be essentials of marriage, is regarded as authoritative.

The marriage-ceremonies in use all over the Christian world for hundreds of years past contain elements derived from two sources, viz. the sponsalia, the ancient ceremony of betrothal, and the nuptial, 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 arkhe, pledge of the dowry—were the principal features of the betrothal ceremony.

The veiling of the bride, the crowning of the bride and bridegroom, the formal handing over of the bride by her parent or guardian to the care of the bridegroom, the solemn declaration of the completion of the contract, and the bringing home of the bride in triumphal state, were the ancient nuptial ceremonies. The priestly benediction may perhaps be considered as the distinctive Christian addition to the ancient ceremonies; yet even this may have been simply a special sanctification of the proper. The solemn act of marriage—its accompaniment of sacrifice and solemn benedictions, was the only form recognized by Roman law for the celebration of an absolutely indisputable marriage.

The reference to the demand for ten witnesses in St. Ambrose¹ would naturally suggest the confarretio. Old customs are often preserved in an imperfect fashion even when they become obsolete (see MARRIAGE [Roman]).

¹ Whenever the sacramental idea is referred to in this article, it may be taken that the idea herein explained is meant.

² J. S. Lightfoot prefers ἀνενόητον.
MARRIAGE (Christian)

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 Baptists, as appears from Tertullian's Life of Joshua. In fact, however, it was a betrothal ceremony amongst Christians, the bride continuing to wear the betrothal veil from the time of the betrothal to the wedding-day (Veit, de Virg. eunuch., xi.).

A passage in Tertullian would seem to imply that the giving of a ring, though a harmless heathen custom, was not practised by Christians in his day (de Hulol., xvi.). This may have been the case with some of the stricter or more old-fashioned Christians, but the universal custom of the Church from the 4th 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 day. In the Eastern Church it prevailed to the present day, and is regarded as the most important part of the marriage-ceremony in marriage in the East being often described as 'the crowning.'

That sponsalia and actual nuptials were still regarded as distinct ceremonies, between which an interval of time might elapse, up to the middle of the 5th cent., is evident from the letter of Pope Nicholas I. to the Bulgarians (A.D. 865 [PL xxix. 980]), 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 combined in practice. Formal sponsalia 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 be placed at the actual 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 something less acceptable or holier than the estate of marriage. There is but one passage, in the Apocalypse of John (14), which, however interpreted, seems to imply a preference for the virgin state; otherwise the NT gives no support to the doctrine. If St. Paul prefers the unmarried state, it is on purely utilitarian grounds, because of the greater freedom from worldly cares enjoyed by the unmarried. If we may accept the Pastoral Epistles as his, or as expressing his mind, the Apostle thought it most desirable that younger widows should contract a second marriage. Yet, inasmuch as what we may call ascetic ideas were widely prevalent, not only among the Essenes (q.v.), in Judaism, but in certain circles in the heathen world, it is very likely that such ideas were to some extent prevalent in the Church from the very first. The awful prevalence of vice and immorality, the consequent demand for a relentless fight against those 'filthy lusts which war against the soul,' and a sense of the strength of such desires and impulses, would naturally create a feeling of repulsion against all forms of indulgence, even the most innocent, in those newly married for a new and higher life. It is not surprising, therefore, that from the middle of the 3rd cent., the ascetic view should have taken a firm hold on the Christian Church and should have speedily become the predominant and, in fact, the universal view. Tertullian's own is that the contemplation and the admiration aroused by the devotions of the monastics and also, from the middle of the 4th cent., the intensified worldliness of the new fashionable Church would naturally foster the growth of the ascetic spirit. One command, 'Love not the world' (1 John 23), had to find some new interpretation when the world was no longer a profoundly heathen world, but a community of nominal Christians.

The doctrine of the earlier Gnostics, Basilidians, Saturninus, and of the Montanists, of the essential sinfulness of conjugal union was, of course, formally condemned, but in the extraneous hauntings of virginity in the writings of St. Jerome, and even the more moderate utterances of St. Augustine, the disbarment of the married state sometimes approaches very closely to the views of those heretics. Throughout the Middle Ages the doctrine of the superiority of the virgin state firmly held its ground, and led to many extravagances. But the teaching of the NT and the constant witness of the Church served at all events as a safeguard against the worst results of the disbarment of marriage.

It was not until the Reformation of the 16th cent., that this view of marriage was made to vindicate the claims of healthy home life and happy marriage at a position of equality with the virgin state. In Luther's eyes all monastic vows were essentially sinful (cf. Vottis monasteris, 1521), and, in general, the superiority of the married state was made to rest in our 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 (sess. 24, can. x.) condemned both the position 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 sentiment to human weakness that, was, in the early Church, 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 calling wherein he was called' (1 Cor 7), 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 Ankyra (A.D. 314) made an exception in the case of deacons, who, before ordination, should inform the bishop if they intend to marry. From this position it was a natural step to the view that after ordination clergy should cease to maintain conjugal relations with their wives—a view which could scarcely have been put forth except by a council of celibates. The Council of Elvira (A.D. 305) laid down this rule under penalty of excommunication.
of Nicola (A.D. 323) was restrained from passing a similar ordinance only by the emphatic protest of the Martyr Confessor Paphnutius, who pleaded earnestly in favour of the perfect sanctity of married life. For, in that century, the principle that the clergy ought to be celibates was universally adopted in theory in the Western Church. Pope Siricius (A.D. 350) in his Epistle to Hiererius (PL, xii. 1132 E), 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 Hildebrand, but regarded for a time as head of the Church, and the attempt of the Popes to regulate the marriage of the clergy in every part of Europe. It was regarded in general with indifference, sometimes with approval in his Church, and was zealously condemned as a right by the secular clergy. Even after the vigorous crusade of Hildebrand (1019-55), the ‘seandal,’ as it was considered, of clerical concubinage maintained its existence here and there, though it was probably never seen after Hildebrand's time regarded with the same indifference as before.

In the Eastern Church the rule of celibacy has never been imposed on the inferior clergy by the Church. The marriage of clerics after ordination was, however, 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 necessarily prohibited to 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, and was zealously condemned as a right by the secular clergy. Even after the vigorous crusade of Hildebrand (1019-55), the ‘seandal,’ as it was considered, of clerical concubinage maintained its existence here and there, though it was probably never seen after Hildebrand's time regarded with the same indifference as before.

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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 to be the Church, and their discipline and jurisdiction are, then, no later growth or corruption of primitive Christianity, but trace their origin to the earliest times of the Church. It is certainly an inevitable fact in the Apostolic Age such questions connected with marriage should arise as would be considered suitable for the judgment of the community. In I Co 7 we have an interesting example of such questions and of the apostolic method of dealing with them. The saying of Ignatius as to the necessity of submitting a proposed marriage contract for the approval of the bishop has already been quoted.

Nor is it at all surprising that matters connected with marriage should have, from the Apostolic Age until now, occupied an important place in ecclesiastical legislation. From the civil side, marriage is regarded as a legal contract which must be regulated for practical purposes by the State. From the Christian point of view, marriage is a holy estate which the Church may claim to regulate in the highest interests of religion and morality. Experience shows that there must ever be a possibility of conflict between the two juris-

1 Hist. of Latia Christianity, London, 1872, i. 97; see also A. P. Stanley, Lectures on the Hist. of the Eastern Church, do. 1892, lect. i. and v. H. C. von Maltat, Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek-Russian Church, do. 1888; Photius, Joanninou, Paris, 1813.

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1 Hist. of Latia Christianity, London, 1872, i. 97; see also A. P. Stanley, Lectures on the Hist. of the Eastern Church, do. 1892, lect. i. and v. H. C. von Maltat, Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek-Russian Church, do. 1888; Photius, Joanninou, Paris, 1813.
tion, in which the viridenum is not supposed to be broken and remarriage is, therefore, not permissible. The latter is described as divortium a mensa et thora, in contradistinction to the more correct terminus a mensa et thoro.

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 high Christian ideal of marriage, but under the new dispensation, and under the old, it is necessary for the hardness of men's hearts in this imperfect world to make provision for occasional failures to attain the perfect ideal. But, while this is the case with regard to separation, there has been considerable difference of opinion on the more difficult question of divorce in the proper sense of the word. The broad general principle is that divorce is something which ought not to be, that it ought not even to be thought of as a possibility by Christian people. But is the broad general principle to be regarded as a law binding universally and unconditionally? If any exceptions are to be allowed, in what cases do they apply? Should man and woman stand on the same footing in this respect? Should there be no real divorce? Should any difference be made between cases where 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 5.32, Mk 10.12, and Lk 16.18. In Mark and Luke the prohibition of divorce and remarriage 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 passage 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 mensa et thoro' 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 to ascertain 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 and sometimes an 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 recognized in the interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount without in the least detracting from the supreme value of the spiritual law is well nigh impossible. Our Lord as teacher was 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 express sanction for divorce in the case of adultery, with consequent permission to marry again in the case of the innocent partner. It is not, of course, denied that, if the bond is broken, it is broken alike for both partners, but, as the guilty partner is, or has been, living in notorious sin, and can give no evidence of repentance except by abstaining altogether from marriage, such remarriage should necessarily be refused the Church's benediction in the case of re-marriage. The latter principle has been invariably and universally accepted.

Although it is evident that adultery affects the marriage not the person, it does not affect the person, yet it may fairly be said that there are other things which may make married life so intolerable, and the perfect ideal union so impossible, that, if divorce or separation be allowed at all, the grounds for divorce or separation must necessarily be confined to the one offence of adultery. This difficulty was met by many of the Fathers by showing, on good Scriptural authority, that idolatry, covetousness, unnatural offences, etc., might rightly be classed under the heading of spiritual adultery. There is probably no more than a formal difference between this and the argument which appeals most forcibly to modern minds—that there are offences which make married life so intolerable that there can be no more union. The doctrine of the Utahs is that of affections has been absolutely destroyed, the real viridenum has been ruptured, and that, therefore, such offences may rightfully 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 last two decades has shown a case to be made upon the matter and, to a certain extent, strengthened the case of those who condemn divorce absolutely. A large and increasing number of competent critics are of opinion that the qualification, except for the cause of fornication, formed no part of Our Lord's teaching, etc. (A. B. Bruce, W. F. Schmiedel, W. B. Bacon, C. G. Montefiore), 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 edited by the First Evangelist in Mt 5.32. It is quite evident that Mt 5.32 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, T & T, 'St. Matthew,' Edinburgh, 1912, ad loc.).

If the modern critical view is generally accepted, it will, no doubt, be admitted that the case of a husband who absolutely condemns 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 the critical view will simply bring into greater prominence the questions raised by the other four passages. 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, ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἰδιαῖς ἐξέγερσεν τὸν Κυρίον, may be admitted to be early notes of interpretation added by the Church—a reminiscence, perhaps, of instructions actually received from the Lord—but those

1 Augustine frequently expressed the idea of the wider interpretation of 'fornication.' Si infidelibus fornicatio est, et idololatris idololatria, et avaritia avaritiam, non est divaricatum avaritiam fornicationem esse (de Sermon. Dominico, l. xvi. 40).

2 See also several passages to the same effect in the de Contingentis Adulterinis. In the Retractations Augustin (e.g. 1:19) he says, "I confess to the legitimacy of this exegesis (c. 19). Passages from Hermas and Origen in which the idea is expressed are also cited (Cf. Eadie, J.R.S.A., xvi. 1.)

3 W. C. Allen, and also holding the critical view, yet protests, in letters to The Guardian (ix. 1910) 290, 398, 1894, i. 738, against making use of critical results, and also doubt of the correctness of some exegeses, and justifies the use of the ST as received by the Church. J. A. Keil, in his pamphlet, 'An Attempt immediately to repel the laws which treat the matrimonial bond as indissoluble' (Oxford, 1835), attempted to defend the stricter view on the ground of a special provision 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 has the special case of conjugal infidelity before his mind. The presumption is rather the other way, and it would seem as if he were merely thinking of the case of separation and divorce which Churches, on the basis of 1 Co 7, would describe as incompatibility of temper. The chief interest of this chapter centres in the rules and regulations laid down by the Apostle with reference to matters about which he could not appeal to any direct utterances of the Lord Jesus.

In the first place, he recognizes the possibility of separation 'a mensa et thoro' (v. 11); if husband and wife are separated for any reason, they are to remain single or become reconciled to each other.

Even though he was not actually considering the case of separation for conjugal infidelity, we may feel sure that, if he had done so, the Apostle would have approved of the counsel given in the Shepherd of Hermas.

The Jewish husband who divorced his wife was forbidden by the law to take her back; but it is characteristic of the gospel to give prominence to the possibility of repentance; and so Hermas charges the husband who has put away his wife to remain unmarried (καὶ ἀνακάθησαι) so that the sinner might have an opportunity for repentance with consequent restoration (M. 1, iv. 12).

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 of marriage shall not be dissolved, the marriage of the unbeliever is not to be dissolved (v. 12). St. Paul seems to have in mind 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. 1 Co 7:10 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 Decretales Gregorii, iv. 10, 'de Divortiis', ch. 7).

The canon law of the Roman Catholic Church unqualifiedly forbids divorce 'a vinculo matrimonii', if both parties at the time of marriage had been living together. In the case of the contrary, divorce is permitted, not only for adultery, but also for other serious causes, as, e.g., high treason, designs by either party on the life of the other, insanity, leprosy, etc.; but no one is permitted to obtain a divorce more than once. In East and West alike, in the earlier period, and more especially after the ascetic movement became popular—i.e., after the middle of the 3rd cent.—the Fathers were strong in their denouncements of any case of an innocent partner. In some cases such unions were made the subject of ecclesiastical censure and at least temporary excommunication. Yet, while the civil laws permitted re-marriage, it is evident that all the eloquence of the Fathers could not entirely prevent it, and it is probable that the average lay opinion did not generally approve of the excessive rigidity of what we may call the ecclesiastical view. The Church, however, has, from the time of the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, been at all times more dependent on the civil power, and, as a natural consequence, more subject to the influence of lay opinion, than the Church of the West, where the power of the ecclesiastical authorities was more 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 teachers of the same period. Yet even up to the 12th cent., when the present canon law of the Roman Church was finally formulated, it is evident, from the official acts of the Synods and councils, that it was not possible in practice to enforce strictly the principle of the absolute indissolubility of marriage.

Re-marriage in certain cases is permitted implicitly or explicitly by the Church; and thus the following instances are distinctly recognized by the Church, viz.: Divortium (Hilibris, c. 305), Vannes (465), Agde (506), Orleans (553), Compiègne (756), and Bourges (1031); to these we may add the testimony of the Penitentiel of Theodoric of Canterbury, drawn up for the guidance of the churches under his control, which in some respects perhaps goes to an extreme in making allowances for the weakness of human nature, but in which very considerable liberty is allowed in the matter of re-marriage.

Civil legislation from the time of Constantine to Justinian 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 possibility of divorcing by mutual consent remained in force until the time of Justinian, while the grounds on which it might be obtained were numerous enough. Under the legislation of Theodosius the Second and Valentinian a wife could obtain a decree against her husband for (1) treason, (2) adultery, (3) homicide, (4) poisoning, (5) violating seculures, (6) forcery, (7) stealing from a church, (8) robbery, (9) cattle-stealing, (10) attempts on her life, (11) introducing infidelity, (12) the common assault. A husband might divorce his wife for any of the above causes; and also for (12) 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 Justinian added (16) procuring abortion, and (17) mixed bathing.

It was very natural that the Reformers in the 16th cent. should call in question the rigid medieval views on the subject of divorce, regarding them as an outcome of the claims of the ecclesiastical authorities to supreme jurisdiction, and as inspired by the spirit of asceticism. The Protestant Reforming divines in churches, the contrary, divorce is permitted, not only for adultery, but also for other serious causes, as, e.g., high treason, designs by either party on the life of the other, insanity, leprosy, etc.; but no one is permitted to obtain a divorce more than once. In East and West alike, in the earlier period, and more especially after the ascetic movement became popular—i.e., after the middle of the 3rd cent.—the Fathers were strong in their denouncements of any case of an innocent partner. In some cases such unions were made the subject of ecclesiastical censure and at least temporary excommunication. Yet, while the civil laws permitted re-marriage, it is evident that all the eloquence of the Fathers could not entirely prevent it, and it is probable that the average lay opinion did not generally approve of the excessive rigidity of what we may call the ecclesiastical view. The Church, however, has, from the time of the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, been at all times more dependent on the civil power, and, as a natural consequence, more subject to the influence of lay opinion, than the Church of the West, where the power of the ecclesiastical authorities was more unfeigned.
that, since separation 'a mensa et thoro' was permitted, it was more conducive to reality and more in accordance with the teaching of 1 Cor 7, that an innocent partner should be allowed the right of re-marriage than that temptations to a life of sin should be multiplied. Further, they pointed out that whereas the union had forbidden divorce had not succeeded in putting an end to the evil; that in the later period the multiplication of grounds on which marriage might be declared null and void ab initio, implying the 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 Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce (1643). Probably no Christian writer has ever gone so far as Milton in advocating the utmost liberty for Christian men—he does not concede the right of divorce even in the grossest offence. He is, however, willing to admit that 'what God has joined together man may not put asunder,' but he will by no means allow that a mere marriage contract or ceremony, though entered upon freely by mutual consent and duly consummated, must necessarily 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's doctrine would lead 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; on this principle the Code Napoleon (1804-10) restricted the unlimited licence which had been permitted in the earlier years of the Revolution, but allowed divorce on various grounds, including mutuel consent. With the Constitution of 1812, the earlier law was again adopted and divorce was forbidden. It was not until 1848 that the provisions of the Code Napoleon were revived, with certain modifications. The law of 1876 is a serious injury 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 ecclesiasticorum) had resulted in legislation, it is probable that the opinions of Cranmer, Bucer, and Peter Martyr in favour of divorce would have become part of the law both of the English Church and of the English State. With the king's death, however, the prospect of legislation was at an end. 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 legalized by special Act of Parliament, and an Act to that effect was passed in 1548, but was repealed when Queen Mary came to the throne. This case is important, as it may be said to have ruled the English practice of the nation having been granted by the King, and the House of Commons had no way of stopping it, as the Act of 1547. The canons of 1604 (can. 107) confirmed the authority of the ecclesiastical court to grant judicial separation, but only on condition that a definite pledge was given by the parties not to contract 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 1837 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 adultery or other serious and utterly depraved conduct has to be proved in addition. In both countries a wife may be divorced on the ground of adultery alone.

In 1899 a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the whole question of the laws relating to divorce and annulment. 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 1913—to give effect to their recommendations by legislation. The commissioners were unanimous: if divorce is to be allowed, the method of procedure should be cheapened 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 marriage could be dissolved; to cover cases of wilful desertion for at least three years, cruelty, incurable insanity after five years' confinement, and imprisonment under commuted death sentence; but a strong minority protested against this. 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) As in much of our Lord's words expressly forbid divorce except in the case of fornication or adultery, the Christian Church cannot recognize divorce in any other case, or give any sanction to the marriage of any person who has been divorced, except after that. It has the same effect as the fornication 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 forbid marriage to the innocent party in a divorce for adultery, the Conference recommends that the clergy should not be instructed to refuse the admission to the privileges of the Church to those who under civil sanction are thus married. These resolutions were reaffirmed by the Conference of 1898, law passed away to that time. 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
intellectual unrest, tend to encourage the demands for a wider extension of the facilities for divorce. Impatience of old-fashioned restraints and a certain looseness of old-established bonds are the natural characteristics of an age like ours. The deepened sense of the supreme importance of the spiritual union and companionship in marriage which Christianity has fostered makes the bond more irksome than ever. The Christian, however, is unable to look askance at the tendency of the ideal. Those who realize how much the stability and sanctity of home life depend on the unbroken firmness of the marriage-tie, and who recognize that the preservation of the exact ideal of Christianity is impossible, unless the public opinion is guided by the principles of the NT.

(b) Conditions of void marriage. — (1) Equality of rank or condition between the contracting parties, though required by Roman law, has never been regarded as absolutely essential for the Christian Church, however desirable in itself.

In Imperial times connexions were sometimes formed between slaves and free women, such connexions, though officially described as concubinage, betokened real marriage and moral result. 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 suggest that this was the case, and that such connexions were regarded by the Church as essentially marriages. 'Si quia habens uxorem habet eum nee concubinam habet, non concubinam habet eum nee uxorem habet. Hanc simulationem nullius si qui simul simul undique, ut si quidem, si concubinam habet, concubinam non possit habere alias alios simul simul undique, et pro uxorem simul simul undique, et pro concubinam habet, concubinam non possit habere alios simul simul undique, et pro uxorem' (ibidem, op. Gratian, Diss. 4, quoted by Natalis Alexander, Hist. Eccles., Lecce, 1724, i. 29).

(2) The question of mixed marriages between Christians and non-Christians was, as might have been expected, one of the earliest practical problems with which the Church was called upon to deal. It formed the subject of one of the queries proposed to St. Paul by his Corinthian converts. The Apostle's reply is clear enough so far as marriages contracted before conversion are concerned. A Christian ought to continue such a union so long as the unbelieving partner is willing that it should be so continued; but when the unbelieving partner would not, the Christian marriage was holy, i.e. rightful subjects for Christian baptism. If the unbeliever decided to dissolve the union, 'the brother or the sister is not under bondage in such cases' — which must mean that the Christian would be at liberty to contract another marriage (see, for St. Paul's use of terms 'bondage' and 'freedom,' Rom. 7:4). In 1 Co. 7:12 the Apostle declares that a Christian is at liberty to contract marriage 'only in the Lord.' The general principles laid down in this chapter have always been regarded as the primary authority on this matter, though there has been much controversy as to the practical application, and even as to the exact meaning, of his teaching. Do the words 'only in the Lord' mean that any marriage contracted between one already a Christian and an unbeliever is unlawful? Does 'in the Lord' mean only with a fellow-Christian, and, if so, must the words of St. Paul be taken as a positive command or merely a counsel of prudence not to contract such marriages? St. Augustine expresses himself with some doubt and hesitation, but his opinion on the whole may be taken as expressing the general view of the Church for centuries. Mixed unions were discouraged, and even declared, though with some hesitation, to be unlawful for Christians; yet such marriages could not be wholly prevented, nor was any penalty attached to them in the first three centuries, so far as appears. The Council of Elvira affords the earliest example of a specific penalty (five years' penance) being attached to such unions. From the beginning of the 6th cent. the decrees of councils are more numerous and more definite as to what the penalties are in general much more severe.

The civil law supported the ecclesiastical judgments, the Theodosian Code making such wedlock a capital offence. In the Middle Ages the question of the observance of the exact term of Christian marriage is a matter for the Church to decide. If it omits to convert to separate from unbelievers was the subject of much controversy, the chief question being whether the separation should or should not be the deliberate act of the unbeliever, or whether any circumstances making it lawful for the believer to remain 'sine contumelia creatoris' might not justify the separation. The question was decided, on the whole, in the broader sense, by Innocent III. (de Breviar., 1198).

In early times diacetic heretics and schismatics was generally brought under the same condemnation as marriage with Jews or pagans. It is now, however, generally recognized both in the Eastern and in Roman Catholic communions that all marriages only celebrated by baptized persons are valid and indissoluble, though in the case where one of the parties is a heretic or schismatic the other may be subject to censure and penalty. Where the decrees of the Council of Trent have been published, however, this ruling does not free those contracting mixed marriages from considerable inconvenience, inasmuch as 'the celebration' is defined to be in the presence of a priest in a Roman Catholic church, and the marriage, the man being further obliged to guarantee that children born of the marriage shall be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. Marriage otherwise celebrated is declared to be null and void. The publication of these decrees, for all practical purposes, in these countries by Pope Pius X, in the well known 'Ne tenere' decree (1907) has given rise to much controversy. Roman Catholic divines defend the decrees on the ground that the Church has the 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 mixed marriages be brought up in the Catholic faith. Their opponents urge that it is inevitable that mixed marriages will sometimes occur in a large mixed community; that, when this is so, and a marriage is lawfully performed, the Church has no right to claim that another shall be a sin on respectable persons who have, admittedly, been guilty of no immoral 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

(3) Kindred and affinity. — It was a common complaint with the Reformers and those who sympathized with them, that the multiplication of grounds of prohibition of marriage, the custom of papal dispensations in doubtful cases or cases of illegality, and the facility with which decrees of nullity of marriage could be obtained had created much difficulty in the way of marriage relations and had been the source of grave scandals.

This is forcibly expressed in the statute of Henry VIII for the regulation of marriages (1533-34):

"Many persons, after long continuance together in marriage without any alienation by 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 procreation, or for other prohibitions than God's own permitted. Marriages have been brought into such uncertainty thereby that no marriage could be so sure but it should be in either of the parties' power to prove a precontract, a kindred and alliance, or a natural 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 common marriage, and spiritual affinity, e.g., the connection between godparent and godchild, or between two persons who are godparents to the same child. In the Eastern Church the system is even more elaborate, and the grounds of prohibition more numerous than in the Western, which is attributed to the earlier dispensations being more 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, in general, marriage between the members of two families debar the members of one family from marriage with members of the other within the prescribed limits.

A different method of describing relationships prevails in the two branches of the Church. In the Eastern Church and nephew are related in the third degree, first cousins in the fourth, and so on; marriage is forbidden within the seventh degree of kindred or affinity, natural or spiritual. In the West first cousins are related in the second degree, second cousins in the fourth, and so on, marriage being forbidden — since the Lateran Council (1215) — within the fourth degree. This is in practice almost the same as the Eastern rule. The Lateran Council, however, abolished all prohibitions on the second degree and permitted marriage to the Western reckoning. No trace of these somewhat burdensome restrictions is to be found before the 5th century. In the earlier centuries Christians would be familiar both with the Levitical Law of Holiness (Lv 18) and with the ordinary Roman law, which were, to all intents and purposes, to the same effect — marriage being forbidden within the second degree according to the Western reckoning. It goes without saying that their marriages would be regulated according to the provisions of 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 question of marriages 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 (cited by the civil law of the English Church. Such marriages were held by the civil courts to be perfectly valid and unimpeachable in law, unless voided by special legal process undertaken during the lifetime of the parties; but Lord Lyndhurst's Act in 1835 declared all such marriages within the prohibited degrees to be absolutely illegal, and in face of very strong opposition, act utilizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister in the United Kingdom was passed in 1908. A saving clause permits clergymen who have a conscientious objection to refuse to celebrate such marriages, but in the case of Bernard v. Thomas, in which proceedings were taken against a clergymen for refusing the Holy Communion to persons so married, it was decided that the clergy may not refuse the sacraments to persons legally married though within the prohibited degrees. Meanwhile the table of affinities in the Anglican Prayer-Book remains the law of the Church, and, in strictness, it would seem that the clergy are prohibited from celebrating a marriage between a widower and his deceased wife's sister, even if they do not feel themselves bound by the famous canons of 1604 to hold that such marriages are "inconceivable and unlawful and altogether null and void." (can. 29).

The logical and constitutional question of kindred and affinity, but to this a very 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 make what are the same. 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 than of consanguinity are cited in Lv 18, and that the case of the deceased wife's sister is so exactly parallel to that of marriage with a husband's 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 as regard with halting 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 is urged to prevail, and to destroy it must be regarded as morally injurious and degrading. Those who hold the sacramental view of a mystic spiritual bond formed in marriage urge that this bond creates as close a relationship between a man and the members of his wife's family as exists between blood-relations. Finally, it is pointed out that marriage with a deceased wife's sister has been expressly forbidden by the Church, at all events since the 4th century. It is most inadvisable, therefore, that it is 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 relation. Such are the main arguments by which marriage with a deceased wife's sister may be opposed. It is now worth while to consider the arguments which have been brought forward on the other side.

The very doubtful, it is urged, whether the Levitical law relating to a different state of civilization and specially intended for the people of Israel can be regarded as a moral law binding on Christians; but, even if it is accepted as such, not only is there no express prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, but, in fact, it is implied that such marriage is perfectly lawful (v. 16). The Jews have never regarded such
unions as forbidden, nor were they forbidden by the ancient Roman law. The very fact that an apostolic council (late probably late in the 2nd cent.) forbids such marriages to the clergy shows that they were not generally regarded at that time as unlawful per se.

No injury has resulted, it is held, either to marriage life or to the general tone 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 every many cases desired, and in large centres of population, and it is manifest that it would absolutely as a safeguard to morality that they should be permitted. It is denied that any feeling of repulsion similar to that inspired by incestuous connexions exists, or ought to exist, in the case of one's wife's near relations. Affinity ought, in certain cases, to be a bar to marriage, but the true ground of prohibition in this case is what is known as respectus parentele. The marriage of a man with his step-daughter or with his wife's widow is shocking to the moral sense because of the more or less paternal relationship involved in the connexion. According to old Eastern ideas, this relationship would also prevail between a man and his brother's widow, now become the head of the house. That marriage with a deceased husband's brother was not regarded with moral repulsion, in itself, is shown by the fact that it was commanded in the council of Trent to be performed. There is no reason, therefore, for thinking that any other principle than that of the respectus parentele governs the prohibitions of marriage within certain degrees of affinity in Leviticus, while, in the evident absence of any special prohibition 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 or immoral, yet consider it so undesirable that at least it should not receive the blessing of the Church by a marriage ceremony. Such an attitude has in most periods been taken up with regard to objectionable, but not absolutely forbidden, marriages. As pointed out above, it is the position taken by the Lambeth Conference with reference to the re-marriage of the innocent partner in a divorce case. It has, however, been said that such an attitude is not logical, and is at the same time unjust to Christian people. The majority of Christians have come to regard the nuptial benediction as almost, if not altogether, an essential of marriage and the right of every Christian. If members of the Church are committing no moral offence, they may reasonably claim the blessing of the Church upon their union; if they are entitled to receive the sacraments, it is held that it is unjust to cast such a slur upon them as is implied in a refusal to bless 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 stern aspect of the matter, dwelling exclusively on the restraints and difficulties, and with watchful suspicion every form of natural indulgence. 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 unruffled licence and excessive indulgence; it brings with it duties and responsibilities it is manifestly for the interest and energies to the utmost end and call for the continued exercise of patience and self-denial. It is well that, in a matter of so much importance, so intimately connected with our social and moral welfare, the restraints and responsibilities should be clearly defined and earnestly enforced. But there is another point of view which is, after all, the higher and truer. In this, perhaps more clearly than in any other connexion we are taught by the gospel that restraints are imposed and self-denial demanded, not for their own sake, but as a means to truer and more abiding blessedness. Holy matrimony has been divinely instituted for man's good, and he is in a happy married life man is to find his truest and most lasting happiness, and to reach the fullest perfection of which his nature is capable.

LITERATURE.—Tertullian, de Monasteriis, Virginitatis privatis, ad Uronem, de Pudicitia, etc.; Augustine, de Conjugiis adulterinis, de Fide et Operibus, Retractiones. For conciliar decisions, early and medieval, consult C. H. Hede, Concillegeschichte, Freiburg, 1873-90; for papal decrees see H. J. D. Denzinger, Kirchenkodex, Wurzburg, 1911; for canon law, A. Friedberg and A. L. Richter, Corpus juris canonici, Leipzig, 1876-90; G. van Mastricht, Histori juris canonici, Haarlem, 1871-90; and see the works of Canonists of the Church of England, new ed., Oxford, 1850-51; Z. B. van Espen, Jus ecclesiasticum universum, Cologne, 1772; for general treatment of the subject, J. Bingham, Antiquities of the Christian Church, London, 1840, bks. 4, 5, 6, 22; H. Hammond, On Divorces, do. 1074; J. Cosin, Works, Oxford, 1841-58, pr. ; H. C. Lea, History of Sacred Total Church, London, 1807; H. D. Evans, Christian Doctrine of Marriage, New York, 1857; T. D. Woolsey, Diocese Legislation in the United States, do. 1882; O. D. Watkins, Holy Matrimony, London, 1895; J. Milton, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, published in convenient form with his other prose works, do. 1826; the works of E. Glasson (Le Mariage civil et le divorce dans l'antiquité et dans les principales législations modernes de l'Europe, Paris, 1830), G. Perrone (De matrimonio chrestiano, Lyons, 1840), and other Roman Catholic writers can be consulted in convenient form in J. P. Migne, Patrologia Graeca, Paris, 1840-44; and complete; 'Marriage,' 'Dive,' 'Sermone on the Mount," etc., in JDC, PPS, etc., in W. E. H. Lecky, Hist. of European Morals, London, 1890, and Liberty, do. 1890, io, the whole subject is discussed and much interesting information given, with references to the modern and the medieval periods.

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MARRIAGE (Egyptian).—Amid the abundance of documents from ancient Egypt there is singularly little to enlighten us on this subject. No representation of the ceremonial or festivities of marriage has been recognized among tomb or temple scenes; the scenes of the divine marriage of Ammon with the queen mother at Luxor and Deir el-Bahri can hardly be quoted for illustrating the human rite. Written contracts of marriage are first found in the XXVIIth dyn. (c. 600 B.C.), and first became common in the Ptolemaic period; an index of the multitude of relatives recorded in tombs and on steles, it is difficult to ascertain what degrees of consanguinity and how many wives were permitted or usual.

To secure hereditary rights in a community with matriarchal tendencies and where women held property, close endogamy might often be convenient. This would especially be the case with the Pharaohs, who claimed the distinction of divine descent, and whose acts which could hardly be allowed to their sub-
MARRIAGE (Greek).—I. General.—The Greeks, as in all other nations, founded marriage from religious or prudential 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 creditable housekeeper. This utilitarian motive lies at the root of that long succession of Socrates and Ischomachos on household management which, as reported by Xenophon, is our most illuminating evidence on Greek married life in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (cf. VII. 113). The purely physical significance of marriage in relation to the State itself found, doubtless, its strongest and most logical recognition in Sparta, where wives were taken simply to be reproductive [Aesch. Comp. Lyrae. eur. Xanaria, iv. 71], and their interchange for this object was both permitted and encouraged. Yet even in Athens, as a result of the development of city life, in which women could not take any direct part (cf. the oft-quoted words ascribed to Pomes Thersites in the Greek papyri of the Fayum and Asinouite home, but A. S. Hunt assures the present writer that there is similar evidence also from Oxyrhynchus). The divine example of Osiris and Isis may have made a maidenly or spiritual marriage. In the Homeric story of Sotthon Khamwese (Ptolemaic period), the ancient Pharaoh's argument about his son Neferto-keptah and his daughter Ahure appears to be that it would be impolitic, when there were only two children in the royal family, to seek the best of them by marrying them together. His preference, following a custom, would be to marry them to a son and a daughter of two of his generals in order to enlarge his family. At a banquet he questions two of the elder Ahure, and was won over by her wishes to the other plan; thereupon he commanded his chief steward to take the princess to her brother's house that same night with all necessary things; Pharaoh's whole household gave her presents, and Neferto-keptah made a 'good day' and entertained them all on the marriage eve. This is the only account that we possess of an Egyptian betrothal or marriage that is not of the fairy-tale order, and it is noticeable that there is mention made of the marriage being an affair within the family.

Marriage was no doubt entered on soon after puberty and the circumcision of the male, though evidence here is lacking. A marriage of the Levites can be inferred only from the fact that Levites were allowed to marry among themselves (Josh. xix. 41; see LAW (Egyptian)). TheTestData aten tined them all on the marriage eve. This is the only account that we possess of an Egyptian betrothal or marriage that is not of the fairy-tale order, and it is noticeable that there is mention made of the marriage being an affair within the family.

Although several wives may be recorded on a man's tomb, there are few clear cases of marriage one living at the same time except in the large families of royal wives and concubines (cf. Erman. p. 213). For all these questions see CIRCUMCISION (Egyptian), FAMtLY (Egyptian), CONCUBINAGE, vol. ii. p. 581, CHILDREN (Egyptian); also ANCESTRY (Egyptian), ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), vol. v. p. 481 f. § 6. Divorce is provided for in the late contracts mentioned above, sometimes on behalf of the man, sometimes of the woman, and writing of divorce as known (see LAW (Egyptian)). Of the treatment of widows nothing is known beyond that their defenceless state made them objects of help and pity to the just and charitable.


P. L. Griffith.
That cohabitation existed at Athens to a considerable extent cannot be doubted, according to the laws of free women and their non-kin from the rest of Greece. Lydus mentions a law which required the husband to shun with impunity any adultery caught [157.2] by his wife, or with his concubine, though the latter are less valuable than their free sisters. These passages must cover free foreign women, from which class, as well as from that of slaves and freedwomen, the marriage obligation is suspended, if he is clear. It is clear, however, from Is. ix. 39, that even the children of free Athenian women (παλλακτας, ιστη) also sometimes became ἀνδραγαθοι and were given in marriage. However, it may be doubted, whether this privilege was extended to slaves and freedwomen. In the Athenian polity (cf. Anon. Aristos. Clases, 41.1; Xench. Proem. Vind. 890; καθάρες καὶ ἀνδραγαθοὶ παρθέναι). The point lay in the fact that, in historical times, a wife brought a dowry with her, which sometimes had the effect of making her the dominant partner in the household.

2. Permissible marriages.—It was illegal for an Athenian citizen to marry a foreigner, the alien wife or husband being liable to be sold into slavery (Law in Dem. ix. 16, dating perhaps only from the time of Pericles (Plut. Per. 37), and revived in 403 B.C.). Such marriage, however, was legal if Athenian citizenship had been bestowed on the individual, of he or she belonged to a community to which the Athenian assembly had granted rights of intermarriage (ἐπικυριακαί); but, in spite of the law and its penalties, Athenians not infrequently did contract such marriages and smuggle their issue into their φιλαρία. Legally, the issue of such marriages were illegitimate (υδάμα), like the issue of ἄνδραγαθοι. 2

Forbidden degrees were few, the practical working of the laws of inheritance and adoption (γγυή) being to encourage marriage between near relatives, and even to enforce it. Marriage of consins was condemned (cf. Is. xiii. 74), and uncle was possible (cf. Lys. xxxii. 4; Is. iii. 74), 4 and even of aunt and nephew (case of Demosthenes, father of the orator, betrothing, on his death-bed his prospective widow to his nephew [Dem. xxvii. 6]). A man might marry his half-sister by the same father, but seemingly not by the same mother. 5

Recht hat die Polygamie gewiss nicht ausgeschlachtet, aber wahrscheinlich auch nicht ganz erließ ihn. Obwohl das Gesetz nicht das gleiche ist, war dies damals der Willkür der Bürger freier Raum gegeben. 6 The law of Charondas of Thurii, inflicting sentence on the adulterer, mentions the case of his children, a stepmother (Hep. xii. 12, 14), clearly implies universal monogamy (cf. Herod. p. 59).

3. Choice of wife.—In the selection of a partner neither bridegroom nor bride had much voice; the respective parents arranged the match—often with the aid of a match-maker (συμφωνικός). Moreover, the Athenian bridegroom had little opportunity of making his own selection, or even of seeing her, before marriage, unless she was a near relative, owing to the strict conventions under which Athenian women in general lived—more strict, apparently, than those which obtained in the rest of Greece? (see art. Family [Greek]).


Pollux, iii. 21: γυναικὸς μὴ ἐν γυναικὶ ἀντίστοιχο νηπίων τοῦ ἐν γυναικὶ τοῦ ζευκτοῦ μεταφράσας, οὗτος ἐν γυναῖκι μεταφράσῃ. 5


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The form γύργυρος is used by Iseos only in iii. 53: τὴν μαχαλάνην ἐν τῇ γυναικὶ τῆς γυναικὸς. Moreover he uses the form γυργύρος (and so Dem. xlv. 15; Plat. Laws, 774 E; Hyper. iii. (y. 16). But modern writers have in general agreed to use the form γυργύρος in reference to him, the form γυργύρος so signify 'pledge' or 'surety', which is, in fact, its ordinary significance. The verb γύργυρος is used of the worship of the woman, τὸ γύργυρον (παρεκτ. of the woman); but the last but one is common, is place being taken by periphrases with the noun γυργύρος or the adj. γυργύρος (Wyse, on Isaeus, iii. 48).
historical considerations. Primarily and originally, the ceremony of ἡγαμία was a literal putting of the woman by her νύφος into the hands of the ἱζων, the literal between the striking of the bargain and exercise of conjugal rights (γάμος) being filled by the leading home of the newly-purchased bride. This home-leading, being part of the entire transaction which was of a strikingly public character, came to possess over increasing social significance, while at the same time it was the moment at which religion intervened to invest the ceremonies with its own special solemnities, whether of a prophylactic or of a procreative nature, of a ceremonial, 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 (τέλος), covering the deportation of the bride from her parents' house into the dowry agriculture (νυνίας) which upon it was actually paid, or agreements entered into as to its future payment.  

It should be clear from the above that the use of the term ‘betrothal’ as of the Greek term γάμμαία is simply by way of analogy, and in default of a more appropriate word. For the essentials of a modern betrothal, namely (1) from and to the woman, and (2) that the act takes place between the two individuals who so declare their will and intention, is more than likely a degradation of the primitive element; namely, the formal validity of the compact preparatory to the surrender (νυνίας) of the woman, than the formal contract for subsequent nuptials, as decisive in regard to the offsprin of the offspring. It does not follow that wedding ceremonies and home-bringing of the bride had any legal significance, except as the natural and public consequences of the formal private contract; and, just because these were the natural and normally inevitable consequences, Athenian jury-courts, so far as our knowledge goes, were never called upon to decide at what precise moment that status of marriage became actual, or what was the precise juristic significance of the γάμος in which the suitor asserted the right bestowed upon him by virtue of the marriage contract (γάμμαία).

The question, therefore, which has been debated, as to whether γάμμαία was an act of betrothal or an acting preliminary to marriage, or was not rather the conclusion of the marriage itself—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

1 Cf. law quoted in Dem. xiv. 15; ἵνα ἐν γάμμαίᾳ ἐκείνον τῇ ἀδελφῇ τῇ γυναικί ἡμᾶς ἡ νυφὶ δεῖται καὶ πῶς πνεύς, and τοῖς οἴκοις εἶναι παῖδα γυναικεία.

2 Cf. Hyper. iii. (v.) (v): αὔριον μὲν ἂν ἐπιτρέψῃς τὸν γαμμαίαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ γυναικίνῳ καὶ τῷ παῖς τῷ πατρὶς παύειν, καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις εἶναι παῖδα γυναικεία.

3 Cf. Hyper. v. (v.): εὕρην ἂν δῆσαι τῷ σῶλω σετάς καὶ μὴ δέω νυφὶ δεῖται τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ πατρὶς ἐπιτρέψις γαμμαίαν τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ πατρὶς παύειν, καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις εἶναι παῖδα γυναικεία.

4 Herod. vi. 197: ἐν τῷ Ἀλκαμείστρος Μυκηναίοις εὐφυές παῖδα τὸν ἔργον ἀνεύοντος τοὺς, ἀνεύοντος τοὺς Αἰγαλεόπολις. Λασφανίου δὲ καὶ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ γα¬

5 Dem. xvi. 61: πορεύοντος τοὺς παραγόμενους, τῇ ἠγαμίᾳ καὶ καθά γνωρίσματος τῇ θαυμαστῇ τῇ γαμμαίᾳ τῷ, τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκούσα τῇ ἀκο"
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The procession accompanying the bride's ędźadę to her new home took place in the evening, by torchlight, the Hymnaios song being meanwhile sung to the piping of flutes (see the description of the scene on the Shield of Achilles in Il. xix., 491 f.). The bride was introduced to the bridegroom and showed him their house, dates, figs, and other sweetmeats (καραφισάματα).

1 In Sparta a survival of the primitive capture of the bride lay in the custom of the bridegroom taking his bride from her mother's arms with simulated violence (Plut. Lyce, 15; Dion. Hal. ii. 30). For other survivals see E. P. Nilsen, "Greek Customs in the House," in Rta. xiv. (1928) 383 E. Kessler, Platerata Lebens des Kyklopen, Berlin, 1910.

6. Bride-price.—In primitive times, according to Aristotle, men bought their wives (Vul. i. 8: 1285; cf. Plato, Laws, 81 D). The Epic contains frequent mention of the bride-price (έθορα), normally calculated in oxen, paid by the suitor to the bride's father. It must sometimes have happened that the bridegroom himself undertook the marriage, general system 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 land, contributed largely to establish the custom of dower in place of the bride-price. In historical times, at any rate, the bride-price has been wholly replaced by the dowry given to and with the girl by her parents.

Thus the name of transition stages. Of Andromache it is said that Hecuba took her from her husband's house and price until Il. xvi. 4723 4718. In this respect Andromache is unique. According to Homer, Agamemnon offers to let him have a daughter of his wife (Il. ix. 196) to give to a present with her (γίγνεται ἐν τῷ γάμματι). The distant past, to the present position of the female, it is meant, just as by Pindar and Euripides (έθορα) is used as equivalent to δούρα.

7. The dowry.—In historical times, in Athens, the marriage settlement or dowry (προμήκη, φεροῦ) was almost a criterion of honourable marriage as distinguished from concubinage; for the freedom of divorce was limited. The whole position of the husband wife was pre- ceedings (see West, I. 28: καὶ ἀρχηγὸς πόλις ἐλαχίστως ἡ γυναῖκα ἐν τῇ γυναικί, ἂν μὴ εἶναι ἐξερευνηθείσης ἐν αὐτῇ ἀλήθειαν, ἀληθεία, ἀληθεία).

1 a) Followed exclaims which the technical and fixed phrase was γαμεῖται ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ δύο ἔργων θεών (cf. Oxyr. xvi. 15; 15). This has been variously interpreted by both ancient and moderns as an introduction or enrolment of the wife among the members of her husband's φίλοις, or a homoeolysis, or donation (see West, I. 28: καὶ ἀρχηγὸς πόλις ἐλαχίστως ἡ γυναῖκα ἐν τῇ γυναικί, ἂν μὴ εἶναι ἐξερευνηθείσης ἐν αὐτῇ ἀλήθειαν, ἀληθεία, ἀληθεία).

6 A law of Solon fixed the size of dowries at Athens; but this, if ever enforced, was certainly obsolete in the 5th century B.C., and was, in fact, virtually abrogated by the law fixing the minimum amount which could be settled by four witnesses (Hdt. ii. 24). The law which equally passed as Solonian (Dem. xlvii. 57). Hippocrates, the richest Athenian of his time, gave his daughter ten talents on her marriage with Alcibiades (Plut. Alc. 5). The state of Demosthenes the orator, with a property estimated at ten talents (Dem. xlvii. 57). The orator contains mention of dowries ranging from ten mites to more than 100 mites. Athenian mortgage-pilars, set upon property pledged as security for the repayment of dowries, show sums ranging from 300 to 4000 drachmae (600 drachmae, or 60 mites = 1 talent), but it is not clear, under the circumstances, that these sums constitute a dowry. The register from Myconos (Spart. k. 2) shows amounts varying between 200 drachmae and 1 talent. At Athens, the wife of the rich banker Pasco received three talents (Dem. xiv. 28, 35: 

6 A father might settle a dowry on his daughter by will (Lyse, xxi. 6), but was not obliged to make this provision; failing which, a daughter had no right to claim a share from the estate of her deceased brother. The dowry was more liberal, giving daughters a legal claim to 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. Ephorus, as quoted by Strabo, p. 497 s. the 200 talents 200 talents 200 talents, attributed by the Gortynian rule to Crete generally, and may be correct in so doing.

6 The nearest relative of a poor ἐκνόμος or ἐπίτοκος was under legal obligation either to marry her himself or to portion her on a scale fixed by law (Lys. i. 39; law in Dem. xlvii. 57). Contempt of the law was possibly construed as ἐκνόμος ἐκνόμος, involving partial drain).

6 Hence Euripides received, but gives service in lieu of bride-price.

3 In his note on the passage prefers to see it in an example of an intermediate stage, in which the έθορα are given to the parents, not to the bride. Hence is explained the term used in Il. xviii. 593, ἐπείδη δέ μοι καταλήγα το έθορα, 1 realising a high price in oxen (see James, Homer, the Greek Epic, Oxford, 1911, p. 135 f.). In Il. xxxii. 13, there is a talk of getting the price of a 'bad bargain' refunded. In Il. xiii. 492, the name έθορα is used by a suitor, with a gift in lieu of bride-price.

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MARRIAGE (Greek)

Under the Gortynian Code, if the wife died before her husband, having had no children, her next-of-kin was entitled to receive her dowry, rights and land and hand of the work of her hands; but, if the widower was an extravagant dowry, she had the management and use of his dead wife's property until he died or remarried, in which case it went to her children.

8. Dissolution of marriage.—Dissolution of marriage in Athens was easily effected. The husband's power of repudiation was unfeathered 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 (Lys. xiv. 28).

When the wife sought a separation, she must lodge with the Archon τὸ τῆς ἀπορίσκου γράμμα (Plut. Afr. 8; Andoc. iv. 14: ἐσποίκες, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸν ἀνεφά στάτα τῆς σποίκης); 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 offence being visited with ἁτίμα (Dem. ix. 87). On the other hand, it is certain that adultery of the husband gave the wife no legal right of dissolution, and 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 caprices, and in many instances 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 by an agreement in writing that another party was to be substituted. This Pericles so parted from his wife with her consent, to take Aspasia (Plut. Per. 24).

Again, the operation of the laws respecting heir-esses (ἐρήμης) often, according to Is. iii. 64, severed husband and wife (see INHERITANCE [Greek], vol. vii. p. 304). The latter occasion of dissolution of marriage differs from the first-mentioned in that it came about as the result of an application to a court of law by the next-of-kin as claimant (ἐρήμης). In all other cases there is no sufficient evidence that any public legal procedure was in use, for even the wife's application to the Archon does not seem to have been more than an application or formal notice to him in ἑτερέτοις. It is doubtful whether the additional and ὑπήκοους, which are said to have been available for husband and wife respectively, as if a sort of suit for restitution of conjugal rights, are not mere figments.

The Code of Gortyn shows that there, as at Athens, the wife's dowry was not merged in the family estate, and it was forbidden to the husband to sell or mortgage her property; for in case of dissolution of marriage the wife returned to her own family, taking with her dowry, together with half the increase thereof, and half the fruits of her own labour, as well as five statutes if the husband was to blame for the separation. On the other hand, the interests of the husband's family were fully protected by the provision that he might not make any larger donation than 100 statutes to his wife, nor make her a gift of her own property—her dowry—in any other way, for this would be in the same case both, namely, to prevent absorption of the husband's estate by the wife, for all such gifts belonged to the husband, not being given absolutely. If her husband was induced to make gifts and if she chose to remarque, her own property out of his estate into that of her own husband; the existence of now was only so far material that, if there were children, she was limited to taking her dowry and such donation as her husband might have made her. It was only of concern in the legal limit adherent, and in the presence of three adult male witnesses. If there were no children, she might take, in addition to her dowry, half the fruits of her labour, and half the produce in the house—balance going to her dead husband's heir-at-law. If she did not wish to remarque, her property remained in her own hands until she died, and then it was divided among her children; she enjoyed, therefore, more an independent position than the Athenian woman, whose property, in similar circumstances, passed into the hands of the eldest son as soon as he came of age.

1 For comparison of the Gortynian regulations with the later regulations in the East (Per. et turgiensesummat, which men heute fairly as ἀναλογίας Rechtsbuch difficult, p. 240) seems moment, 2300. 2 Athenian sentiment on this matter was very far removed from the position of Atri. (6; 1. 1316: ἀπορίσκου ὁ ἄλλος ἀπορίσκου ἄλλος ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπορίσκου γραμμάτου; cf. Pol. iv. (vii) 16 = 1325): Plato, Lys. 818 E. "Thus the Ehe dem Maure keine Treuepflicht unterliegen, gehört zu den Grundmoralen der anden. Einige bezeichnen unsere Aussagen und Rechtsrichtung", (Hrom, p. 29).

3 According to Herod. v. 39, at Sparta heronness was good ground for divorce, at any rate for the royal house; cf. t. 61.

4 Other examples: Dem. xxxvi. 251: Is. ii. 69, 6: καταφύγα ἡ ὁμογενία καὶ ἡ ἀμφικολοια ἐν χρυσοῖς καὶ ἐν φόρου παρακεντητικοῖς ἐπιτάξιον ἐν χρυσοῖς λαλεῖ. Is. iii. 64: λαλεῖ. Is. vi. 41: Θουρία, according to Dio. xii. 18, freedom of divorce was law forbidding the person to whom the divorce was due to marry another person than the person he divorced.

5 The ἀμφικολοίνας ἢ ἀπορίσκουs, brought by the woman's espousal for the restitution of her dowry or other personal goods, protected the woman's interests in all respects. From this it follows that a woman who married without a dowry was in practically the same position as if she married with a dowry, as protection whatever against a husband's caprice short of actual violence to her person. 3
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 matter of course, marry again in accordance with the wishes of her dead husband or those of her kinsmen (I. vili. 8). If there were children, she might remain in her husband’s house, where she passed under the authority of her children’s guardian. There was a general rule underlying that of her eldest son when he came of age—her dowry became the property of her children, subject to her right to support (Dem. xiii. 27, xiii. 29). She might, however, return with her dowry to her father’s house, if given again in marriage (Dem. x. 6 f.). The same option was open to her if, on her husband’s death, she declared herself pregnant (Dem. xiii. 75), in which case it was the Archon’s duty to protect her interests (Arist. Ath. Pol. 56, 7). It is clear that alone the existence of the dowry still secured on mortgage put the final decision completely into the hands of the widow and her kinsmen.

10. Marriage law in the papyri.—In Egypt, under the Ptolemies, Hellenic legal ideas and principles came in contact with those of another, in some respects more highly developed, type; later, both were influenced by the legal conceptions and practices of the Romans. In the Papyri, we are therefore in a position to distinguish between the communal marriage, in which the parties are Egyptians, the marriage regulations concerning which are partly derived from the older Greek law and partly developed under the influence of native models.

The technical term for marriage in the Papyri is ὕμνος or συνωμοσία. Dissolution of marriage (and probably therefore marriage itself) was no longer a purely private act, but required the lodging of an ἀναβάτης before an official (cf. what was required of the women in Athens, Dem. xxx. 17, 78; Is. iii. 75; ἡθος ἐνδυμάτων Σύρων διετήσσε τὴν συνωμοσίαν τοῦ ἰδού αὐτῶν, as well as the intervention of ὁρίσθημα).2 The precise relation between the religious ceremony thus imported into the transaction and the civil element represented by the ἀναβάτης and the marriage contract itself is by no means clear as yet.

The exact marriage-contents exhibit, when taken together, the following elements. (1) Statement of the giving or receiving of the woman in marriage; e.g., Mitter-Wüllen, Grundzüge, p. 227, n. 252: ηθος ἐνδυμάτων Σύρων τοιαύτα γυναῖκα πατο τα ἱερά, as in the older Greek law (cf. Is. ix. 17; ἡ Σύρος τοιαύτη γυναῖκα τοιαύτη τὸ θεότητος τῶν).3 (2) Acknowledgment of receipt of the ᾿φρον by the woman. (3) Mutual marital obligations; the husband was bound to support the wife and to treat her properly (μὴ δύσεις καὶ μὴ κακαίεις), and engaged not to repudiate her (μὴ αἰσθανόμενος ἢν βαθύνσῃς), or to be unfaithful (νομίζων ὅτι γόης γενέσθαι), of their mutual agreement (κατακαίεις τῶν ἅλλων ἀνδρῶν χωρίς τινά).4 (4) The sanction of the mutual obligations: the husband guilty of breach of his promises must repay forthwith (ἀποτρέποι) the dowry with addition of half its amount (τὸν ἵμαρτον ἵμαρτον); the wife so guilty lost her dowry entirely. Apparently the ordinary courts settled disputes so arbitarily. (5) Divorce on the man’s side (διαφυγή) was tantamount to breach of his promise (μὴ αἰσθανόμενος), and rendered him liable to the foresaid penalty; separation on the woman’s part (παρακήμα) was not regarded as breach of promise, but permission was made for repayment of the dowry within a stated time. That is to say, the husband had entirely lost that part of the dowry given him, under condition of simply refunding the dowry, which belonged to him under the older Hellenic law. On the other hand, the dowry retained here also the ownership importance which it had in Hellenic law.5 Here also it was, if not a deducible sum of money, valued and expressed as

1. For these see W. Otto, Platerat und Tempel im heilandesländischen Apotheese, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1909, i. 163, f. 294f.

2. As cited in Form. Ges. 5, § 69 (Geber zuvörn Σύρων... γυναῖκας γυναικαί), in which the woman, of Macedonian origin, gives herself away in marriage, but by a survival of native habits, in this respect, therefore, must have resembled that of the Lydians, of whom Herodotus remarks that the women give themselves in marriage (i. 93; ἡθος αὐτῆς καὶ αὐτῶν γυναίκων... besides collecting their own dowries αὐτών γυναικεῖα). Witten-Wüllen, i. 219f. · Im Gerippe dieser Urkunden bildet die ᾿φρον das Rückgrat, an welches alle anderen Bestimmungen sich anlehnen.

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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 parts of the character of women. A wife completes a husband and is half of his self, we are told (Bhāratayatka Upaniṣad, i. iv. 17; Śatapatra Brāhmaṇa, v. ii. 1. 10), and her good qualities are frequently mentioned. On the other hand, the Mātrāyānī Sāhītī (i. x. 11, iii. vi. 3) describes a woman as untruth and as connected with misfortune, and classifies her with dice and drink as one of the three chief evils. Elsewhere (Taittirīya Sāhītī, vii. 12) a good woman is ranked below even a bad man, and the Kṛṣṇakṛṣṇa Sāhītī (xxxi. 1) alludes sarcastically to her ability to obtain things from her husband by cajolery at night.

The most important function of a wife was doubtless that of bringing into the world a son in order to perform the propitiatory 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 (avārda) was regarded as the greatest of evils. On the other hand, the birth of a daughter was regarded as a misfortune; the Atarcaṇa Brāhmaṇa (vii. 15) contrasts a daughter as misery (kṛṣṇa) with a son as a light in the highest heaven. But the women were widely held to be ritually polluted (atpah) until the father or brother, to the practised infanticide 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 religious ritual was narrowed, when the priests, there is evidence that women took part in the speculative activity which manifested itself in the 6th cent. B.C. in the Upānīṣads. We learn there not only of several women teachers, who may or may not have been married, but also of one of the two wives of the great sage Yājñavalkya, who shared her husband's intellectual activities.

In the Gṛhasthās and Dharmaśāstras, which mark the end of the Vedic period proper, and which may be held to represent the views of the period from the 4th cent. B.C. onwards, in the epics (c. 200) B.C.—A.D. 200, in the Arthādīśṭra, and in the Kāvyaśāstra we find in full force the tendencies which reveal themselves in the later classical literature and which can be observed in this 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, whether by capture or to form love matches, while the Kāvyaśāstra permits love matches generally.

Against these special cases must be set the general rule, which first appears as a counsel of perfection in the Māyāra (i. vi. 8) and Gobhiṣa Gṛhasthā (iii. iv. 6), but which by the time of the later Saṁhitās—i.e., not later probably than the beginning of the Christian era—has won full acceptance, viz., that it was sinful on the part of a father to allow his daughter to attain wedlock without being married, and the girl herself fell to the condition of a Sūdra (esvālī), 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 Saṁhitā of Manu (ix. 94) fixes the ages of husband and wife at 30 and 12 or 24 and 8 respectively; the later work of Bhāratatka (ZDMG xlv. [1892] 416 f.) and the didactic portion of the Mahābāhaṛata (xiil. xiv. 19) gives 20 and 15 and 14 and 12 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 as its part the taking of the bride to her new home, whenever the name of marriage (vivāha) was derived, was divided into two parts; the actual ceremony took place shortly after the betrothal (pratītpāna), but the taking of the bride to her husband's home was delayed until after puberty. The unmarried daughter (kuśumā) living at home was distinguished from the married daughter (sonāsā or savasāsā), with whose connexion with her parents was still recognized to the extent that, contrary to the rule that no mourning was observed for a married daughter, a brief period of mourning was prescribed in the event of her death before her departure from her old home. The early prevalence of the custom is also confirmed by the Greek authorities,1 and was noted by Alfrīni in the 11th cent. A.D.2 At the present day, 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 better side of such marriages is put before us in the Hārīta Sūrti (iii. 3). The wife is to devote her whole thought to her husband and his family, to perform the domestic duties inflicted on her by her husband and sons, wash the utensils, stew cow-dung on the floor, make the domestic offerings, embrace her husband's feet before going to rest, in the hot sea-on fan him, support his head when he is weary, and so forth. On the other hand, to her falls the place of honour in the household, and she is undisputed mistress of her daughters and any other women living under her husband's roof. The description in the Sūrti is confirmed by the literature and by the practice of the present day. On the other hand, it must be noted that the intellectual achievements of women in India since the rule of early marriage became effective have not been in accord with the normal development which might have been expected from the fact of society debased in the Upānīṣads, 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 praction in the development of society.

1 Hopkins, J. S., xii. [1889] 512.
2 India, vi. R. N. Beam, London, 1858, ii. 151.

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2 India, vi. R. N. Beam, London, 1858, ii. 151.
MARRIAGE (Hindu)

important and widespread were the solemn handings over of the maiden by her father (kanyadana), the joining of the right hands of the bride and bridegroom (pāpygadhana), the recitation of Vedic formulae, including a speech by the bridegroom to the bride: and the giving of the bride's portion (bridegroom's) in the fire and the thirdfold circumambulation of the fire, the seven steps taken together by the wedded pair, and, finally, the taking away of the bride to her new home by the bridegroom. There is evidence from the literature that these customs formed the kernel of the normal marriage-ceremonial throughout the Middle Ages, and much of the ritual is still observed at the present day. In the Sūtric literature eight forms of marriage are recognized, and described, but with many differences in detail. In the case of Brāhmans (iii. 24) recognizes as approved four forms: the brāhma, āśva, ārāya, and prajāpattyā. The characteristics of these forms are that in the first the father of the girl gives 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 father or the mother of the girl gives her to a priest, and in the fourth the initiative in proposing the marriage comes from the girl herself. These four 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 bride was engaged for the purpose of being given away (śilka) or being to be given away, but was to be given to the daughter by her father as a mark of honour. It is perfectly clear, however, that the original sense of the custom was a purchase, and this fact is borne out by references in the Rigveda to the bride being purchased as a present (vi. 16) and in Śāṅkhāyana (x. 14) to the practice of giving the father-in-law a hundred oxen with a waggon, and by the recognition in the Gṛhya-sūtras of the threefold marriage of the Kāthaka and the Mānavas (i. vi. 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 Mābhodhāraṇa (x. exiii. 96) we are told that Parashu Ráma offers his daughter to a suitable husband in gold and horses, elephants, ornaments, etc., for the hand of his sister, and that the purchase of the maiden was the family practice of the king. Still more was the custom prevalent among the lower classes of Hindu society. In the form that survives the Vaiyāyas and the Śūdras the āśeva marriage, which was an open, out-and-out sale, though it now is disguised in toto, but facts have prevailed over the objections of the Brāhmans to the sale of children, and even at the present day marriage by purchase is common enough in Bombay, Madras, and the Panjâb, and is the normal form in Assam. In Bengal it is restricted to the lower classes of the population, but there the practice of the purchase of bridegrooms prevails instead, the practice of child-marriage having placed a high price on eligible husbands.

In addition to the āśeva form, the warrior class was allowed the rākṣasaṇa, the gandhâravasaṇa, and the pāṇḍâraṇa forms; the last is now confined to Manu along with the āśeva as altogether improper. The former type of marriage was marriage by capture in its simplest form, and its performance is related to that of the epic, though the rite of women being taken as slaves is elsewhere regarded 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 survivals in modern India, though it is found among some primitive hill tribes, where it is of independent origin. Some, indeed, of the details of the marriage-ritual given in the Gṛhyasūtras have been interpreted in this sense, but the interpretation is neither necessary nor probable. The gandhâravasaṇa, rite, which some authorities recognize as applicable to all classes, and which the Kāma-sūtra, instead of ascribing as the bringing about of the marriage by the wedded pair, on the ground that the observance of these formalities would compel the parents of the bride to recognize the validity of the marriage. The pāṇḍâraṇa, which is variously described, was marriage with a girl when she cried for her self; is not recognized as a legitimate form by some authorities, like Apastamba and Vasiṣṭha.

For the Vaiyāya and Śūdra forms of marriage recognized were the gandhâravasaṇa and the āśeva with, according to some authorities, the pāṇḍâraṇa. In modern times the forms of marriage recognized are, even for Vaiyāyas and Śūdras, either the āśeva or the brāhma, under which term is understood a form of marriage containing the essentials of the first four forms of marriage.

The Śāstra do not recognize a form of marriage which plays a great part in the epic—the saṃvāravasaṇa, or self-choice, a ceremony at which a princess chooses for herself a suitor at a great assembly held for the purpose. The choice is decided by a trial of strength on the part of the suitors, the victor being rewarded with the hand of the maiden, and, even when this formality was omitted, it is probable enough that the choice was only nominally offered to the princess, which was guided by the will of her father or brothers. The only saṃvāravasaṇa which the Śāstra mention is the right of a daughter in any class, if her father does not find her a husband, to choose for herself; in this case the daughter ceases to have any right to any ornaments received from her own family, while the husband need not pay any bride-price, and is permitted to steal her away.

Only the first four forms of marriage are at all religions in character; the marriage hymn of the Rigveda (x. 85), which serves to provide verses for the normal form of marriage, deals with marriage in general and the prototype of all marriage in the form that sometimes now is disguised in toto, with Śūrya, the bridegroom of the sun. This legend is certainly recondite in character, and it is legitimate to deduce from this fact, and from the fact that the Śāstra do not deal with the forms of marriage, that the religious ceremonial was not the essential or primitive part even of the higher forms of marriage.

3. Restrictions on marriage.—It is uncertain how far the modern rule of marriage, which permits alliance between members of the same caste only, was in vogue in the early Vedic period. When the distinction of castes (jīta) was only in process of evolution from the system of classes (varṇa). It is clear from the Brāhmaṇas that the primacy of descent was an important qualification for Brāhmaṇship, but cases are recorded (e.g., Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 19) that show that the son of a Brāhmaṇ and a Śūdra wife might yet be a Brāhmaṇ, and that Brāhmaṇs could marry the daughters of members of the warrior class. With this accords the evidence of the Gṛhyasūtras and Brāhmaṇasūtras, which recognize with a good deal of agreement the right of each class to marry women of the classes below them in the established order, Brāhmaṇ, Kṣatriya, Vaiyāya, and Śūdra, which differ seriously only on the validity of marriages with the Śūdra women. Arrian, probably on the authority of Megasthenes, records (Indica, xii. 8)
that marriages were not allowed between seven particular persons, or by any marriage caste which was certainly in existence by 300 B.C. The Buddhist texts yield the same result, but they recognize that the king might marry where he would and make his son by any wife his heir-apparent. Manus still maintain the fixed marriage castes, but the later Smritis tend to rule them out as objectionable. The modern rule is strict against mixed marriages, confining the possibility of marriage to the modern castes: but the date at which this practice finally prevailed is unknown; and as even late texts repeat the permission for such marriages sanctioned by the older authorities, and the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal still avail themselves of this now seemingly very valuable privilege.

Simultaneously with the growth of the prohibition of marriage within the caste were developed restrictions on marriage within the family. In one hymn in the Rigveda (x. 19) the marriage of brother and sister is expressly treated as improper, and there is no attempt by castes to use this as an innovation, as suggested by Weber. Other restrictions are alluded to, and the Sutapatha Brhadangya expressly refers (i. viii. 3. 6) to marriage within the third gotra, the former being the rule, according to the commentator, among the Kausyas, the latter among the Sanragas, while the Daksnitayas, 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 Ghyastas and the Dharmaastas in elicit agree in prescribing that marriage should not take place between a man and a woman of the same gotra. This rule is repeated by other authors, and the distinction between gotra and father’s birth gotra is made by Bhalana, and is the general rule at the present day throughout Hindustan, and is a growing influence among the court officials. The exceptions are found in S. India, where some tribes practise the opposite rule of endogamy.

In Rajputana, among the Rajputs who claim to be descendants of the old warrior class, exogamy is closely connected in their history with the practice of marriage by capture; but there is no sufficient evidence for the view that the development of the custom generally was connected with marriage by capture. Of much less importance are the restrictions arising from the 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 penance, and not a fatal bar to the validity of the marriage. The rule is, however, very old, being found in the Vayurveda (Maitrinya) Sambhita, i. 4. 9), and recognized throughout the later literature. In the south members of the castes adopt the practice of a mock marriage of the eldest brother with a branch of a tree in order to avoid the evil result of a breach of this rule.

The bride should be a virgin, and the importance of this rule lies in the fact that it renders the re-marriage of widows difficult. In the Rigveda (vi. xiii. 8) there is some indication that a woman might re-marry to the rule was respected and could not be found or heard of, and in the Atharvaveda (ix. v. 27 f.) mention is made of a spell to secure that a woman married twice may be united in the next world with her second, not her first, husband. The reference here may be to re-marriage in the case of an absent husband or one who had lost caste. The doctrine of Manus is that a woman should never be re-married, and that the marriage formulae are intended only for maidens; but he admits one exception in the case of a woman whose husband dies before the completion of the marriage. Other authorities permit re-marriage in the case where a husband has disappeared, is dead, has entered a monastic order, is impotent, or has been expelled from his caste; but the authorities differ widely as to the fourth and condition allowance which entitled a woman to re-marriage. The son of a widow who has re-married (purnambara) is ranked by Manus and other authorities only among the second six of generatic. The first birth is termed by Hindu law. But the dislike of re-marriage was one which developed gradually; the actual reproduction of such a son first occurs in Brahstapi (xxxv. 41), and the forbidding of the re-marriage of a widow occurs only in the Adi Brahmans and later works. The objections to such marriages in modern India are very strong among those castes which lay most stress on child-marriage, and, despite the legalizing of them by Act xv. of 1856, and efforts of social reformers, they are still disapproved by the higher classes.

In the case of a man, while impotence was recognized as a ground on which the wife might contract a new marriage, the marriage was not in itself null, and even mental derangement was not regarded as justifying re-marriage on the part of the wife.

4. Polygamy.—The practice of polygamy among the Vedic Indians is abundantly proved by direct references in the Rigveda and other texts, though in the main the practice ceases out of the gotra, a term of wide extension and indefinite sense, but covering all those of the same family name, is recorded by lilinariu, and is the general rule at the present day throughout Hindustan, and is a growing influence among the court officials. The mahasis seems to have been the wife proper, though the others were evidently mere concubines. In the Arthasastra, the Smritis, and the epics the rule is laid down that a man may have wives from his own caste and each of those below his, either including or excluding the Sdrda, and in such cases the wife of the same caste was the wife par excellence (dharmapati), with whom the husband performed his religious duties. The heroes and Brahmins 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 caste and, within the caste, 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 equivalent to the 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.
MARRIAGE (Hindu)

In addition to wives proper, the Sūtris recognize the existence of concubines (ūdāsi, bhūjājyā), who were distinguished from wives by not being married in due form, and who could neither be taken for their husband's heirs. They were, however, entitled to maintenance by his brothers as his heirs on his death, and intercourse with one of them was regarded as adultery. Similarly, at the present day the keeping of concubines by wealthy Hindus is recognized in a modified form.

The Sūtris show some preference throughout for monogamy. Apastamba (ii. xi. 12) expressly disapproves the re-marriage of a man who has a wife living, and other authorities expressly state that the remarriage of a wife in common—a fact which is elaborately explained and defended in the epic. This form of polygamy is recognized by Brhaspati (xxvii. 20) as practised in the south, and by Apastamba (ii. xvii. 2) as an authorized use. At the present day polyandry is still found among Brāhmans, Rājputs, and Sūdras alike in Kurnool, where children are shared by the brothers as by the Pândavas, 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 Játs of the Panjāb the wife of the eldest brother has to serve often as the wife of the younger brother also, and the practice is common in the case of the Hindūlāy tribes. The custom also prevails in the sottis among the Nairs of the Kanara country and the Todas of the Nilgiris. The modern evidence comes mainly from Tibetan and Dravidian tribes, and the practice is now observed on the same scale as was ever widely spread among tribes of Aryan culture.

6. Divorce.—The characteristic quality of a Hindu marriage was that it was a union for life; in striking contrast to the barbarous custom of divorce among Hindus which were seldom broken by divorce. In the Sūrti 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 (tyāgā), 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 pān, 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 could be expiated by severe penances. Any serious offence against a husband might, according to Yājñavalkya (i. 72), be a ground of divorce, and Nārada (xii. 92, 93) gives as offences justifying such treatment attempts to murder, wasting property, or the procuring of abortion. In modern Hindū law there are, however, fewer grounds on which divorce can be obtained, and it is rarely allowed except for adultery and, in modern Hindū law, for adultery alone. Divorce is very common among all Dravidian tribes, which also allow freely re-marriage of wives in the case of the disappearance, long-continued absence, infidelity, or loss of note in any cause of their husband's heir. They were, however, entitled to maintenance by his brothers as his heirs on his death, and intercourse with one of them was regarded as adultery. Similarly, at the present day the keeping of concubines by wealthy Hindus is recognized in a modified form.

7. Position of widows.—In the funeral rites of the Rigveda the wife of the dead man is represented (x. xviii. 74) as lying beside him on the pyre and as being summoned to leave the dead in order to be united with his brother, apparently as a bride. The passage clearly shows that the wife was not to be burned with the dead, but it unmitigably suggests the existence of an older custom to this effect, and the Atharvaveda (xviii. iii. 1) refers to this as the right order. It was evidently not approved by the Brāhmins of the Vedic age, for it is not mentioned in the sūtras, and appears first in the late Vāikīhavasā Gṛhyasūtra (vii. 2) and in interpolated passages of the Vāyu Sūtras (xxiv. 14, xx. 39). The later Sūtris approve it, but not without occasional dissent. In the epics it plays little part, though one of Pāṇḍu's wives insisted on being burned with her husband (Mahābhārata, i. cxxv. 31); but in the later romances and historical works it is often mentioned, and as early as A.D. 509-510 an inscription is found to celebrate a sotī. Forbidden by British India in 1829, it was observed in 1829 in the Panjāb at the death of Ranjit Singh, and in 1877 by the Maharaja of Nānīka. In the Vedic period, the nature of the rite is shown by the fact that often other attendants perished with the queen or wives when the dead man was a prince. Normally the wife was burned with the dead man; if he died away from the home she might be buried alone (anuvarama), 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 and religious considerations of religion in favour of burning.

In many cases death was doubtless regarded as preferable to the fate of a widow, whom the Sūrtis and modern usage, despite the efforts of reformers, condemn to a life of fasting, devotions to her dead husband, pilgrimages, and abstinence from any form of luxury, such as the use of a bed, ornaments, etc. If she had grown-up sons, she fell under their control; if not, under that of her husband's kin, who were bound to give her no indications that such an occasion was ever widely spread among tribes of Aryan culture.

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. This, the natural interpretation of the funeral hymn (x. xviii. 8; cf. also x. 2), is borne out by the fact that the modern usage in the Panjāb, which has preserved much of ancient practice, is for a man to marry his brother's widow, with the result that many men have two wives. In the sūtras, however, this practice is whittled down to the permission given to the brother of the dead or, if there is no brother, a near kinsman to beget a son with the widow in order to continue the race of the dead man. Such a son, when of age, would inherit his father's property, which, until then, would be managed by his mother or by his real father, to

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1. A. Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 58 (1868) 710, explains these passages quite differently; but his view does not appear correct.
3. Cf. Brhaspati, xxvii. 25, ii. 31; Arthāśāstra, iii. 49.
Marriage and morality. — Though fidelity on the part of both parties to a marriage was doubtless an ideal, there is abundant evidence throughout the Vedas 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 Śrauti literature and in modern usage adultery is regarded as a serious offence which, in certain cases, is punished by death. Some of the Vedic passages (Taittirīya Śraut Śāstra, vi. vi. 7; Mātrikāgīnyā Śraut Śāstra, iii. iv. 7) cited as showing tolerance of adultery are susceptible of other interpretations, but there remains the fact that in the Vāraṇāvigrahā is clearly intended to remove the ill-effects of adultery (Mātrikāgīnyā Śraut Śāstra, i. x. 11; Satapath Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2. 20), that the Bhādarvāyana Upaniṣad (vi. iv. 11) contains a passage advising the wife of a Brahman, and that the Bhādarvāyana Gṛhyasūtra (ii. 28) advises a husband how to proceed in the case of going on a journey if he desires his wife to have lovers in his absence. The romances and fable literature frequently refer to the infidelity of their authors, and the references to the lax morality of previous ages are made for the purpose of proving that the recognition of illegitimate sons then accorded was anticipated at the time of the texts.

9. Marriage and property. — The widow of the dead man, according to the Nīrūta (iii. 4) and Bārhyāya (i. 1. 46), was denied the power of becoming an heiress. Gauntam (xxxvi. 21) mentions her in the list of heirs, but points out the alternative of the adoption of the practice of nīyoga for providing the son whose absence alone could the mother be heir. In Viṣṇu (xvi. 4) and Yājñavalkya (ii. 133) is found the expression of the widow as the next heir in the absence of male issue. But the extent of the right thus obtained is expressly limited by the texts: the widow could not give away, or mortgage, or sell the property thus inherited; she held it for her enjoyment for life, subject to continued ownership of her mother and her second marriage, but she held it under the control of her husband's kindred and with the limitation that she should return to them on her death. 2 If there were several widows, the chief wife seems to have been entitled alone to succeed as heir, but on her1

1. Hayne, Hindu Law and Usage, i. 69.
2. Yājñavalkya, xvi. 65 ff.; Bṛhadāraṇyaka, xiv. 40 ff.
MARRIAGE (Iranian).—1. Zoroastrian. According to the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism, marriage is governed by the Zend Avesta (ed. T. Macan, Calcutta, 1859, pp. 1579 et seq.), where Bahram Gur takes his Indian wife to the fire temple for that purpose. The religious portion of the wedding ceremony is 'according to the law and custom of the Mazdayasian religion.'

According to the Avesta, both manhood and womanhood were attained at the age of 15 (Ys. xix. 15; ed. Skr. 19). In the Avesta we find maidens paying for suitable husbands (Ys. ix. 23; Yt. v. 87), it would appear that child-marriage was not practised. The ritual recited at the betrothal ceremony declares that the ceremony is 'according to the law and custom of the Mazdayasian religion.'

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 portion comes under this category. At the very beginning of the Ahrvazd, or blessing known as the Pāwargān-nameh, which is recited at the wedding ceremony, the reciting priest declares that the ceremony is 'according to the law and custom of the Mazdayasian religion.'

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.

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 or fourteenth twelfth (Bāhrām) day of the Parsi month. At times, especially in Mofussil (provincial) towns, the parties consult Hindu astrologers, who name one or more auspicious days for the betrothal, much as in the West, 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-nāmēbād-Āhrvāzād, and attested in the Sāh-nāmēh (Tr. A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1905, ii. 177 ff., ii. 125, 88-98) by the marriages of the daughters of Farrokhzad with the daughters of the king of Yemen, of Rustam with Tahmīnāh, and of Kāsh with Sūthāhāh. Until recently professional match-makers were not unknown, and they still exercise a certain amount of activity.

On the day of betrothal the women of the groom's family visit the house of the bride and present silver coins to her, and the groom receives a similar present from the women of the bride's family. The older term for this ceremony, now called was nāmeh, 'to name' (Pers. nāmeh shudan), since after the ceremony the bride receives in religious recitals of prayers for her the name of the groom, even though, by some mishaps, marriage does not take place. An unbetrothed girl was said to be 'unnamed' (nā kārdāh nāmā). Betrothal is regarded as a solemn part of the marriage ceremony, the mābarān-mār, or 'pledge of the magnitude of a man' (Ynd. xix. 15; 12), being cast into the Rivers. At the present time the priests do not take an active part in the betrothal, except in Mofussil towns, where two priests—one for each family—formally ask the parents through the priest and parson to formally give the bride and groom to each other. The priests took part in the nāmāzān (betrothal) at Surat in the middle of the 18th cent. (Anquetil du Perron, Zend-Avesta, Paris, 1771, ii. 537.), 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 Dīvō, when a lamp (dirām) is lit in the house and presents are given to the women of the two families, with squares and gifts. This day is regarded as more important than the betrothal proper, because on it the dress and wedding rings are usually presented. The Dīvō is followed by the Ādamān, when each of the bride's father is presented to the bride'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 auspicious.

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.

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 (kuskun). 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, fruit-fructifying sun, whereas the round kuskun 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 sent thence in the company of the women in the compound. At the door, the side posts of which—like those of the groom's house—are

1. Geiger, Ostindia. Kultur, p. 241, says this in passing an allusion to the custom of asking the hand of the bride from her parent or guardian (cf. also Ynd. xx. 9). 2. A considerable time might elapse between betrothal and marriage (Ynd. xv. 9; cf. Geiger, p. 243).
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 khukhun is made on his forehead, and rice is made to adhere to it, and is also thrown over him.

During the marriage ceremony the officiating priest again sprinkles rice over the bride and groom, and before the recital of the marriage prayer the pair throw a handful of rice on each other, some mothers making the couple eat a few grains of rice thus thrown.

Environ a coco-nut, and a little tray of water are now passed three times round the groom's head and east 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 preserves for them the 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-wear has caused this to survive only in washing the tip of the boots.

After the groom had 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 enters her husband's house. Having entered the house, the groom awaits the bride, who sits on his left, the chairs being placed in the centre of the apartment. On stands beside the chairs are trays of rice to be thrown over the pair, and lighted candles, with a gold coin beside the bride's hand in a small vessel of ghā and molasses (typifying gentleness and sweetness); a servant stands beside the pair, holding a burning censor in one hand and a little frankincense in the other. Beside each of the contracting parties stands a witness, usually the nearest kin, and generally married persons.

The following requisites are necessary for a regular marriage: (1) the marriage must be 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 (hothevarī, 'hand-fastening') and a symbolic knot also plays a prominent part in the ceremony; (4) the actual marriage ceremony is followed by a benediction accompanied by sprinkling with rice, etc.

Before being seated side by side, the bride and groom are made to sit regarding each other, separated by a piece of cloth as a curtain. The senior officiating priest now joins the right hands of the pair, and, with the recital of the Yatūh ahū vaerī, 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 Yatūh ahū vaerī the hothevarī is then performed by fastening the right hands with twists of raw yarn, which is passed round the hands seven times, then seven times round the bridal pair, and, finally, an equal number of times round the knot in the encircling cloth. The fee for this ceremony is the perquisite of the family priests, even 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,' and during 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 follows. Two priests stand before the pair, and of them, the priest on the left of the bride's party prays that Ahura Mazda may grant them 'progeny of sons and grandsons, abundant means, strong friendship, bodily strength, long life, and an existence of 150 years.' He then asks the witness who stands beside the groom whether, on behalf of the bridegroom's family, he consents to the marriage 'in accordance with the rites and rules of the Mazdaians, promising to pay her [the bride] 2000 dirhams of gold, and 2 dinars of real gold of Nishāpūr coinage.' A similar question is asked of the witness for the bride's family, and then of the contracting parties, the questions being repeated thrice. Next follows the recital, by both the officiating priests of the Pāvān-dāmna or Aitrāvid (tr. F. Spiegel, Avesta übersetzt, Leipzig, 1852-63, iii. 232-234, and, in great part, by the present writer, in Dastbā W. Kranji Karaka, Hitft. of the Hindu Parsis of Parseh). The admonitions in the Aitrāvid 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 yazatas (angels) who give their names to the thirty days of the month. Prayer is also made for other blessings, and that the bride and groom may be granted the virtues and qualities of the great heroes of ancient Iran, that they may live long, and have many children, etc. A prayer is then added in Sanskrit—perhaps 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 ceremony is followed by another group of benedictions in Pāzand, this group being called the Tan darasū (ed. E. K. Anti, Pāzand Texts, Bombay, 1909, p. 100 f., tr. Spiegel, op. cit. iii.). The marriage ceremony is repeated at midnight. From Anquetil du Plessis (i., p. i. 218, 219, 221, 238), this appears to be a reminiscence of the earlier Persian custom when, in Kirmān, the marriage ceremony was performed at midnight. This custom is not, however, universal.

A number of minor usages, not regarded in any way as part of the solemn rite, are also observed, especially by women, in the Mofussil towns. The first of these, which, like the others of this class, is now observed more as a joke, is chhedā chedi, in which the nearest friend of the bridegroom's mother ties the skirt of the āndī, or flowing dress, of the groom to that of the sārī of the bride; thus united, the pair go to the bridegroom's house. This is followed by foot-washing (cf. above), after which comes the kōsi kāno, each other, and an equal number of times round the bride and groom, the rice from the same dish, each giving the other to eat. Another custom, now almost obsolete, is making the bride and groom play ekt beki ('odd or even'). Each takes several handfuls in the right hand and the other whether the number is odd (ēki) or even (bēki); if the opposite party gives the number rightly, he or she is said to win. The underling principle is probably similar to that of the rivalry of bride and groom to be the first to cast rice on the other, as already noted.

Marriage songs are sung frequently through the nuptial ceremony; and the whole concludes with a banquet, at which courses of fish (a symbol of good omen) and sweetmeats are essential, but meat is forbidden, either out of deference to Hindu scruples or from motives of economy.

Jivaji Jamshedji Modi.

2. Next-of-kin marriage.—A problem of peculiar delicacy in ceremonial matters in the Hindu marriage is the question of the xavótt vaddhat (Pahlavi xatādakā), usually translated 'next-of-kin marriage.' The modern Parsis maintain that this is a marriage

The etymology of the word is apparently xatādā, 'belonging to the same community or șāla,' and vaddhat, 'marriage' (C. Bartholomae, Altiran, Wörterb., Strassburg, 1894, col. 1400). For a less plausible etymology, based on native tradition (Jahantab, iii. 82, West, SBE, xvin. 4400), see Burmsateter, Zend-Avesta, i. 126 ff.
between first cousins, and such is certainly its present connotation. The Greek and Latin writers, on the other hand, regarded *zvektodada* as referring to marriages of parents with children and of uterine brothers and sisters; and in this view the majority of non-Parsi scholars of the present day.

The Avesta itself offers no data for the solution of the problem, and mentions *zvektodada* only in five passages—all late.

Cassius Dio (5.47.7) says that Hasdeka's wife Hystapa was also his sister, on the basis of *Ys*., xx. 341, which cannot be deemed cogent (see Moir, *Zeitschr. f. d. Pahlav.,* 209 f.), in spite of the assertion of the late Pahlavi Fathkur-Zaridin, 48. The Pahlavi commentators on *Ys.* 4.4 clearly see an allusion to *zvektodada* between father and daughter, but the text does not sustain his exegesis.1

The view of the Greek and Latin writers is unambiguous as regards the nature of *zvektodada.* That the royal house should practise the marriage of parent and children, or of brothers and sisters, is not inexplicable. It probably rests, at least in historic times, upon a desire to keep the royal blood absolutely pure, and finds a conspicuous illustration in the history of Egyptian dynasties.

Thus Cambyses married his sister, and, though Herodotus says (iii. 31) that before this ruler's time the Persians were not wont to cohabit with their sisters, we are told that the notorious Parysatis urged her son Artaxerxes Longimanus to wed his sister Atossa (Plut. *Artoc.* 23; cf. Enseb. *Prop. Evang.* vi. 275 C) for a less certain instance see Ctesias, *Perc.* 29, to whom her own brother Daric later offered marriage (Plut. *Artoc.* 26). The Bactrian satrap Sisymithres married his mother (Quintus Curtius, viii. 19), and Teritarchus his sister (Ctesias, *Pers.* 54). The only case alleged in the Sasanian period was the marriage of Kayast with his daughter Samylke (Agathias, ii. 22). The custom is reported, however, not only of the royal family, but also of the Persians generally. Marital relations with daughter, or sister, are described to them by Diogenes Laertius (Pros. iv. 7, ix. 53), Strabo (p. 755), Plutarch (of Fort. *Alex.* i. 5), Antisthenes (quoted by Athenaeus, v. 63), Jerome (in *Jovin.* ii. 7), Clemens Alexandrinus (*Prol.* i. 7), and Maimonides (Galde, 31). Philo states (De leg. ii. 266) that childless women from union of mother and son were deemed particularly well-born, and Catullus says (lxxxiii. 3f.) that 'magus ex matre et gnato signum auter.'

This last quotation is of considerable significance in determining the real origin of a custom which excited horror among the classical authors. Xanthus Luys, as cited by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Stron.* iii. 5, ad fin.), had, centuries before, recorded such marriages as peculiarly Magian, and Strabo (p. 868) declares in his *Geography* there to be an ancient usage (cf. also Sotion, cited by Diog. Laer. *Prot.* 7). In the Sasanian period the Christian martyr Mhrangmusaphad, before his conversion, married his sister (G. Hoffmann, *Auszuge aus syr. Akten,* p. 313), and, according to the latter scholar, dated the first revision of the Ormuzdec in the 6th cent. to the marriage of *Zed-Avesta* (p. 94, n. 12, misunderstands the Pahlavi construction of this passage as containing *zvektodada* for the correct rendering see *M. Pahl.* 376 f.)

1 See L. H. Mills, *Gathas,* Oxford, 1892-1913, p. 234 f.; West, *SEB* xviii. 3921. The latter scholar dates the final revision of the Ormuzdec in the 6th cent. in *Uraghios* and *Zend-Avesta,* i. 344, n. 12, misunderstands the Pahlavi construction of this passage as containing *zvektodada* for the correct rendering see *M. Pahl.* 376 f.


two centuries later, the reformer of Magianism, Bah Afrid, forbade his followers to marry their mothers, sisters, daughters, or nieces (al-Buruni, *Chronology of Anc. Nations,* tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 184; al-Shahramani, *Alg. pp.* x.). The yaghlshahen, tr. T. Haarbarcker, Halle, 1850-51, i. 284; cf. also above, p. 401 f.). Yet there was a tradition, reported by Mas'udi (*Pv.* d'or, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-77, ii. 155), that Parvian (the *Zerd. Avesta*) begot a daughter by his granddaughter, another by his great-granddaughter, and so to the seventh generation (cf. also Justi, *Iran. Zivilges.,* Marburg, 1855, p. 182 f.).

In the Pahlavi texts allusions to *zvektodada* 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 Yz.* ii. 57, 61); it expiates mortal sin and forms the one inseparable barrier to the attacks of Aeshm, the incarnation of Fury (*Siyeg* d'si-yevat, viii. 18, xviii. 3 f.) it is especially obnoxious to demons, whose power it impairs (Dinkart, i. 82); it is the second of the seven good works of religion, and it is counted the most important of the thirty-heinous sins, and it is the ninth of the thirty-three ways of gaining heaven (*Diniz* *Mag. in.* iv. 4, xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 12). It is even said to have been prescribed by Zarathushtra as the eighth of his ten admeanth orders (Dinkart, i. 105; cf. Selection of Zat-Spam, xxiii. 13), and to arrange it is a work of merit (*Diztan d' Dink*, lxxix. 19). In a word, from it is to arise complete progress in the world, even unto the time of the renovation of the universe (ib. lxxvi. 6 f.).

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 16th fargart of the lost Avesta *Vardalmaznag Nask* clearly refers to the *zvektodada* of brother and sister (Dinkart, ix. xxii. 27), and that of the 21st fargart of the lost *Babi Nask* to the wedlock of father and daughter (ib. lxxvii. 7, 9).2 The most explicit statement is found in the account of a controversy between a Zoroastrian theologian and a Jewish objector, recorded in Dinkart, i. 82 (tr. West, pp. 390-410):

> *The consummation of the mutual assistance of men is Khetvathah. That union is... that with near kinsfolk, and, among near kinsfolk, that with those next-of-kine; and the mutual connection of the third of near kinsfolk which are father and daughter, son and she who bore him, and brother and sister... The first three are thus, the father and the mother, the mother and the son, and the daughter and her father; the last three are daughter and brother, son and sister, and mother and father. These three forms are illustrated, respectively, by the union between Ahura Mazda and his daughter Spenta Armitai (cf. on Ys. xlv. 4, above; and on its probable origin as a cosmogenie myth of the god *Yasog of Hvevan and Earth,* cf. L. H. Gray, *JCP* vii. (1904) 367), from which sprang the primeval being Gayomart; by the return of some of the dying Gayomart to Spenta Armitai (cf. also Brandis *EA,* 1; *Diztan-d' Dink*, lxxvi. 6; al-Buruni, p. 87), resulting in the birth of the 10th human pair, Magi and Mani; and by their prolic union (cf. also Dinkart, vii. 10, *Diztan-d' Dink*, xxxvi. 82, lxxv., lxxxvi. 41 f.).

In the 5th chapter of a Pahlavi *Kevayat,* probably

> *The statement of the text is so... that the 5th and 6th centuries* (West, *SEB* xviii. 3922). The latter scholar dates the final revision of the Ormuzdec in the 6th cent. in *Uraghios* and *Zend-Avesta,* i. 344, n. 12, misunderstands the Pahlavi construction of this passage as containing *zvektodada* for the correct rendering see *M. Pahl.* 376 f.

2 So West, p. 397; later (SEB, xxxviii. 1802) 382 he retranslates the passage so that *zvektodada* is not necessarily implied.

3 Another stock argument for brother-and-sister marriage was found in the legend of the god Artax, the father of Ahura Mazda, and his sister (Pahlavi Ym and Vinkai; see *B. d.*, xxii. 1), which is not mentioned in the extant Avesta, though it evidently dates from the 4th-5th period, since it forms the theme of Rigveda x. 10.
MARRIAGE (Iranian)

written between the Arab conquest of Persia and the 16th cent. found preceding the Dīdāšt-i-Dinik in many MSs, there is a lengthy polemic in favour of zvētkēdāš, there written zvētkēdāt (ed. Amarni, Nasrī, Dīhābār, Pahlavi Rekhtēd. accompanying the Dīdāšt-i-Dinik, Bombay, 1913, p. 498). It was, of course, written in the Western, Sasanian language. Defending it by the old examples of Ahura Mazda and Spenta Armaiti and of Māyē and Māyā, it declares that, when contracted with mother, daughter, or sister, zvētkēdāš is superior in religious observance to the marriage of Ahura Mazda, the replenishing of the sacred fire, or showing becoming reverence to a priest, and that it saves the most heinous sinner from hell.

When the millennium is about to dawn, "all mankind will perform Kīvērōt-i, and every death will perish through the miracle and power of Kīvērōt-i." The first time that a man practises it, "a thousand demons will die, and two thousand wizards and witches ..." and when he goes near to it four times, it is known that the man and woman become perfect .... Moreover never in the marriage of Kīvērōt-i becomes just as though one-third of all this world ... had been given by him ... unto a righteous man. And when he keeps four years in this marriage, and his [funeral] ritual is performed, it is known that his soul thereby goes unto the source of the darkness (zvēt); and when the ritual is not performed, it goes thereby to the ordinary heaven (yabhōt-i).

The good deeds of those who observe zvētkēdāš are a hundred times more efficacious than the same act performed by other people; and the penalty for dissuading it is hell.

From certain passages in the same chapter it is very evident that zvētkēdāš in the narrow sense here alluded to was by no means pleasing to the Parsi community.

Thus, when Ahura Mazda and Zarathushtra held colloquy, Zarathushtra spoke thus: "That duty and good work shall I do for thee, Kīvērōt-i, Kīvērōt-i." Zarathushtra spoke thus: "In my eyes it is an evil (ça) which he performed." Ahura Mazda spoke thus: "In my eyes, also, it is just as in thine; but "— since nothing is so perfect that there is no evil mixed with it — "it should not seem so." (West, p. 433)

As early as the date of composition of Dīdkart, iii. 82, however, there are indications that zvētkēdāš had come to bear its present meaning of marriage of first cousins, and this is the teaching of modern Parsi Rīvēyt (West, pp. 404, 425 f.) and the practice of Zoroastrians at the present day.

The Zandian theory of the origin of zvētkēdātāda is fairly clear. The Dīdkart holds (iii. 82) that its basis was a desire to preserve purity of race, to increase the compatibility of husband and wife, and to increase the affection 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 — that marriage outside the family might tend to religious laxity and even to perversion to another faith (Rīvēyt 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 Justi (GIR, ii. 433) that the source to be found in Egypt (cf. Egyptian section, above) is equally improbable.

There is no evidence that incestuous zvētkēdātāda was known in the Avesta, and it is not until Persian 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 writers cannot be ignored; and, while we may grant, for the sake of argument, that in the later Sasanian time there was in the religious realm, as well as for incestuous zvētkēdātāda, as set forth by the Dīdkart and the Rīvēyt, no such reason can be alleged for the Achaemenian and succeeding periods. It is clear, moreover, that incestuous zvētkēdātāda was not restricted to noble and royal families,

1 It is true that the Pahlavi annals of the 6th-9th centuries refer to the fire-worshipers of the Dēkūtāda, and that the fire-worshipers of the Dēkūtāda were termed zvētkēdātāda as well as Dēkūtādātāda, and that there were fire-worshippers who were zvētkēdātāda in the same meaning as the Pahlavi zvētkēdātāda. However, this does not mean that the Pahlavi authors were aware of the concept of zvētkēdātāda as it is understood today. Therefore, we cannot place implicit confidence in the accuracy of these summaries. 2 The instance of Yama and Yami, already mentioned, does not militate against this; for in the hymn Rigveda x. 10, (which see especially L. von Schrader, Rekonstruktion der Gottheiten des Aryan Religions, Leipzig, 1908, p. 374 f.) Yama manifests extreme resistance to the union. The problem involved was the origin of the human race of both Yama and Yami. This hypothesis applies to the myth of Brahman's union with his daughter, a pious, single-minded comparison with the latter years of Ahura Mazda and Spenta Armaiti, and p. 457 hints that we cannot place implicit confidence in the accuracy of these summaries. 3 The instance of Yama and Yami, already mentioned, does not militate against this; for in the hymn Rigveda x. 10, (which see especially L. von Schrader, Rekonstruktion der Gottheiten des Aryan Religions, Leipzig, 1908, p. 374 f.) Yama manifests extreme resistance to the union. The problem involved was the origin of the human race of both Yama and Yami. This hypothesis applies to the myth of Brahman's union with his daughter, a pious, single-minded comparison with the latter years of Ahura Mazda and Spenta Armaiti, and p. 457 hints that we cannot place implicit confidence in the accuracy of these summaries. 4 The instance of Yama and Yami, already mentioned, does not militate against this; for in the hymn Rigveda x. 10, (which see especially L. von Schrader, Rekonstruktion der Gottheiten des Aryan Religions, Leipzig, 1908, p. 374 f.) Yama manifests extreme resistance to the union. The problem involved was the origin of the human race of both Yama and Yami. This hypothesis applies to the myth of Brahman's union with his daughter, a pious, single-minded comparison with the latter years of Ahura Mazda and Spenta Armaiti, and p. 457 hints that we cannot place implicit confidence in the accuracy of these summaries.
merely a temporary excrescence, never a real tenet; and it was repudiated, no doubt, as intensely by Zarathustra as by his modern followers.

1. Consent of parties.—The chief point of difference between old Persian and modern marriage laws may be found in the family system. From the earliest times the Japanese people have been grouped in families as social units, to one of which every individual belongs, and in each family there is a head or governor, and under him a maid (patrict potestas) who has varied from age to age, but in general may be said to have been strong in ancient times and to have weakened in recent years. The family in the time of the

Taiho-ryo was very large, including over one hundred persons, but the numbers gradually decreased, until at present a family usually consists of Old Persian marriage rites we possess only meagre information. Strabo tells us (p. 753) that marriages were performed at the beginning of the vernal equinox, and that before the bridegroom went to the nuptial couch he ate an apple or camel's marrow, but nothing else during the whole day. We also learn from Arrian (Ann. B.C., vi. 7) that a seat of honour (φεδεα) was provided for the groom, and that his prospective bride came 'after the cups had gone round twice (τρεῖς φοντα). In the marriage of Jamaspji, his fiancée was welcomed by him between the parents of the parties, and often the consent of the heads of the two families was required.

From the time of the Taiho-ryo to that of the Meiji era, a marriage between a man and a woman and also between two families. Therefore, when a marriage is to take place, not only the free consent of the parties is required, but also the consent of the heads of the two families.

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2. Caste.—While caste in the strict sense of the term never existed in Japan, by the Taiho-ryo a humble class, which was not allowed to marry with others, was 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 of which see H. Hirt, Jügelmannen, Strassburg, 1905-07, p. 703: Schraedt, Realllex. p. 634 is probably non-Aryan.

See, further, art. Family (Persian).


LOUIS H. GRAY.
6. Marriage of adulterers.—A man and woman, either of whom has been divorced or sentenced to be divorced on account of adultery with the other, may not marry—a prohibition which has existed since the time of the Taisho-ryo. Social disapproval of this prohibition is not very strong, even when the husband 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 or collateral lines is forbidden for the sake of health and protection from degeneracy. The marriage of cousins, or of a widow or widower with a brother or sister of the deceased, is not prohibited; and such marriages are not rare.

8. Relation of husband and wife.—In olden times the rights of a husband were very far-reaching, and a wife who obeyed her husband absolutely was considered virtuous. Men were held in high regard, while women were not. Lately the position of woman has improved, but even yet, when a wife makes a contract, she has to get her husband’s consent in many cases, and the wife’s property is always under the supervision of her husband while they are married. In Japan a woman’s private property is very limited; and those who possess property in addition to their dresses and ornaments are very few; for, according to the law of succession, all property is inherited by the male, son, and in the case of disinheritance of or there being no son by marriage or adoption can the woman inherit in regular succession. Thus, as a rule, the wife has no property, but is dependent upon her husband for support. Sometimes the marriage is made in the hope of succession if the position of woman is to be materially raised.

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 Taisho-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 the parents of the bridegroom, 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 his 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 the marriage contract that is legally recognized.

10. Divorce.—Before the promulgation of the present civil code (1896-08), divorce, or, rather, repudiation, was very easily secured at the husband’s will. No legal procedure was necessary because the husband’s will, but the law fixed seven causes, one of which must exist in order to make the repudiation effective. Thus the power of the husband was somewhat curtailed; but only the husband could repudiate. The present code recognizes two forms of divorce: by mutual consent, and by judicial decree. The former requires only the mutual consent of the parties, while in the latter, on the contrary, it is necessary to obtain the consent of both 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 1905 show the total number of marriages to have been 8,033,168 and of divorces 63,776, i.e. about 7 divorces out of 1000 marriages. Only judicial divorces, however, are given in statistics, and by far the greater number are by mutual consent.

11. Judicial separation.—This system does not exist in Japan.

II. 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 20 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 not married to fathers or older brothers or sisters, but only to younger brothers or younger sons, and they are married to other married husbands. Second marriage is not prohibited, but it is considered a disgrace by most; and those above the middle class never re-marry. Arrangements for marriage are made by fathers, grandfathers, or other kinsmen in the interests of the family; 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 make a divorce; 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 938.

III. MARRIAGE (Jewish).—Every man is bound to marry a wife in order to beget children, and he who fails to consent is given no other blame. Marriage diminishes the Image [of God], and causes the Divine Presence (shikhninith) to depart from Israel'—thus runs the rule in the Code of Qaro (Sha’ihan Arakah, Eben ha’Tzer, i. 1). It is based on ancient Rabbinic (Tannaitic) prescription (Yohananith, 636, 64v), itself inferred from well-known Biblical texts (esp. Gn 9° combined with following verse), and it is emphasized by the somewhat later apothegm: ‘Whoever has no wife rests without blessing’; such a one is ‘not called a man’ (16). Marriage was the means by which the human race imprinted on the generations the divine image; it, with the consequent domestic felicity, was the expression of true manhood. It was the basis of the social order, and thus its regulation was, in Rabbinic opinion, one of the chief differences between Jewish and primitive systems (cf. Maimonides, Ishith, i.). The social obligation was strengthened by Messianic hopes: ‘the son of David—i.e. the Messiah—will marry and have many (if only to keep earth still inhabited).’

Marriage and Divorce, New York, 1901, p. 181; 1. Abrahams, Jewish Life in the Middle Ages.
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London, 1896, p. 114). Very profound is the Rabbinitic view that man's gézer is in this instance the cause of good; but for his passions man would not build a house, nor marry a wife, nor beget children (qiddushin). Man, in Rabbinitic theology, is impelled by two gézereras ('impulses,' 'inclinations'), one good and one evil, both of which are to be used in turning him to the love of God (Sifré on Dt 6:5, Midr. B'rakháth, ix. 5). The body-passions are not in themselves evil (e.g., F. C. Porter, 'Yoger Hara,' in Yale Bicentenary vol. of Biblical and Semitic Studies, New York, 1901, pp. 91-136, and M. Lazarus, Ethics of Judaitism, Eng. tr., Philadelphia, 1901, ii. 79 f.); Torah was the bridge by which the passions and their direction into holy ends were effected (cf. Maimonides, Guide of the Perplexed, iii. 33). The Rabbinitic theory of marital intercourse is summed up ideally and, in a sense, mystically in the saying: 'Three are at the source of the bride hum.ing; God, father, and mother' (qiddushin, 306).

With regard to the authority of parents in arranging the marriages of their children while minors see ERE v. 742. When the parties were adults, the consent of parents was not necessary to make a marriage valid (Maimonides, Ihkáth, viii.), but, as Mielziner adds,

'In consequence of the high respect and veneration, however, in which father and mother have been held among Jewes, the cases of contracting marriage 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 bridegroom of the bridegroom in Talmudic times was 18 to 20 (S. Krauss, Talmudic Archöologie, Leipzig, 1910-11, ii. 28). A Jewish court would often put pressure on a man over 20 to compel him to take a wife (control of passion), 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, though the girls were married as marriageable from the beginning of their thirteenth year, and at various times very youthful marriages have prevailed (see Abrahams, ch. ix.). In recent times, while, on the whole, Jews proportionately at a lower age than their non-Jewish general population, assimilation in social customs is modifying differences (statistics in JE vii. 339).

The general impression prevails that Jews more frequently than others marry their cousins. Inter-marriage between Jews and non-Jews is forbidden (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 disturbances 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 (Ybh. 21; Maimonides, Ihkáth, i. 6; Mielziner, p. 37), the latter being partly theoretical prolongations of linear ascending and descending relations; but in one case a new degree homologous to the Biblical was added; for, while the Mosaic Law [Lv 18:14] expressly forbids only the father's brother's wife, the Talmudic Law adds also the mother's brother's wife, and, besides, the father's sister's brother's wife (Mielziner, p. 88). The Kabbalists (see ERE vii. 603) imposed still further rigours 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. Henriches, Jewish Marriages and English Law, London, 1909. It may in general be said that, while orthodox Jews maintain some disabilities not upheld by the law of the land, no Jews permit marriages which, though allowed by Jewish law, are forbidden by the civil law. Thus, though marriage with a deceased wife's sister is valid in Jewish law, such a marriage was never solemnized 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 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-civil with civil conditions. The orthodox Jews evidently permit a kohanim (i.e., on tracing descent from the ancient priestly family)—to wed a divorced woman; nor would the re-marriage of a divorced person be solemnized by the orthodox synagogue unless a divorce had also been obtained from a Beth Din (Jewish ecclesiastical court). On the other hand, the levirate marriage, which was no longer in general use (though a few instances are recorded) at the beginning of the Christian era, the Sadducean question in history (theologically), has now lost all vogue (Ethken hâ-zer, elxv., and commentators; JE vi. 171). In the case of a childless widow the brother-in-law goes through the ceremony of halipah (Dt 25:8), which frees her to marry a stranger (Mielziner, p. 54 f.; JE vi. 170f., where the rite is illustrated). On the levirate marriage see, further, I. Matteau, in Studies in Jewish Literature, Berlin, 1913, p. 210; on marriages between uncle and niece, S. Krauss, ib. p. 363. hâ-zer, 363.

Except for rare cases in countries where Mohammedan law prevails, monogamy is enforced by both law and custom among Jews, although neither Bible nor Talmud formally forbids polygamy (for the Talmudic evidence see Krauss, ii. 277). In the case of the levirate marriage did the Pontiff 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 the less frequent than other nations of polygamy among Jews (A. Harper, Song of Solomon, Cambridge, 1902, p. 334); and the same conclusion must be drawn from the prophetic imagery in which marriage typifies the relation between God and Israel. Polygamy survived among the Jews into the Christian era (see references in JE viii. 638), 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 fulfillment 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 divorce, see the writer's evidence before the Divorce Commission); but by the beginning of the 19th cent. monogamy was made the binding and uniform rule for all western Jews (Abrahams, ch. vii.).

The ancient and medieval preliminaries to marriage have, in modern times, lost much of their old significance. Betrothal (karam or qiddushin) in Rabinian law was not a mere agreement or contract for a future marriage (nissiin); though not 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.
MARRIAGE

The betrothal ceremony, which has been performed on the same day, though in Talmudic times a year might intervene between them (Mishnah, Gittin, v. 2), was the legal betrothal was "an engagement" (shidduchim), and this 'engagement' gradually replaced the older betrothal. Often a professional match-maker (shidduchim) 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 kethubbah (see below); but, until the times, the husband's active part in the ceremony, the formula being spoken by the man only. In some orthodox and in most liberal synagogues the bride's part is now more active. For the validity of a marriage the presence of a Rabbi is of course essential, but such presence is usual, and so are other ceremonies: the use of a ring and a canopy (huppah), the breaking of a glass, the recital of the kethubbah, and the repetition of the 'Seven Benedictions.'

The ring in Jewish weddings is not mentioned in the Talmud, but was introduced in the Gaonic age (A. Harkavy, Tishahbuhth hogrânîm, Berlin, 1887, § 65), perhaps in the 7th century. The ring replaced the older gift of money or of an article of value; it must not contain gems (Abrahams, p. 183), and need not be of gold. Possibly the 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. Landsberger, in Jud. Zeitschrif für Wissenschaft. und Leben, vii. [1869] 81). In the Middle Ages Friday was a favorite day for Jewish marriages, though the Talmud objected to such a choice. Wednesday was also a common day for such marriages. In modern times there are no restrictions as to days of the week, except that marriages are not celebrated on Sabbaths or festivals. In the orthodox synagogues marriages are still not performed (except on specified dates) between Passover and Pentecost, nor on certain anniversaries of a mournful nature. During 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 by L. Low in his Gesammelte Schriften, where many other Jewish marriage questions, historical, social, and legal, are also discussed (iii., Siegelin, 1869, pp. 15-354).

The betrothal 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 bridegroom and bride were conveyed in procession, but it is now merely symbolical, and consists of four upright posts covered by an awning of silk or tapestry (for details see Abrahams, p. 183; for illustrations, JE vi. 594 ff.). A regular preliminary to the ceremony is the signing by the bridegroom of the kethubba (Lit. 'writing'), or marriage contract (for the ordinary wording see Mielziner, p. 87), which sets forth the legal pay to the wife in case of the husband's death or the wife's divorce, and in olden times often rehearsed the wife's dowry, in respect of which, as of the husband's settlement, the kethubba conferred on her an inalienable claim on her husband's property. The wife had considerable rights over her own property (see Mielziner, p. 104 f.), and the kethubba protected those rights, and also formed a potent restraint against rash divorces. Mielziner's statement (p. 59) that the kethubba is 'now almost entirely dispensed with,' refers only to certain American and other reform congregations; it is still retained in most Jewish marriages, though it has little legal significance in many countries. The kethubba is ancient, being perhaps referred to in To 71a; it is certainly as old as the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. (K'thuboth, 589; Abrahams, p. 207, note 2; E. N. Adler, in JE vii. 474; for the earliest instance of the term the wife's benefactor see Geonica, New York, 1909, ii. 72). In Oriental lands the kethubba often included a solemn undertaking by the bridegroom to observe strictly the law of monogamy (see Abrahams, p. 129, and the document of his own son's marriage, quoted in College Jubilee Volume, London, 1906, p. 101).

Of the many marriage customs which have prevailed in Jewish marriages one deserves special mention. The bridegroom breaks a glass, but the meaning of the rite is not always clear. It has been seen in it a symbolical allusion to the close of the antinuptial condition, but 'the most acceptable theory is that the custom arose from... a desire to keep even men's joys tempered by more serious thoughts, and on the other hand from the never-forgotten memory of the mourning for Zion' (see Annotated Edition of the Authorised Daily Prayer Book, London, 1914, p. cxxvii). The memory of Zion is frequently recalled in the Jewish wedding hymns and songs (on which see Abrahams, p. 188 f., and Biblical Love Songs, in Book of Delight, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 184 ff.). The same phenomenon is seen in the 'Seven Benedictions' cited below, where Jer 23:5 is especially used. As regards the morning day for wider spread is recorded in the Talmud (Birahth, 30b):

'When the son of Rabbi was married, the father saw that the Rabbits were present in an unappetising mood, so he took a costly vase of white crystal worth 400 zims 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 dowering of poor brides was an act of sanctified loving-kindness (Shabbath, 121a); and the assistance at wedding festivals was an element in pious life (Psahim, 49a). Lyric praises of the bride were so regular a habit that we find quaint discussions as to the terms to be used in the catalogues (K'thuboth, 174). On the subject of other wedding customs, both Oriental and Western, see Abrahams, chs. ix. and x.; JE viii. 349 f.; Krauss, li. 37; W. Rosenau, Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs, Baltimore, 1912, ch. xi.

Most characteristic of the Jewish marriage ceremony are the Seven Benedictions, which are already quoted in the Talmud (K'thuboth, 8). First comes the benediction over wine (on the use of wine in Jewish life see a processing of the Book, p. cxxsxxi; then follows the praise of God as the creator of all things to His glory; after this
and 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, and the love of the sexes reasserted itself in the later depictio, which, as we shall see, was a simulata transference of the bride by purchase from the potestas of her father to the 'hand' (mannus) of her husband (for the possible connexion of the dei with marriage by purchase see Westm- 

2. Early forms of marriage: confraratio, depictio, 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 insta matrimoniium, such as was the result of all of these methods, was beyond doubt to produce children capable of keeping up the religion (sacer) of the family, and also of serving the State in war and peace. Children of connubii, i.e. cohabitation without marriage, were not so capable; they could not be Roman citizens, and could not represent either family or State in any capacity. The word which covered all legitimate forms of union was connubii; as Ulpian says, in the clearest exposition that we have of the subject (V. I. 3), 'insta matrimonium est inter quo qui nuptiae sunt cohabitum connubii sit.' Connubium, orius connubii, is thus the right of contracting true or legal marriage, and belonged, as Gains tells us (I. 60), to Roman citizens only, to Latins and foreigners only when it had been legally 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 sacer of one family to that of another (see FAMILY (Roman)), and from the potestas of one familia 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—connubium or furruum, so named from the sacred cake of fur (the old Italian wheat) used at the ceremony. 

Confraratio stood alone as needing the presence of the Pontifex Maximus and the Flamen Dialis, the former, no doubt, representing in the Republican age the Rex of an earlier time (see Fowler, Religious Experience of the People of Rome, p. 271), and the Flamen representing Jupiter, the deity of good faith in all alliances. When the preliminaries had been adjusted (sponsa, bride, etc. [see below]) which were common to all insta matrimonio, a cake of fur was offered to Jupiter Furraus, and sacramentally shared by bride and bridegroom, in the presence of the Pontifex Maximus, the Flamen Dialis, and ten other witnesses. This number ten has given rise to much conjecture; but it is so common throughout Roman procedure that there need be no special significance in it (in Livy, xxxvii. 3, it apparently has a religious meaning; and so perhaps in confraratio). A victim also was offered to Jupiter (which indicates that in the ordinary form of marriage which was stretched over two days, on which the bride and bridegroom had to sit [for these and other details see Gains, i. 112; Serv. ad .En. iv. 103, 574, Georg. i. 31; Dion. Hal. ii. 25]). The priests, in this case, must be noted, do not perform the sacrifice, 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 consisting entirely of patrician families; it survived into historical times only as a means of supplying persons duly qualified to fill the old priesthoods descended from that patrician State, viz. the Lex Septimia, the Lex Flaminia, and the Lex Familiae uniores. Diocletian, Martialis, and Quirinalis (see Gains, i. 112). Of late, however, it has been suggested (by Conq, Institutions juridiques, p. 215 ff., followed by Lamy-Schaef, State and Family in Early Rome, p. 150 ff.) that it came into use only when the old custom of marrying within the gens was broken through, when the religious difficulty of transferring a bride from one gens to another called for special religious interference by the State. There is something to be said for this; but to the present writer it seems hardly sufficient to account for the sacramental character of the rite and the use of the skin of the victim. No ancient author says that this was the only form of patrician marriage; if it had been so, the Rex and the Flamen must have been constantly in requisition for weddings, more often than would be consistent with their other duties. But it is possible that confarreatio may have been a very special religious form, originating in the marriage of the Lex Scita, the families forming an in-circus of aristocracy, from which the Rex might be chosen, and which would be likely or willing to supply children qualified to become canuti patrini et materini in the service of the State (Gains, i. 113). 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 were two other ancient methods of transferring a bride from one family to another, from the potestas of her father to the manus of her husband; but it is to be noticed that neither of these was, strictly speaking, a marriage ceremony, and it is to be assumed that, when they were used, the real marriage rite was that described below 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 vested the potestas of the father in the manus of her husband, or to that of his father, if he were a filiusfamilias in the potestas of his father. Thus cognatio, the form by which, in the presence of live witnesses and a librensis (a legalouched could be performed besides marriage), the bride was made over to the manus of her husband by a symbolic purchase (Gains, i. 113), looks as if it were a legal addition devised for some particular purpose, perhaps to enable the ordinary patrician family, which did not seek to produce children capable of filling the highest religious offices, to obtain by a single act the same legal results as in confarreatio. This is, indeed, a mere guess, and one among many, into which it is not necessary to go in this essay.

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 procreatio; 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 noncreatio would be barred (Gains, i. 114). It is not unlikely that this was really the original form by which the husband could acquire manus, and the one most commonly in use. Confarreatio and confarreatio both presuppose the existence of the law and religion of the State in full development, but not so much for the purpose and cognatio 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 non-patricians, plebeians or Latins, when the best attained connubium; but this could not be so with confarreatio, if, as we have assumed, the main object of the latter was at all times to produce children. It is of holding the exclusively patrician religious offices.

In these three methods of marriage the union was accompanied by manus, though in the case of usus not till after 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 filiusfamilias under the potestas of his father, as must constantly have happened, the wife passed under the manus, not of her husband, but of his father. Quite early marriage and manus became separable both in thought and in fact; under the XII Tables, as we have seen, the wife was given the option of escaping a change of manus altogether, and this may be taken as proving that a tendency in this direction had already existed before that time, mainly, no doubt, from reasons of convenience connected with the family property, marriage without manus came to be almost universal. Usus died out altogether (Gains, i. 111); cognatio survived as a legal expedient in certain cases (e.g., CIL vi. 1527; the Laudatio Turia, line 14); and confarreatio became so irksome that its bonds had to be relaxed by Augustus in order to get a supply of candidates for the old patrician priesthoods (Gains, i. 120; Tac. Ann. ii. 16; Sueton. Aug. 31). Yet marriage long 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 connubii (as explained above); (2) the parties must not be within the prohibited degrees of relationship; (3) that marriage must be between a man who was to his wife the equivalent of what he was to his own brother's wife, bears children; (4) that marriage must be between persons over ten years of age; (5) that 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. 1401). This was a sure and the earliest form of marriage 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 ( sponsale), however, at Rome was a promise rather than a legal contract, and might be broken by
consent if there was a strong dislike on the part of either boy or girl (see, however, Serv. Sulpicius, in Aus. Gall. 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 prosperous condition of the bridegroom’s household, and that love and romance lay wholly outside it. Steady affection there might be and often was (Fowler, Social Life, pp. 141, 159 ff.); but the modern idea of passion with marriage as its culmination, which too often subsides and ends in divorce, was unknown at Rome. (4) As a last condition, we must note that bride and bridegroom must be of proper age, i.e., they must have reached the age of puberty and laid aside the tappa protecta 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.

(b) Ritual.—If all these conditions were fulfilled, a day was fixed for the marriage which must be one of good omen; as with us, May was an unlucky month for this purpose, and so was the early part of June, while certain other dies religious were to be avoided (Fowler, Rel. Exper., p. 38 ff.). At earliest dawn, according to ancient usage both bride and bridegroom were led to the temple, the way flecked with birds; but by Cicero’s time this seems to have dropped out, and the examination of the cata of a victim took its place, as a preliminary to the first step in the procedure, which was the declaration of consent by the bridegroom, usually but not necessarily recorded on tabulae nuptiales. Then the bride assumed the wedding dress, viz., the strophium, or hood of red or yellow, and the tunica recta with a woolen girdle fastened with the nodus hennis (see Pliny). This act, and the sacrifice which seems to have followed, are represented on many monuments, of which accounts will be found in A. Rosbach, Römische Hochzeits-und Ehedenknaele, Leipzig, 1871, passim; these acts, however, all of very late date, are not to be interpreted. The deducratio nuptiae took place, so far as we can discern, either in the bride’s house before the hearth or in front of some temple (Nonius, 351); but what temple this was we do not know, nor is it clear to what deity sacrifice was offered. On the monuments we see both cow and pig, which suggest Juno and Tellus (Varro, de Exst. ii. 4, refers to the pig as an Etruscan marriage victim). Possibly Tellus was the more usual deity (Oster, Rel. Exper., pp. 121, 138), and Juno later on; but Vergil combines the two in Aen. iv. 166. When the sacrifice had been offered by the pair, the persons present shouted Feliciter by way of good omen, and the wedding procession followed and lasted till evening.

(2) The next act was the deducatio, in which the bride was conducted to her new home—a beautiful ceremony, exquisitely described by Catullus in his 61st poem. She was taken, as it were by force, from the arms of her mother, and led in procession to the house of her husband by three boys, sons of living parents (paterini et matrini), pure and of good omen, one each from the right hand of her father, 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 hackneyed (see J. Pley, ‘De Lame in antiquorum ritibus usi,’ in RVV XI. ii. [Giesenz, 1811] 82). She was then lifted over the threshold, perhaps as a last sign of simulated reluctance to be thus transplanted, and was received in her new home.

(3) This reception, the third act in the procedure, is obscure in its detail, but the general meaning is plain. It was called ‘reception into community of fire and water’ (‘aqua et igne accipere’), i.e., into partnership in these necessities of human existence (E. Samtzer, p. 40; Grimm, Römer, Berlin, 1901, p. 18 ff.). We are also told that she brought with her three coins (asces), one of which she gave to her husband, one she laid on the hearth, and the third she threw down at the feet of eros (see Pliny, ‘See also G. Diet, Enc, p. 528, ed. Lindsay). Here she seems to be making an offering to the genius of her husband, to the spirit of the hearth-fire, and to the Lar of the family’s land allotment, who dwelt in a suellum at the entrance of the compitum (see Pliny Phars. ii. 18). She was now in the atrium, at the end of which, opposite the door, the lectus gentialis 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 Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities). As Cuv well puts it (p. 291), her position of dignity in the house, and her title of dominus as mistress of its slaves, would have been impaired if she entered it with empty hands and lived at the expense of her husband. This is the only means of securing to the children born of the marriage succession to their mother’s property as well as to the patrimonium of the father.

The ritual which we have been examining plainly indicates that the Roman bride was to hold a much nobler position in the household than the Greek wife (see MARRIAGE [Greek]). She shared with her husband all the duties of the family, religious and secular; she lived in the atrium, and was never shut away, and not even in a woman’s chamber. She took meals with her husband; in all practical matters she was consulted, and only on questions political or intellectual was she expected to be silent.

* When she went out arrayed in the graceful stola nattionalis, she was treated with respect, and the passers-by made way for her; but it is characteristic of her position that she did not as a rule leave the house without the knowledge of her husband, or without an escort (Fowler, Social Life, p. 144).

The character instanced and exemplified by such a position is exemplified in the legendary Volunia of the story of Coriolanus, in Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi, in Cæsar’s mother Julia, and, among many others, in the perfect lady whose courage, good sense, and domestic virtues left an indelible mark on the marble of the Lapidatio Turin (CIL. vi. 1527; Fowler, Social Life, p. 159 f.).

4. Divorce.—No doubt towards the end of the
Marriage (Semitic).—Students of social evolution seem justified in holding that the family of primitive man was an intermediate development between those of the highest animals and the lowest living men. In the lowest known human societies the form of marriage is usually a temporary monogamy.1 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 unconstrained female concubinage. In such 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 for women to sacrifice their virtue by one or more acts of free love. In the Semites, both temporary and permanent, there is also evidence of much sexual irregularity among them.

It is the working hypothesis of most Semitic scholars to-day that Arabia was the cradle-land of the Semitic people. Naturally, the peculiar desert and oasis environment of the Arabian peninsula left its impress on the Semitic family life. In the cases dates and fruit were raised, and some sustenance for the flocks was produced, but it was necessary to lead the flocks into the desert in search of pasture. Whether, however, men lived in an oasis or wandered from place to place, women would always be needed to perform the duties of the household and the camp, that the men might be free to fight, either in defence or for plunder. There are two reasons for believing that the women were for the most part the sisters and mothers of the men, whether the clans 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 countries, or from the evidence of the mothers of the wife's family (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.2 The reasons for this view are as follows. (1) We know the Semitic phrase for relationship is 'bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh,' ' Flesh' (bāttir) is explained in Lv 25:9 by the general word for 'clan.' The Arabs attach great importance to a bond created by eating together; we must suppose, therefore, that they were those of the same womb and nurtured at the same breast would be more nearly of the same 'clan' and the same 'flesh' than any others. (2) The word rahim, ' womb,' is the most general word for kinship, and points to a primitive kinship through the mother. (3) The custom called 'nigikā, 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 accounting of the offspring to the father's side of the house. (4) Cases occur in the historical period in which a boy when grown attaches himself to his mother's tribe. The poet Zuhair is a case in point, and the Arabic antiquarians appear to have known that such cases were not uncommon, and that sons would choose their mother's clan 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 46:13). (8) Tamar might legally have been the wife of her half-brother Amnon, the relation being on the father's side (2 Sam 13:18). Such unions were known in Judah as late as the time of Ezekiel (Ezk 22:2). Tanak, king of Sidon, married his father's daughter, and such marriages were known in Mecen. Since the marriage of those really regarded as brothers and sisters was alien 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 Amarna inscriptions found at Hегa metronymic lines appear.3 To this evidence may be added a few items gathered by other scholars. Noldeke noted that among the Mandaeans a man is described

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1 Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, p. 175 ff.; cf. also Barton, Semitic Origins, p. 61ff.
3 L. H. 1:128, 209.
as the son of his mother, which indicates that kinship was reckoned through the mother. F. E. Peiser pointed out that among the Babylonians a man could, if he chose, join the kindred of his wife, which is a relic of the same custom.2 Wellhausen has observed that in the Pentateuch J counts descent through the mother, while P reckons it through the father.3 Among some primitive peoples kinship is counted through the mother because they are ignorant of the part of the father in reproduction.14 Among others, e.g., the Nairs of the Malabar coast, it is reckoned through the mother because a system of polyandry prevails. The wife has several husbands, no one of whom lives with her, but all of whom visit her occasionally, and it is not known which one of them may be the father of a child.5 Which of these causes led to the Semitic system of female kinship? We have no evidence to show that the Semites were so ignorant of the processes of reproduction that paternal kinship was unknown to them.4 On the other hand, there is considerable evidence indicating that at one time a type of polyandry somewhat similar to that of the Nairs prevailed among the early Semites.

In three of the Mūallaqāt poems there are specific statements that the poets visited only occasionally were members of other clans, and that they often visited them at personal risk,2 on account of the strained relations of the clans. The marriages of Samson (Jg 14, 16) were of this type. Such marriages were often terminated by the migration of the tribes in different directions.3 Anamianus Marcellinus was, no doubt, speaking of this type of marriage when he said that among the Arabs the bride presents her husband with a gift, and a tost (i.e., if she chooses), withdraws after a certain day.4 In this type of marriage kinship would necessarily be reckoned through the mother, and the fact that such alliance would be a sufficient cause to account for the early Semitic custom of female kinship.

Such marriage conditions, while compelling the women to live with their brothers and sons rather than with their husbands, left them comparatively free from the masculine domination to which they were subjected after the rise of polygamy. Something of this freedom still survives in Arabia in parts of the peninsula like Oman and Harsa, which are not so dominated by Islam as the rest of it.5 This type of marriage which had prevailed, at least in part, was a combination of 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 girl babies to death prevailed down to the time of Muhammad (see Qur’an, xvi. 81-89), so that women must have been fewer than men. Marriages of this early Semitic form were not always exogamous, for Inal-al-Qais boasted in his Mūallaqāt that he followed one day the women of his tribe and spent a day in their company, and the Unazāḥ with whom he afterwards rode and whose daughter he repeatedly tasted was the daughter of his uncle.6 In like manner Lalah, the woman celebrated in the poem of Amr b. Kuthayr, was ‘Amr’s kinswoman.7 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 the form of which —three nights or more—called mudda marriage, which continued till the time of Muhammad.2

Another type of polyandry, that called Tibetan, because it was first studied in Tibet, was the form of marriage in vogue at one time in the southern 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 to her leaving at the door the sickle which it is customary for every one to carry; but the night she spends with the eldest. Hence all are brothers of all; they also have conjugal intercourse with the same women, and she is buried with death; no adulterer is a man of another stock."3

The reference to conjugal intercourse with mothers is probably not to be taken literally, but it is to be understood as meaning that it appeared that men had married wives of their fathers.4 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.5

W. Robertson Smith collected considerable evidence to show that this type of polyandry was also known in N. Arabia.6 His points are:

1. Bakhūrī relates that two men made a covenant of brotherhood, which resulted in their sharing goods and wives, a custom which seems to betray a survival of a custom of fraternal polyandry.
2. In Arabic kunrah means the wife of a son or brother, but is used also to denote one’s own wife; in Hebrew kallah means both betrothed and daughter-in-law, while in Suraic kalotah means both bride and daughter-in-law. These facts can be most easily explained as remnants of fraternal polyandry.
3. The Arabic law that a man has the first right to the hand of his cousin, and the fact that the term sahā and its attendant traditions attest, that, if a man died and left only female children, the father’s male relatives inherited the property and married his daughters, are regarded as the results of a previously existing condition of fraternal polyandry. The Qur’an (iv. 22: 23) forbids men to inherit women against their will, and forbids them to take their step-mothers in marriage 'except what is past." This is regarded as evidence that down to the time of Muhammad these ancient circumstances of polyandry had continued, and that the Prophet did not dare to touch existing unions, though he forbade such marriages in future.

Wellhauseen,7 F. Buhl,8 J. Benzing,9 and Barton10 have also held that the existence of the levirate marriages in Israel was an outgrowth of fraternal polyandry. This has been contested by C. N. Stareek11 and Westernmark.12 But their arguments appear inconclusive. It is difficult to explain why one should ever have thought of counting the seed of one brother as that of one who had died, if there had not been a previous state of polyandry in which all brothers shared in the offspring. The levirate was known in Arabia,13 in Abyssinia,14 and in Israel.15

It would seem that fraternal polyandry of the Tibetan type may have had an intermediate stage between the less well regulated polyandry of an

1 M. Moras, in ‘Alif, i. 193.
2 GGG, 1890, p. 475, n. 2.
4 Letoumes, Evolution of Marriage, p. 311.
5 M. Moras, ‘Alif, i. 193; that of Antirach, 5-11; and that of Harith, 1-9. Of these, only the latter are real marriages, and of these, Smith has shown in Kiwlan,16 p. 87.
6 Letoumes, Evolution of Marriage, p. 311.
7 J. B. Wellsted, Travels in Arabia, London, 1839, i. 531-534.
8 W. Dalgar, Central and Eastern Arabia, do, 1860, ii. 277.
9 See M. Moras, M.モラス, in ‘Alif, i. 193.
10 The commentators’ explanation of 11.

12 Smith, ‘Alif, p. 87.
13 M. Moras, ‘Alif, i. 193.
14 The following are chiefly the authorities in this connection:
15 Smith, ‘Alif, p. 87.
16 Smith, ‘Alif, p. 87.
earlier time and the patriarchal form of marriage, which generally was prevailing at the time of Muhammad. W. R. Smith so regarded it. But, be this as it may, by the end of the 8th century B.C. it had become so widespread that it even found its way into Arabia. Marriage, which was most probably the practice in Arabia, is known as betul marriage. In this type of marriage, the partner is bestowed upon the lord of the territory or the man. The betul marriage was conducted by the bridegroom, who was the head of the family, and the bride was the owner of the property. This marriage ceremony was completed without the signing of contracts. The law did not recognize anything like our modern 'common law' marriage. One reason for this was that the bride usually brought a dowry from her father's house, which was safeguarded for her and her children. The husband also generally gave a bride-price to his father-in-law, which, upon certain conditions, was returned. As Babylonian law dealt much with 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. True, if a man was accused of defiling the wife of another, he and she suffered capital punishment (§ 129); if he forced the betrothed of another, he was put to death and the woman went free (§ 130); but a woman, if only inadvertently suspected of infidelity, was required to purify herself by the ordeal of throwing herself into the sacred river. The man, on the other hand, might have children by a concubine and suffer only the inconvenience of having the children (§ 157). If a man was taken captive and there were women in his house he was bound to return to him, but the second husband retained his children (§ 135). If the husband's absence was due to desertion of his city, he had no claim on his wife on his return, if she had remarried (§ 130).

The Code assumes that marriages shall be monogamous, although it imposes on the father the duty of raising the children of his concubines. Nevertheless, it recognizes that in the case of women who had served as sacred servants in the temple (see Hierodouloi [Semitic and Egyptian]), and had married late and were, accordingly, unlikely to bear children, and also in the case of women who through sickness were rendered barren, he might take another, if she wished to her husband's consent. This was taken because of the chronic illness of the first, the first man, if she wishes, takes her dowry and return to her father's house (§ 149). Slave concubines were frequently practised, but a female slave who bore her master children could not be sold (§§ 146 f., 171).

According to the Code, a man might divorce his wife, if he wished, but in that case he must make certain specified monetary settlements, which varied according to whether the wife had or had not borne him children (§ 137 f.). A woman might take the initiative in a divorce. If she did so, her husband could, if he wished, divorce her without alimony (§ 141). If the wife complained of ill-treatment, the life of the family was subjected to investigation. If her claim proved true, she could take her marriage portion and return to her father's house; if untrue, she was to be thrown into the river (§ 142 f.).

In the marriage contracts of the time of the 1st dynasty it appears that greater privileges of divorce were sometimes secured to the bride than the Code would have granted her. E.g., a priest married, and his contract provided that, if he divorced his wife, he must return her property and pay a half-mana as alimony. Another contract, which seems to equalize the penalties for divorce, is that a woman is to be paid a mana if she divorces her husband (§ 141).
divorce, provides that, if the husband divorces the wife, he shall be driven out to the oxen of the palace; if she divorces him, she shall be driven to the carriage-house of the palace. The marriage of his concubine during his parent’s lifetime (Gen. 34:1). As noted above (§ 1), these arrivals of Semitic polyandrous marriages. Another survival was the levirate—a custom which required a brother to take the widow of a deceased brother and count the first fruit of the union as the child of the latter (Deut. 25:5). Another type of marriage is seen in the great liberty enjoyed by women of the early period (see I S 20:12, 2 K 5:1). In the stories of Abraham and Jacob the type of marriage is also reflected in which slave concubines may be given by a wife to a husband, for the sake of obtaining an offspring which the wife is unable to bear (see Code of Hammurabi, §§ 144, 146). The general type of marriage which we have evidence in the Hebrew writings was, however, the levirate. Another evidence of this conception of marriage may be seen in Ex 20:27, where the wife is counted and a part of her husband’s parents, the marriage, concerning which two documents bear witness, records the marriage 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. The stipulations in them as to bride-price and dowry are in general the same as in those of the time of the dynasty, the pronouncements in the lists separate are generally omitted from the contracts of that period, although divorce did then occur. In most of the marriage contracts the man acts for himself and arranges with the parents of the bride, that 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 further than that before marriage every woman had to act once as a temporary Hierodoulos (see Herodotus [Semitic and Egyptian], vol. vi. p. 674).

3. Hebrew.—In the story of Samson there are, as noted above, some faint traces of that early Semitic type of marriage in which the wife belonged to a hostile clan, lived with her people, and was visited by her husband for longer or shorter periods. The stories of the Patriarchs reflect various phases of matrimonial development. The marriage of Jacob to the daughters of Laban indicates a type of marriage in which the husband resides with the wife’s clan, but the children are counted to her family, for Laban says: "The daughters are my daughters, and the sons are my sons" (Gen. 31:39). Then Jacob broke away, and the children were counted to his stock. This narrative forms a transition from one system of kinship to the other. A number of survivals of the two matrional types of marriage just mentioned are found in the narratives of the OT; Shechem, e.g., consented to circumcision to render himself acceptable to the clan of his proposed wife (Gen. 34:11). A number of instances also occur in which a son inherits his father’s concubines: Ishbosheth regarded Saul’s concubine as his own, and resumed Amnon’s taking her (2 S 3): Solomon for the same reason regarded Adonijah’s desire to marry Abishag as treason (1 K 2:24; cf. v. 13): Reuben was denounced for endeavouring to anticipate the inheritance of his father’s concubine during his parent’s lifetime (Gen. 34:1). As noted above (§ 1), these arrivals of Semitic polyandrous marriages. Another survival was the levirate—a custom which required a brother to take the widow of a deceased brother and count the first fruit of the union as the child of the latter (Deut. 25:5). Another type of marriage is seen in the great liberty enjoyed by women of the early period (see I S 20:12, 2 K 5:1). In the stories of Abraham and Jacob the type of marriage is also reflected in which slave concubines may be given by a wife to a husband, for the sake of obtaining an offspring which the wife is unable to bear (see Code of Hammurabi, §§ 144, 146). The general type of marriage which we have evidence in the Hebrew writings was, however, the levirate. Another evidence of this conception of marriage may be seen in Ex 20:27, where the wife is counted and a part of her husband’s parents, the marriage, concerning which two documents bear witness, records the marriage 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.

The list of the degrees of kinship in which marriage was prohibited in Lv 18, 20, and Dt 27 belongs to the period of Judaism, which began with the Babylonian Exile. At no period were young people allowed to arrange matrimonial affairs for themselves; such arrangements were made by the parents (cf. Gn 21:13, 24, 25:11). Divorce was supposed that a man may also have two wives. The law of Ex 21:12-13 takes it for granted that female slaves will become the concubines either of their owner or of his sons. A similar assumption underlies Ex 21:29, 30.

The law of Deuteronomy permitted only the man to initiate divorce; it granted to the woman no corresponding power. If it represents, no doubt, the usual custom among the Hebrews. In one instance, however, it is known in which a Hebrew bride secured by her marriage contract a similar liberty. Among the Jewish papyri discovered at Elephantine in Egypt a marriage contract was found, which contains this passage:

"If to-morrow or any other day Miphtahyah 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 other time As-Hor shall stand up in the congregation and say, ‘I divorce my wife, Miphtahyah,’ her marriage settlement shall be forfeited, etc."

Whether other Jewish women at Elephantine were accustomed to gain this liberty by contract, or whether there were special arrangements were secured to Miphtahyah, we do not know, but in any event it is a significant modification of the OT status of women in such matters. The Deuteronomist law dealt with two cases in which a man was for ever powerless to divorce a wife: if he had falsely charged his bride with not

being a virgin, and if he had been forced to marry a woman whom he had violated (Dt 22:29, 296). The penalties for adultery here more heavily on the wronged than on the wrong-doer; and in only the cases where they were equal being when the crime was committed with the wife or brother of another; then both the man and the woman to be stoned (Dt 22:22-29). The point of view was that adultery with a married woman was an offense against her husband's property (cf. art. ADULTERY [Semitic]). The wife was accordingly compelled to be faithful, but no similar fidelity was exacted of him. So long as he did not violate the honour of those who were really or prospectively the wife of another, he was not punished, except that, if he violated a maiden, he might be compelled to take her as an additional wife. The penalty imposed on a wife or a betrothed maiden for adultery seems in the earlier time to have been burning (Lv 20:20), but was later changed to stoning (Dt 22:22-29). 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 denunciation of adultery on the part of the prophets would indicate that the penalties were not well enforced and that in that day occasional venturing into the specific 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 the tenets of Islam. By the time of the Prophet *beauti* marriage had apparently become the normal type, and polygamy prevailed among the rich. The husband had full power over the wife and could enforce her authority by his law (Qur' an, iv. 38). Some survivals of customs which belonged to the earlier time were, as noted above, condemned by the Prophet (iv. 29). 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 not more than four, but that a man might also enjoy concubines as many slaves as he was able to possess (iv. 3, 36). The Prophet himself, it is said, possessed as many as seventy-five. Marriage with one's mother, daughters, sisters, paternal and maternal aunts, nieces, mother-in-law, step-daughters, and daughters-in-law was prohibited (iv. 27). Marriages with foreign women were permitted, if the women were believers (iv. 10). Adultery was a crime for a woman, but apparently not for a man. Before the time of the Prophet an adulteress had been literally immured, 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. 30). 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: 'Thou art to me as my mother's back!' After this had been pronounced over her, it was considered as unnatural to approach her as it was to approach a real mother, and so it was regarded as wrong to re-marry a divorced wife. Muhammad called this 'hacking away' from wives (xviii. 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 who had been divorced (xviii. 4). A man might not divorce a woman who was pregnant, or who was nursing a child (xv. 4, 6), but apart from this condition a man and wife who did not agree might separate at any time (iv. 129), though liberal alimony was enjoined (iv. 24). It is assumed (xxxiii. 48) that no legal marriage was possible for mere whim 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. Thus 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, married, the much 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 marry four others in their stead. A man might divorce his wife, for example, in order to marry eighty women in the course of his life, and Muhammad al-Tayib, a dyer of Baghdad († 425 A. H.), is said to have married in all more than nine hundred women. Pulgrave relates that the Sultan of Qatar in F. Arabia married a new wife every month or fortnight, who was then divorced and placed on a pension. C. M. Doughty tells how Zaid, his host, a petty sheikh, not only permitted his wife to be courted by another Arab, but offered to divorce her so that Doughty could marry her.

 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; sound law and reason, rather than a surprising number. A certain Umm Kharjiah of Yemen is said to have had upwards of forty husbands, and her son Kharjiah did not know which one was his father.

In parts of Arabia a certain old marriage customs still survive in spite 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 woman (Tur. *katib*) beggar is the *qadi* 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. Marriage ceremonies among the Arabs vary greatly according to circumstances. Sometimes they consist of a feast, sometimes of a civil contract before the *qadi*, and sometimes the *qadi* himself would contract. The married woman Umm Kharjiah, mentioned above, is said to have reduced the contract to very simple terms. A man approached her and said to her, 'Betrothed!' and she replied, 'Married!' and was from that moment his lawful wife.

5. Abyssinian. — Abyssinia is Christian, though its form of Christianity is the result of an arrested development. Marriages celebrated by the Church assume something of the permanent character of marriage in other Christian countries. Such marriages are solemnized by a priest, and the contracting parties partake of the Holy Communion. A candidate for holy orders is compelled to marry once, as in the Greek Church, but he cannot divorce his wife, and, if she dies, he may not marry again; one matrimonial venture alone is permitted to him. Among the people religious marriages are not popular. All travellers agree that the Abyssinians prefer to be married by civil contract, as these

1 See Wellhausen, G.H.A., 1893, p. 452f. 2 See Lane, The Thousand and One Nights, I. 318f. 3 Ib. 4 Ib. 5 § 222. 6 Arabica Doxta, Cambridge, 1888, I. 529f. 7 See Lane, 1. 318f. 8 Wilken, Het matrimoniaal bij de oen Arabieren, p. 15; Black and Christ, Lectures and Essays of William Robertson Smith, p. 89f. 9 C. Bouch, Hurry and Hurry, Melk, the Hague, 1888-99, B. 6f. 10 See Doughty, Arabica Doxta, cit. New York, 1883, I. 120f. 11 Cf. Wilken, loc. cit. 12 So Lane, loc. cit. 13 See Bent, The Sacred City of the Ethiopians, p. 31.
mariages may be dissolved at the desire of either party to the contract. This liberty is freely exercised. Wives are changed at will, by mutual agreement, if a man divorces his own and marrying the wife divorced by another. 1 Divorces do not necessarily dissolve friendly relations between those who separate; Parkyns visited a man whose divorced wife and her children lived in the same cell with him and another man. 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 and bride and bridegroom, the eldest son or daughter of the former to the mother and, 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. 2

In addition to these irregularities, there is also much concubinage in Abyssinia, as in other Semitic countries. The levirate exists there, and its customs are operative as elsewhere; when an ancient Slav dies, the woman is the first buried, the next after her children. In other cases, the marriage 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 feasting 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 no matter how many times the bride may have been married before.


GEORGE A. BARTON.

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, a girl being captured by another family or tribe, and marriage by purchase. In the Christian period only the latter was sanctioned by the Church as a more civilized and noble form of marriage, whereas marriage by capture was prohibited and generally considered sinful. Thus, unless a series of ancient 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 that of tethering the dog before the bridegroom and riding the bride; and here may also be mentioned the habit of presenting a false bride to the bridegroom. In S. Russia the wedding-guests engage in symabolical fights, which may righty be deemed a survival of the rite and family. The companions of the bridegroom violently attack the house where the bride lives, while her kinsfolk defend it and repel the aggressors, but at last the two parties put an end to the hostilities and restore harmony by a scene of fun and laughter. The Slavs (the Jugoslav) have preserved the custom of marriage by capture to the present time, and, where this form of marriage has died away, symabolical traditions have taken its place.

The wedding ceremony, performed by the different Slavic nations vary widely, but it is possible to discover in them some fundamental traits which are common to all Slavs, and which may be regarded as a survival of ancient times, while their antiquity and the custom is also considered in accordance with the chief type of Indo-European wedding ceremony, as reconstructed by H. Hirt and O. Schrader. 3 Among all the Slavic peoples are the first preliminary to the marriage, the 'wooing' and the marriage contract. The deities of the bridegroom (drubba, sent, starosta, oferje, etc.) negotiate with the bride's father concerning the conditions of the marriage and arrange the precise date for the wedding ceremony. The ceremony begins with the crowning of the bride with a wreath variously arranged and more or less ornate; the bride and the bridegroom shake hands as a mark of their mutual consent, and pass three times round the table or the hearth. Thus the nuptial knot is formally tied, and the pair give each other various presents of symabolical meaning (rings, apples, wedding-shirts, etc.). Afterwards the bride is veiled and conducted in solemn procession to the house of the bridegroom, where a hearty reception is given her, and bread and honey are distributed among the guests, who cast upon the bride various fruits, such as corn, millet, peas, nuts, hops, rice (nowadays sweets), etc., to express their wish that she may bear many children. The similar meaning underlies the custom practised by some Slavic peoples of placing a child in the bride's lap when she arrives at her new home. It is customary, when she reaches the door of the bridegroom's home, to cast the first handful of grain into his lap, and to place her upon a fur, the hair of which is turned upwards. One of the most significant gifts which the wedding-guests bring to the couple is a cock and a black hen. In S. Russia the bride throws such a hen under the hearth, probably as a sacrifice for the domestic genius. A very important place in the wedding ceremony is occupied by a large wheat cake, decorated with eggs, flowers, ribbons, and sweets, which is cut in pieces at the wedding feast and distributed to the guests. Thus the symbolic nuptial ceremonies belong, further, the untwisting or cutting of the bride's plait and the covering of her hair with a cap-like scarf. There was a rule among the Slavs—which is still, for the most part, observed—whereby unmarried women, for the sake of distinction, to wear their hair long, loose plaits, while married women wore a cap. The bride's entrance upon the status of a married woman was symbolized by the custom just mentioned, which was performed in a closed room by the women present. Then the bride used to unloose the shoes of her bridegroom.


2 See Hotten, Abyssinia and its People, pp. 41, 45; W. Stanley, A Visit to Abyssinia, ii. 731; Bent, p. 314; and Wydde, Modern Abyssinia, do. 1901, pp. 161, 254.


4 Letourneau, p. 266.
to show her submission (sometimes she even received symbolical 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 clergy. After the meal and night prayers an intercourse 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 Slavic 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 notice that for a long time the people attached far greater importance to these domestic wedding ceremonies 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 prescribed observances inherited from the ancestors and consecrated by the family tradition; and this ceremony is still to be found among some of the Slavic nations.

LITERATURE.—G. Krek, Einführung in die sl. Literaturgesch. Graz, 1857, pp. 196-218; 303; F. S. Krauss, Slavische Völker, Lh. Literaturgesch. der Juden, Jesu, der slav. Sprachvergleichung und Ueberlieferung, 1906-07, II, 511. All these contain references to works in Slavic languages, such as: Hert, Idugergenien, Strassburg, 1905-07, p. 511; See further, art. Family (Teutonic and Slavo-Slav.) in vol. v, p. 769.

J. MACHAL.

MARTINEAU.—James Martineau (1805-1000) was born in Norwich, April 21, 1805, the fourth son and seventh child of Thomas Martineau, a manufacturer of bombazine. Of Hugenot ancestry, he was also descended through his father's mother from John Meadows, one of the ejected ministers of 1662. After four years at the Norwich Grammar School he was placed under the care of Dr. Lant Carpenter at Bristol (1819-21), to whom he owed his 'spiritual rebirth.' His teacher was a pioneer in education, and combined instruction in the elements of science as well as psychology and moral philosophy with classical and mathematical training. Thus equipped, he was placed in machinery works at Derry, but relinquished his apprenticeship after a year to undertake a hawking business in which he turned from an engineer to an evangelist [speech at Nottingham, 1856; Carpenter, James Martineau, p. 21], and in 1822 he entered Newcastle College, York, as a student for the ministry. He had been brought up in the Unitarian theology of Priestley, and embraced his necessitous pantheism with ardour, though at Bristol he had read Wilberforce and Hannah More, and was not without occasional misgivings concerning the freedom of the will. On the completion of his College course he took charge of Dr. Carpenter's school for a year (1827-28), and, after a short period of ministerial service in Dublin (1829-33), was licensed through his refusal of the ordination known as the Regium Donum, he began his longest pastorate in Liverpool (1832-57). In 1840 he undertook the additional duty of Professor of Philosophy and Political Economy in Newcastle College. On his return from York to the city of its foundation. During the creation of the Hope St. Church by his congregation (1848-49) he spent fifteen months with his family in Germany, returning to resume his ministry. The transference of the College to London led to his settlement there in 1857, and from 1859 he also ministered in Little Portton St. Chapel till 1872, when a threatened failure of health led to his retirement. In the meantime he had succeeded to the Principality of the College in 1865, which he held till June 1885.

For more than fifty years he had been actively engaged in literary work of many kinds. To the religious deists of his day he gave unstinted service, and his was the chief influence in transforming its fundamental theological conceptions, while in the wider field of philosophy he was the powerful antagonist of the empiricism and militarism of the Mills, the monism of Spinoza, scientific materialism, and the agnostic philosophy of Spencer.

The Unitarians of Martineau's youth followed the tradition of Locke. Accepting the NT as the final authority in Christian doctrine, they recognized Jesus Christ as the Messiah, whose teachings were authenticated by miracles. To this interpretation Martineau remained faithful till after 1832. But further study of the Gospels confronted him with the predictions which implied the return of Jesus in the lifetime of His disciples to judge the world, and this begot an investigation into the significance of revelation which led him to declare in his first work, The Rationale of Religious Inquiry (1819), that 'no seeming anything contrary to reason, that the last appeal in all researches into religious truth must be the judgments of the human mind' (p. 125). To work out this principle was to be one of the main occupations of his life. He was the originator of German critical study; he was familiar with Paulus and Strauss; he adopted the general results of the Tubingen school, and became their earliest and most accomplished English exponent in a work, The Creed and Heresies of Catholicism, Westminster Review, 1853). 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 miracles as essential for the Christian name. In the Prospective Review (1845-54) and its successor, the National Review (1855-64), he secured an organ for his theological and philosophical essays, while others not less brilliant appeared in the Westminster. Indubitably in study, a constant teacher of the young, he devoted long courses of lectures to the exposition of the NT and the history of Christian doctrines, and in his last large treatise, The Seat of Authority in Religion (1869), he returned to his earlier abhorrence of the special dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, the infallibility of the Bible, and the historical significance of Christianity, 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 (1865), 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, faked, by copying, out of anonymous traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean eighteen centuries ago, has been the real directing, through hardly conscious aim of my responsible life' (Carpenter, p. 549).

Martineau thus remained to the last a Unitarian in his interpretation of the Deity, and a Christian in his allegiance to Jesus Christ. This was not always misunderstood, partly because of his sympathy with many aspects of traditional devotion, and partly because of his steadfast refusal to belong to a Unitarian Church. This was due to the disunity of the denomination 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 leadership of Baxter, had stood for 'churchism against all parties, & repudiated creeds of human imposition.' In dedicating their chapels 'for the worship of God by Protestant Dissenters' (sometimes specified as Presbyterians, sometimes as
Independents, sometimes as both together), they deliberately rejected all limiting doctrinal names. By slow processes of Scripture study many ministers and congregations gradually became Unitarian in theology. Attention was at length called to this issue, 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 Chipping, 1826-39) had been a warm supporter of the Presbyterians. The decision (December 1833), which displaced the Unitarian trustees, was at once seen to imperil the tenure of all the chapels, 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 various schools of religious life, Martineau endeavored to form a Unitarian Christian Union, which was joined by representative men of every British Church, but was disbanded two years later. Subsequently he worked out a scheme for 'the National Church as a Federal Union' (C.P.E. (1857), 498 E), which proposed to abolish the Act of Uniformity, to release the Church of England from State control, and associate it with the other communions in a United English Christian Church. The plan aroused considerable popular 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 persuasion of obstinate and without realizing its significance. Many influences now contributed 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 had wakened in him the passion in human nature: Channing emphasized its freedom and dignity. In reviewing Bentham's 'Deontology' (Monthly Repository, 1844), 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 personal NT study, and the hymns of the Wesleys opened new aspects of the inner life; and in the lecture on 'Moral Evil' in the Liverpool Controversy (1839) he formally abandoned the determinism of his youth. The change involved many modifications. He ceased to regard revelation as 'communicated truth'; it was effected through character; its organ was the conscience and the affections; its supreme historic type was seen in Christ as the image of the Father.

By his relation to Channing, in opposition to the one hand to the 'association' philosophy of James Mill, and on the other to the monistic schemes of Spinoza 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 higher, 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 these were relational; there was always an alternative before the mind, and the power to recognize these diverse values lay with conscience, which pronounced this better and that worse. This view was first expanded in the Prospective (1845), in an essay on Whewell's 'Elements of Morality,' and led to the definition: 'Every action is right which, in the presence of a lower principle, follows a higher; every action is wrong which, in the presence of a higher principle, follows a lower' (Essays, iii. 352). The year before, during a visit to Liverpool, Mrs. Carlyle had described Martineau as 'the victim of conscience. He was to become the greatest English moralist since Butler. Here was the witness of Deity within; here the access of the soul to divine things; here the true ground for the conception which he was afterwards to define as 'the perennial indwelling of God in Man and in the Universe.' Alongside the great inductive rationalism he ran an exposition of our knowledge of the external world (in a review of J. D. Morell's Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1846, in Perspective, 1849). The notion of Perception gives us simultaneous knowledge of subject and object' (p. 562). Again and again in subsequent essays Martineau vindicated this 'natural dualism' against idealism on the one hand and pantheism on the other, and the bill in which it was embodied was never actually laid before Parliament.

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branched, Spinoza, and physical (Comte), he expanded (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. The scale of human experience was then contrasted with the hedonistic ethics of the other utilitarians, and the modifications introduced by the idea of evolution. In emphasizing 'Hitches 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 Conscience and Religion' further supplied hints which modified the stress of individualism in some of his earlier writings.

The stream of Essays 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 Tyndall's discourse to the British Association at Belfast, and its sequel, Modern Materialism: its Attitude towards Theology (1876), brought Martineau 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 tract four volumed entitled A Study of Religion (2 vols., 1888). 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 sensations, 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 issues of theism 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 concepts which had been discarded in earlier revolt 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 process of evolution. Assuming the results of his analysis of human nature in the previous treatise, Martineau argued that the concept of obligation implied the presence within us of a moral order in which God was disclosed as transcendentally holy. The intelligent Purpose and the righteous Will were then identified; the place of pain and sin under such a rule was defined; and the teleology concluded with a refutation of pantheism and a defence of human freedom. A final book carried the argument up to 'the Life to come.'

Martineau's last word on the grounds of belief and their illustration in the NT was uttered in The Story of Authority in Religion already cited, in which the origins of Christianity were expounded with remarkable force and daring (1890). The work was less technical than its predecessors, and appeased to the wide circle of those who had found invaluable help in the author's devotional writings. In the Endeavors after the Christian Life (2 vols., 1813-47) he had unfolded secrets of personal religion and moral experience in language often of lyrical passion; in successive collections of hymns (1834, 1842, 1874) testified to his deep sympathy with many types of Christian devotion. Later series of Hours of Thought on Sacred Things (1876, 1879) carried on the application of his thought to the incidents of the human not. A small book of Hours of Progressions 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 productiveness, which includes a political economy and a cyclical

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 some apparent approximation to Utilitarianism; for instance, he was designated as 'the greatest of living thinkers'; and a younger philosopher (A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, HJi. [1903] 441) apply 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 early writings were collected by American friends in Miscellanea, Cambridge, Mass., 1852, Studies of Christianity, London, 1868, and Essays Philosophical and Theological, 2 vols., 1883. We may also name his Lectures in the Liver- pool Correspondent (1859), A Study of Spinoza, do., 1882, and National Duties and other Sermons and Discourses, 2 vols., 1888. See further, A. W. Jackson, James Martineau, a Biography and a Study, do. 1890; J. Drummond, The Life and Letters of James Martineau, 2 vols., 1892; J. E. Carpenter, James Martineau, Theologian and Teacher, do. 1893. J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

MARTYRS.—See SAINTS AND MARTYRS.

MARY.—The following article, dealing with the cult of the Virgin Mary, starts from the Scriptural and orthodox positions (1) that our Lord Jesus Christ, being the eternal Son of God, because man, was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary (1874), (2) that the human nature is thus God and man in two distinct natures and one person for ever, so is she, His mother, truly and properly described as Theotokos and Virgin Deipara—the Mother or Bring-forth of Our Lord and God, who was God when He issued from her virgin womb, wearing the manhood which of her substance had been prepared for Him, which He had taken to Himself, which He carried with Him to the Cross, which He raised in spiritual glory from the tomb, which He wears for ever at the right hand of the Majesty on high. These things are part of the faith of the whole Catholic Church; they are treated here as historical facts.

Another matter which, though Scripture is silent upon it, unquestionably belongs to that principle of influence on the development of the cult of the Virgin Mary, is assumed in this article in accordance with the view of overwhelmingly the larger part of Christendom, viz. her perpetual virginity: 'virgo concepta, virgo peperita, virgo permanens.' With the general question of the Invocation of Saints, and the merits or demerits of that practice, this article is not concerned.

The only questions, therefore, to be here discussed concern the implications of these facts. We shall inquire historically (1) what was inferred from them in the Apostolic and early ages of the Church as to the duty of Christians towards the Virgin Mother of the Lord; (2) when and how the wide-spread developments of her cult arose; and (3) the grounds on which these developments have been justified, or are rejected, by those who accept the facts.

1. In Holy Scripture. Over and above the witness borne by the four Evangelists to our Lord's having a human mother (Mt 3:19, Jn 2:14, 6:50) whose name was Mary (Mt 69), and the direct statements of two of them (Mt 1:25, Lk 1:35) that she was a pure virgin when by the power of the Holy Ghost the conceived and bore our Lord Jesus Christ in the third Evangelist several notes expressive of the high reverence and honour due to her. St.
Luke records the angelic salutation, 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee' (19); and the angelic assurance, 'Thou hast found favour with God' (19). He makes it plain that she was the moral, and not simply the physical, instrument of the Incarnation: he brings out her willingness and consent, and changes her reply from one of simple assent, 'I am the Lord's servant' (Luke 1:38), to one of joyous submission, 'All hail to the Lord of Israel' (1:27). And, too, the same twofold evidence of the divine call may require her to adopt (19); his narrative evinces her conscious rousing 'the report' among men of which the poor Jewess still blasphemed her Son and revile herself (Luke 21:17).

In (Jn 1:49), the apostle to the Gentiles, declares that the child he brought forth was 'the Son of the living God, that all true believers might be absolved from the guilt that had been imputed to Mary.' And his authority and the evidence of the name, the struggle in the mind of the mother in the very presence of the Virgin, in the very presence of the Lord, in the very presence of the living God, are all included in the words 'And Mary, having a man betrothed to her and being nevertheless a virgin, by yielding obedience became the cause of salvation to herself and to the whole human race' (6).

If, however, we find here in the words, 'calling Mary the "advocate," of Ere, we shall do well to remember that his Greek had, apparently, συγγονος, which implies not advocacy in our sense, but rebuke. Origen supplies one of the only two places in the Fathers where the words of the Lord from the Cross to her and to St. John have the least appearance of deserving to her a permanent office for Christians. 'Seeing that, according to those who think soundly of Mary, she had no other son save Jesus; and that Jesus said to her, "Behold, thy mother, my brother," we must not think that she had sons of Mary' (in Jo. 137).

But does this go further than Christ's own, 'Behold, my mother, my brethren' (Mt. 12:50), Mk 3:31)? 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 strong already was the Church's faith in the Virgin birth of the Redeemer—several were constrained to admit the fact, while others, allowing that He issued from her womb, protested that He drew nothing from her substance.

If any cult of the Virgin existed in these early centuries, it is in the records of the Church's worship at the time that we should expect to find it, rather than in the treatises of divines or the apologies of the defenders of the faith. But much of the 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 anti-Nicene Fathers. No mention of Mary's name, no reference to her, occurs in the Nicene 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 Justin Martyr's 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. Cyprian has to say is:

The other only notices of Mary in the NT are: (1) the mention of her by St. Luke (Ac 1:14) in the place that appears the first, and only one named, among the Christian women, and as still, after the Ascension, 'the mother of Jesus'; (2) the reference to her by St. Paul (Gal 4:4) as 'a woman'—an obvious allusion to the Protevangelium (Hn 3:28); and (3) St. John's taking from her experiences certain features for his prophetic portrait of the Church as the sun-clothed woman (Rev 12).

In the first three centuries,—the Christian literature of those decades toward 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 augments which could be called a cult of her. Polycarp's short Epistle does not contain her name; but in his "The ways of the Lord, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1855-58, viii. 467 ff., on Jo 1:26-27." There is certainly no evidence in St. John or elsewhere in the NT that he or any other, so much as thought of her being established as a mother to pity all Christians, and help them in their approach to Christ. On the other hand, to expound the passage, as some Protestant writers (even Stier, loc. cit.) have not hesitated to do, as an indication that all Christ's earthly relationships—ever Mary's to Him as His mother—ceased and determined by His death is to come perilously near the denial of His abiding manhood whereby, as our Holy Priest within the veil, He is still 'touched with the feeling of our infirmities' (He 4:14).

A sufficient explanation of our Lord's neither calling her here His mother nor naming either St. John or her is supplied when we take it as an instance of His considerateness; had He betrayed the relationship, those who mocked at Him would not have been slow to insinuate and the newly reawakened courage of the disciple might have again been shaken by the utterance of their names.

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MARY

It is a theorem of ecclesiastical discipline, as the faithful know, that at the moment when the martyrs are named at the altar of God, there they are not prayed for; but for others who are commemorated, the prayer is offered (Bp. I, 55). [1652, p. 89].

There is no direct evidence that among the martyrs the Virgin was so much as mentioned.

The one thing in these centuries that points in the direction of any cult of her in the Church is the appearance, somewhere in the 2nd cent., of the apocryphal Evangelium Jacobi, which was very popular, and became the basis of two later works, Liber de Infantia Mariae et Christi Soteratorius and Evangelium de Nativitate Mariae. It is from these that the legend that He who washed her parents Joachim and Anna, have been derived, and the story of Mary's nurture in the Temple from her third to her twelfth year. These books, if they were not genuine, at least met a growing and significant demand, which was not checked by their condemnation as heretical in the earliest papal Index expurgatorius attributed to Pope Gelasius (A.D. 492-496).

3. During the period of the four great councils (A.D. 325-451).—With the conversion of Constantine, the Church became so irresistible and, as Newman puts it, the spirit of the world was poured into the Church (The Arians of the Fourth Century, London, 1876, p. 258). The leaders of the faithful had to raise their standard against the heresy of this period, and heresies born of pagan conceptions of the Godhead. It is among the latter that we find the earliest notice in Christian history of an actual worship of St. Mary. Epiphanius reckons it a heresy (Herm. 32); that certain that 'Phrahe, Scythia, and Arabia' were in the habit of adoring the Virgin as a goddess and offering to her a certain kind of cake (kullosian χωρά), whence he calls them 'Collyridians'. Their practice (cf. Jer 44:19) and the way of underlining it were undoubtedly relics of heathenism always familiar with female deities. Epiphanius rebukes them:

Let Mary be had in honour, but let the Lord be worshipped (Herm. 32).

Honour to Mary' was inevitably augmented by the Church's answer (true and necessary as that answer was) to the much more formidable heresy of Arianism. Arianism, stumbling at the awful mystery of the Godhead, the Word made flesh (John 1:14) and churning in with the old pagan conceptions of gods older and younger, greater and less, presented to men the Eternal Son as only the first of creatures. It did not deny that Christ was born of the Virgin, but it denied that the human nature, issued from her womb, was personally God, it lowered the greatness and the glory of her motherhood. It is not so much, however, in the interests of her dignity as for the attainment of the full truth concerning Christ that the orthodox theologians of this period are accustomed to refer to her. This holds them all—of Cyril of Alexandria as well as of Athanasius, Basil, and the Gregory's, of Ambrose and Augustine as well as of Leo. It was in this connexion that Athanasius had spoken of her as 'hierarch of the Church before the Edmonton 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 came down and spilled his blood' (Ep. lix, 'ad Ep.'). And, again, because 'when He was about to ascend he was put into the hands of the Virgin' (Ep. lix, 'ad Ep.'). And also, because 'when He was in the hands of the Virgin, He returned to the Church a saviour of the world' (Ep. lix, 'ad Ep.'). And again, because 'when He was put into the hands of the Virgin, He returned to the Church a saviour of the world' (Ep. lix, 'ad Ep.').

In like manner, Gregory of Nyssa, 'Have any of ourselves dared to say 'Mother of Man' of that most holy Virgin the Mother of God' (Introd. iv. 'de Adventu Domini') (P.L. xvi. 1474). Cyril of Jerusalem, with equal force, uses Christ's birth of Mary as demonstrating the companionship truth of His real manhood. His real manhood was, he said, not less than the Virgin Mary.'—Believe that this Only-Begotten Son of God... was be- gotten of the holy Virgin by the Holy Ghost, and was made Man, not in seeming and wordly show, but truly, without passing through a channel, but truly of her made flesh... if the Incarnation was a phantom, salvation is a phantom too' (Cot. Lct. iv. 9).

All the heresies, we may say, of this period were, in one form or another, denials of the Incarnation; they all fixed men's thoughts on the question proposed by our Lord Himself, 'What think ye of the Christ? Whose son is he?' (Mt 22:21). It was impossible for the Church to refute any of them without speaking, as of God His Father, so of the Virgin Mary His Mother—to reply to Macedonianism, with its denial of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost who overshadowed her (Lk 1:35); to Apol-

narianism, 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 Word and Sonship, makes Him being Himself the Word incarnate to a man in close association with the Word, and made Mary the mother only of a human infant. All these errors helped to burn in upon the mind of the Christians of that age the truth which E. B. Pusey tells us so

'started him in his young days when first it flashed upon him that it must be true, that one of our nature, which is the last and least 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 desired to take His human flesh was brought from herself above all created beings; that she stood single and alone in all creation or all possible creations, in that in her womb He who in His Godhead is consubstantial with the Father, deigned, as to His Human Body, to become consubstantial with her' (Edentonic, ii. 24).

It is no creature-worship; it is the sense of this tremendous fact brought home to the heart with the love of the Incarnate Son that explains at once the profound solemnity of Cyril's letter to Nestorius and the splendid elevation to Pædagogion oration on the Virgin Mother. It is not that she is the mediator (there is no hint of such a thought); it is that He is God whom she bare, whom 'she... cradled in inexplicable beauty'. Nor do we fancy (with the writer on 'Mary' in E.B. 11) that she was the Nicene solution of the Arian controversy, however correct it may have been theoretically, that 'undoubtedly had the practical effect of relegating the God-man redeemer for ordinary minds into a far away region of "remote and awful Godhead," so that the need for a mediator to deal with the very Mediator could not fail to be felt' (E.B. 11 xvii. 812f.). As a matter of fact, it was the complete manhood of our Lord that the Church in the next succeeding controversies (Monothelitism and Monothelitism) triumphantly asserted, while at the same time carefully retaining the condemnation of Nestorianism. Indeed it has been observed that it is in the creed of Chalcedon, and not in the canons of Ephesus, that the term ιεραρχησις occurs. With all the honour that they gave to her, the Fathers of this age never forgot that, if she ministered to our salvation by becoming, on and through her faith, the Mother of our Redeemer, she still was the mediator in Him that she herself was saved. The great titles bestowed upon her by the Fathers relate to the fruits of the Incarnation.

'The flesh of the Virgin differs nothing from the flesh of sin;... but her body in the same was the same as with ours, for Mary was our sister, since we are all from Adam' (Ep. lix, 'ad Ep.').
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 thrones 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 its liturgical services, is patterned from head to foot after the example of any cult of the Virgin. There are indications that she was prayed for.

Thus in the Armenian Liturgy, 'We beseech thee that in this holy sacrifice remembrance be made of the mother of God the holy virgin Mary, and of John the baptist, of the proto-martyr Stephen, and of all the saints' (P. E. Brightman, Liturgies Eastern and Western, 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 Thou knowest. In other liturgical works of the period—e.g., the Statutes of the Apostles (Ethiop. c. 350)—there is no mention of any commemoration of the departed, nor is there in the Armenian Church a liturgical office for the dead.

Enchirastic service in the Testamentum Domini gives thanks that the 'Word . . . was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin'; but its commemoration of the dead, 'Remember those who have fallen asleep in the fear of God, and the habits of Thy saints,' names neither the Virgin nor any other saint.

The Pilgrimage of Silvia also is silent concerning her, while the Catechetical Lectures (Lect. xxiii. on the Enchirastic service) of Cyril of Alexandria, where we might have expected to find something, has only this:

'Then we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep before us, first, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that as in 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, Append. iv.). Of Basil his latest editor says:

'Of any cultus of the Virgin, St. Basil's writings shew no trace.' Even Letter CCLXX, which bears obvious marks of spuriousness, and which proceeds from a later age, does not go beyond a recognition of the Blessed Virgin as Stereosa, in which the author himself is agreed, and a general invocation of the apostles, prophets, and martyrs, the Virgin not being set above these' (Bleinhelm Jackson, Prolongamina to St. Basil, ii. 274, and 275, and De Viris Illustribus. viii. 1556). The passage runs: 'I invoke them to supplication to God, that through them, that is through their mediation, the merciful God may be propitious to me.'

That the departed saints, now 'with Christ' (Ph 19), do pray for us is an obvious conclusion from their perfected love; it has some sanction in the N.T. (Rev 8); it is argued for on this ground by Origen (de Orat. 51), Eusebius (de Martyr. Palest. v.), and Jerome (Ep. 1x.); and it was an easy transition to ask God that their intercessions might be heard for us; but 'Omniscience alone can hear the cry of every human heart, and Omnipotence alone can deliver everywhere,' and it was quite another thing to credit any saint, however highly exalted, with powers or prerogatives of this extent. 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. Augustine. And when, late 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 that saint had been interested when on earth and might be presumed to be interested still. Of this limited sort was the prayer of Justina, mentioned with incidental approval by Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxiv. 11), 'imploring Mary the Virgin 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 the conspicuous exponents of Christian purity. Virginity, be it remembered, was perhaps the last of all the graces fostered—by our Saviour Himself (Mt 1946), and by St. Paul (1 Cor 727); under the pagan persecutions the virgin martyrs had won a twofold triumph; 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 alike the expression and the shield of this side of Christian virtue. Athanasius found the monks and virgins of Egypt of the greatest use to him in his contest with Arianism. He introduced monasticism at Rome; Ambrose and Martin carried it respectively to Cisalpine and 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 orthodoxy, turned the thoughts of the faithful very much towards St. Mary. If orthodoxy found, as we have seen, that Christ's pre-eminence was sufficient to destroy the threat of Arianism, and His passion, the true reaction of His Godhead and His manhood, so did monasticism boast of her as the crown of virgins. If orthodoxy called forth the panegyric 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 consoling the votaries of the virgin life that Augustine reminds them how the birth from the one 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 Christ and the Virgin Mary have dedicated in themselves the firstfruits of the virginity of both sexes' (Ep. xliii. ad Pam. 21), and Gregory of Nyssa:

'What happened in the stainless Mary when the fulness of the Godhead which was in Christ shone out through her, that happens in every soul that leads by rule the virgin life. No longer, indeed, does the Master come with bodily presence, but, spiritually, He dwells in us and brings His Father with Him' (de Virg. ii. 1).

4. During the mediaeval period.—For the purposes of this article, this period may be dated from the extinction of the Western Empires (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 history of the Western Empire. It came to a head more early in the East. There, where the chief heresies concerning the Trinity and Incarnation had arisen, and where theological speculation was more congenial to the public taste, new forms of error on these subjects were constantly springing up, and to all these the orthodox 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 creatures and the unity of His Person; it baffled monasticism: it reburied the impieties first of the Iconoclasts and then of the Muhammadans, 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, or had been, its subjects with awestruck thoughts of Christ as the Judge of men. They remembered how, in the days of His flesh, the good condemnation had, unrebuked, deemed such himself not worthy to come to Christ direct (Lk 7), but had besought Him through the elders of the
It must be admitted that such prayers are but inferences, not unnatural, from the deliberate teaching of the latest, and henceforth the most influential in the East, of the Greek Fathers, John of Damascus, that Mary is the sovereign Lady to whom the whole creation is made subject by her own personal action. She, being the warrior of the office in the Incarnation, 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 is Christ's) in the East in the 8th cent., and was not adopted in the West till the 15th. See art. IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

The Western Church, too, was 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 5th cent. Adoptionism) which, disparaging the Saviour, disparaged her also. In Spain, though her influence was felt in the Sicilies, as well as through the Crusades and Algerian piracy, it was to come into painful contact with Islam. In the West too, therefore, the reaction from those errors contributed its impetus to every movement for her virginity, and while manifold oppressions of the poor turned them naturally to the thought of her as the Mother of Pity, and the chivalry of the knight made her the Lady of his orisons. But the development of her name Mary and the legend it is hardly perceptible; in the Life of St. Columba she is not mentioned.

In Bede's De, St. Wilfrid has a vision of St. Michael telling him, 'the Lord has granted you life; now the prayers of your disciples, and the intercession of His Blessed Mother Mary, will perpetually virgins, I think, and the Hymn of the Visitation of Elia chants how 'over the Virgin Mother a shining virgin band rejoices' and how 'her honour has made many virgin blossoms to spring forth' (Ps. 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 these (1) in the Great Intercession:

"Venerating the memory first of the glorious ever-Virgin Mary, Mother of the same our Lord and Jesus Christ; and also of Thy blessed apostles and martyrs ... and all Thy saints; by whose merits and prayers we do pray, that we may be defended by the help of Thy protection; through the same Christ, our Lord;"

and (2) in the Post-Communion:

"Deliver us, O Lord ... and at the intercession for us of the blessed and glorious and ever-Virgin Mary, Theotokos, and of Thy blessed apostles ... give peace in our days ... through our Lord ... There is no direct invocation of her, nor prayer to her (Ordo Rom. Trimeste, pp. 37).

nor, indeed, is there anything more in the Canon of the Roman Mass to the present day, though in the Proprium Missarum de tempore this 'collect of S. Mary' is said on all Sundays in Advent:

"God, who willest that Thy Word should take 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 help us before Thee.'"

But neither is this, nor the Secreta de S. Maria, nor the Post-Clergy, 'Maria a prayer' in the Canon of the Mass. The last was indeed adopted in the English Book of Common Prayer as the collect for the Annunciation. The confession of sins in the Mass made "to Almighty God, to the Blessed Mary, ever-Virgin ... and to all saints," is held to be but a recognition of the fact taught us by St. Paul, that the whole body of the Church (from which death does not separate the saints [Ro 8:23]) suffers with the suffering of every member (1 Co 12:26); and, inasmuch as, in like, spicken us, it is the Head is the honour of all His members, it cannot be wrong, it is thought, to ask, as is done in the prayer 'Spero 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 strongly made known in the form of the litany. The effect of invoking her directly to intercede for us (fora nobis), and, next, of asking her personal help for both soul and body. Two festivals really of our Lord—His Presentation in the Temple (Feb. 2), and His Conception (March 25)—became rather than 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 of her soul to God—and it is sometimes called her dormitio, or 'sleep.' The doctrine of her bodily assumption derived from the apocryphal story condemned by Pope Gelasius, though widely believed, and implied in the Breviary lection from John of Damascus, is not even now de fide in the Roman Catholic Church, but de extra Cathedra in the West; and, the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (July 25), also apocryphal in origin, was introduced from the East in the 11th cent., withdrawn from the Calendar by Pius v. (1555-57), and reintroduced by Sixtus v. (1555-90). The Nativity of Mary (Sept. 8), the 'Feast of the Annunciation,' was inserted in the Calendar of Augustine, cited in its Office, both, it is commonly said that this fact is first mentioned by Andrew of Crete (c. 750); its observance was appointed by the synod of Salzburg in 800, and in 1517 had not become general in Italy, while (c. 1110) St. Bernard blames the canons of Lyons for the innovation of keeping the feast of the 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. xxxi.) 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 converse in 1571, in the chapter of St. Mary Major, it was still, so late as 1340, the festival only of the 'Sanctification 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 i. 38, He 7:28); but there arose in the 13th cent. a question when the process of her sanctification began, and, while divines of the date and authority of Aquinas denied her Immaculate Conception, the arguments on which Scotus based his support of it were derived wholly from abstract and a priori considerations. The discussion, nevertheless, tended to its exaltation among all other 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 the 'dama sancta de Nativity Mar.' (PL clix. 749), while the very natural use of what Archbishop John Hamilton's Scots 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, sanctity of body and soul darkened into something not far from idolatry when—as sometimes happened—one image of the Virgin (generally a black or an ugly one) was regarded and resorted to as more powerful for the help of suppliants than another.

5. From the Reformation to the present day.—The fundamental position of the Protestant Reformers, that the justification and salvation of the sinner are the forms, first, of invoking her directly to intercede for us (fora pro nobis), and, next, of asking her personal help for both soul and body. Two festivals really of our Lord—His Presentation in the Temple (Feb. 2), and His Conception (March 25)—became rather than 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.

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MÁSAI

Some Negro race (which in bodily characteristics verges on the Hamitic negroid) was pastoral; and cattle, sheep, goats, and the domesticated ass of Ethiopia played a great part in their life and mental consider then has been not only permitted, but more and more encouraged, by the popes the line of difference is drawn; e.g.,

'I'll, Queen of Mercy! Hall, our life, our sweetness, our hope! To thee we fly, the languished sons of Eve' (Meditations of the Breviary, reformed by order of the Council of Trent, published by order of Pope Pius V, and revised by Clement VIII and Urban VIII).

The Breviary, with the Olliers since granted, may be held to be in no strange contrast to the NT—nearly as full of Mary as of Christ. On all Saturdays, and throughout the whole month of May, votive offices of the Blessed Virgin are said. The Sunday within the octave of the Nativity is the Feast of the Most Holy Name of Mary,' the third Sunday of Sept. that of her 'Seven Sorrows'; four Sundays in October are devoted respectively to her Resurrection, her 'Motherhood,' her 'Purity,' her 'Patronage,' while the old festival of her Conception (Dec. 8, originally her Sanctification)—is now that of her 'Immaculate Conception,' and the bull of Pius IX, declaring this an article of faith to be received by all Christians supplies a large proportion of the lessons appropriate with its octave. The Breviary itself, moreover, is restrained in comparison with such books as Le Glorie di Marra by Alfonso de Liguori (1669-1757), the founder of the Redemptorist Order. Liguori goes far beyond the Council of Trent, for whereas the latter says only that 'it is useful to invoke her intercessions, he insists upon the necessity of doing so:

'Mary is our life, because she obtains for us the gifts of pardon . . . and of perseverance: 'Mary is the preacher of sinners with God (G. I., iii. vi. 2).


MÁSAI. History.—It is advisable, first of all, to specify what we mean by the term Máasi. It is the tolerably correct designation of a widely scattered but not numerous Nilotic Negro people in E. Equatorial Africa, whose habitat, down to the beginning of the 19th cent., stretched from the Nandi plateau, the south end of Lake Baringo, and the southern slopes of Mount Kenya on the north almost to the 6th degree of S. lat. in the south. On the east they were bounded by the Bantu and Galla peoples of the region between the Tana and the Omo, or the Galla of the Nandi and Bantu peoples of the Sokot and Lumbwa highlands, which form the eastern limits of the Victoria Nyanza basin. The older name which this distinct race of pastoral nomads adopted for themselves—or at any rate, for the pastoral and warlike sections of the original tribe—was (according to A. C. Hollia) H-man, which in the 19th cent., if not before, became H-náasi (spelt Masasi by some). The western and northern sections of the Máasi people, especially those peoples known as the Tuguru, Nandi, or Wasághi, were not only cattle-keepers and shepherds, but also indus-trious agriculturists. Still, the main bent of this hand-

1 In the traditions of the Máasi their house-land—Kopekob or Kopekob—by to the north of their present habitat, they left the south the 'land of strife,' show that their southward advance was attended by constant struggles with the preceding tribes not of Máasi race.

2 See Tuki-seup, in which the male wears a head-dress, closely covered by long black hair, the end of which is hanging down over his face, and the female wears a mane of long hair, that is fastened with a black ribbon.

3 In the traditions of the Bantu of the south-western Máasi 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 on the highlands between the Victoria Nyana, Tanganyika, and the frontier of the Congo forest. But the long-horned Galli ox has never yet made its appearance to the east of the Victoria Nyana or among the Masai tribes, whose cattle are Indian in 2. Gods.—Though in physical characteristics the negro element predominates in the Masai over any other, this people is superior in mentality to the pure-blood negro; and one is struck with a certain primitive religiosity 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 subordinated to their gods, who, however, he seldom bestirs himself to circumvent. Ei-ai is known to some of the non-Masai tribes as 'Kai' or 'Gai' without the article, and by the Masai themselves is called by other names, such as Faasi. 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, Ei-ai), the Masai believe in superhuman beings somewhat resembling the jinn ("genii") of the Arabian Nights. It is convenient to call them similar beliefs reappear in the Sudan and in many parts of the northern range of the Bantu languages, such as the Cameroons. These jinn, or devils, trench in some of their characteristics on the werewolf conception, being in some aspects like a lion and in others like a man, or having originally taken the form of lions and then put on an appearance half human and half like an inanimate stone; or they are believed to go about looking like a man 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 Hollos it is narrated that the devil's custom is to call to human beings who pass the place of his concealment in the forest. 'One, my brother, help me lift this load of firewood.' If they are foolish enough to proceed to his help, they are struck with a pointed stake which he carries. When any particular district was believed to be haunted by a devil and the firewood was to pass through it in their customary migrations in search of pasture for their cattle, they would arrange to march past the cannibals' haunt in as large a body as possible, the warriors going both in front and behind. 'Should a voice be heard issuing from the forest calling one to another, everybody remains silent, for they know that it is this devil that is calling.' In another story the anthropophagous jinn ate up all the men except a woman, who succeeded in hiding herself with her child in a pit. As the boy grew up, he made a Geoffroy's elephant (presumably) poisoned; and, when the demon, discovering their existence from the smoke of their fires, came to eat them, the boy from the branches of a tall tree hurled a spear at the monster's body, which at first thought that it was merely the slings of gods, until he succumbed to their effects. Repeating apparently in his dying moments, he said in their action as to how he might proceed to recover the cattle of the tribe, and most, if not all, of the people that had been captured. Out of gratitude these reconverted 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 brutal race which lingered on in the forests of Africa long after the more open country had been populated by the modern types of man. Such grim stories may have worn over their backs the pelts of wild beasts that they had killed, and thus have seemed on one side beast, and on the other a ghoul-like type of man.

4. Cosmology.—The Masai believe that, when Naterukob,7 the demi-god of Mount Kenya, desired to bring the first men on the earth—presumably Masai—he found three things in E. Africa, viz., an already existing race of people, properly spelt Toroobo and means (dwarfish), who was a kind of pre-Adamite man, an elephant, and a serpent, all of whom lived together. In effect, he of the idea of a world within a world, and among the Masai he is hallowed as both the serpent and the elephant mother, who, however, before her death had given birth to a calf, which escaped from the Dorofo, and in its journeying about the earth it grew and increased, and to whom it confided its troubles. At this juncture God Himself (masai) intervened, and commanded the calf to present itself to the Master of E. Africa. Other variable of this story make Naterukob the divine man of Mount Kenya, and this, in some respects, seems more in keeping with the Masai, and is always referred to whenever the Masai come, the Dorofo seems to have delayed. The consequence was that the Masai received God's good gifts and bequest because such is life and the master of E. Africa. Other varieties of this story make Naterukob the divine man of Mount Kenya, and this is sometimes quoted as the source of all the interregnum, and do not involve the intervention of the great sky-god, Ei-ai.

5. Eschatology.—With regard to a life after death, in some of the Masai traditions it is related that, when the man-god Naterukob gave to his primal ancestor, Le-eyo, instructions what to say when a child died, the latter out of selfishness because the child next to die was not his own—inverted the prayer which was to adjure the child-spirit to return. Le-eyo consequently prayed that the moon, though it died, might return again, but that the dead child might remain dead. Some time afterwards Le-eyo was likely to lose a child of his own, and therefore said the prayer rightly. But it was too late; only the first invocation of nature held good, and thus man, when he dies, never comes back, but the moon always returns. Yet this great agony of the mind of man—this refusal to regard death as the end of all in the personalities of those whom we have loved or respected—prevails with the Masai to a greater extent even so that repeated assertions in their folk-tale 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

6. The Dorofo are the supposed 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—Hausa, Negro, and possibly Bushman.

1 From the circumstance that this root assumes the form of one of the best known plants of Africa. The Masai, Oxford, 1895, p. 346.
3 Hollos, p. 221f.
4 J. L. Krapf, the great missionary pioneer of Equatorial E. Africa, writing in 1861 in his Preface to the Vocabulary of the Engataki Elucob (the Western Masai), thus describes the religious beliefs of the Masai: 'At the remotest antiquity there was one man residing on "Oldoinyo eito" (Kilimanjaro) who was superior to any human being, and whom Engai (heaven, supreme being, god) had placed on the mountain. This strange personage whose beginning and end is quite mysterious and whose whole appearance impresses the Watussi mind with the idea of a demi-god is called . . . Neterukob, the demi-god of this strange person residing on Oldoinyo eito reached a man named Enjantu Eunnie, who with his master lived on Mount Sambu which is situated to the south-west of Oldoinyo eito and is a high mountain but does not attain to the height of Oldoinyo eito. When this man married his wife he who by the intervention of Naterukob became fruitful and gave birth to a number of children. Naterukob also taught Enjantu to be the founder of the Kikuyu tribe. He lived on Mount Sambu where he was at ease and was content. One day he saw in the forest . . . It is to Oldoinyo eito ("Kent", in the same as the Waikamba call it) that the Waikamba say: "Let us obtain the assistance of Naterukob for getting rain, cattle, and health from the Engai."
person cannot entirely cease to exist in personality even after the body is dead, buried, and decayed. It is thought by the Masai, as by Zulus and numerous tribes of W. African Bantu, that the soul of a deceased person of importance enters one or other of the python-like snakes which frequent the vicinity of man 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 in her hut, she pours milk on the ground for it to lick up. A variety of species of snake are even 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: 'Angel of my mother's horse, come out!' The Masai believed that the female snakes thus invoked would bite like snakes had not adopted them as a totem.

It has even been suggested 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 to heaven, to the abode of God. It is not improbable that this growing belief may have resulted from their talks with the early missionaries in E. Africa. They certainly believe that there is what we should define as a soul, some impenetrable living essence, and that this quits the mortal body when he falls asleep. Therefore a sleeper must not be too severely wakened or the soul may be lost; 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 seen by cattle, though not by men. When a herd of cattle halts and stares fixedly at something, if it is not a lion or a leopard, it is a ghost.

6. Divination—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 the snow peaks of the great mountains, Kenya and Kilimanjaro, with the Deity. They pray for children and for the health of their children, for rain, for successes in time of war, and plenty of cattle. The present writer, however, when residing many years ago at Taveta near the eastern base of Kilimanjaro, noted that the men of the Wa-Taveita (mainly Masai in race and religion, though now speaking a Bantu language) could pray most earnestly and touchingly to Eh-ai, the Power of love, in their children's behalf. 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 sheep is slaughtered by the animal, by themselves and eat all the meat, and no man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is considered unlawful. When they finish their meal, they stand up and sing a song, which may be rendered approximately thus (paraphrased from Hollis):

'God to whom I pray,
Who thunders and it rains,
Give me offspring.
To thee, O God, I pray, I do pray,
Then morning star;
To thee only every day do I pray,
Then who art of sweet savour like sage plants.'

Women and children also pray for rain. The old men's prayer in time of drought (chanted round a bonfire of sweet-smelling wood into which is thrown a charm from the medicine-man) is:

'Black god, Ho!
God water us;
O thou of the utmost part of the earth,
Black god, Ho!
God water us.'

Young men pray that their cattle raids may be successful and that they may bring back herds of cattle. All these prayers seem to be indiscriminately addressed both to God and to the morning and the evening star. God is not confused with the sun or the moon, but is living behind the morning star, and more powerful than these heavenly bodies, which are beings of either sex that alternately marry and quarrel. Of the stars other than the planets Venus and Jupiter they take little heed, and, with the exception of the Pleiades (the appearance of which in June has been interpreted as the return of the lions, their hunting season), the Sword of Orion, and Orion's Belt, Comets are perturbing as indicative of approaching disasters.

8. Source of Masai religion.—M. Merker, a German officer, who lived much among the Masai of German 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 many similar beliefs and rites in the intervening Hamites or the Semiticized Somalis. For unnumbered centuries waves of Canaanite influence and even trickles of Canaanite blood have been passing from Western and Southern Arabia, Syria, and Egypt through Ethiopia into Nilenland, the Central and Western Sudan, and the steppes and forests and lake regions of E. Africa. The Masai have brought their share of these beliefs, superstitions, and customs from their northermost 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 transmitting to 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 the Masai boys, nor from what the present writer knows of mission work in these regions, is it likely that either Roman Catholic or Protestant missions
at that stage in their development spent much time in translating and teaching the book of Genesis to Masai inquirers. It is more probable that the ancestral beliefs of the Masais, when first 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 which irresistibly recall the legends enshrined chiefly in the work of the great Jewish deities, may even have percolated through N.E. Africa in pre-Christian days, when the Jews and Idumeans were influencing a good deal of W. Arabia and of Ethiopia.

The stories transcribed by Merker are not only recent reminiscences of the Jewish myths of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, and Abraham, but even extend to a personality like Moses, actually bearing the name of Moses (or Massaum, or Masbothfeans, according to the belief of the Ten Commandments of Sinai, and of a paradise garden like Eden.

A good deal of this account of the Masai religion must be taken in the past tense. Year by year old beliefs are fading away, and the people are becoming either absolute materialists (with the white man as their wonder-working deity) or adherents of the various Christian missions, to which they are proving useful and influential converts.


**Masbothfeans.** According to Eus. *HEW.* xxii. 51, Hegesippus had written of the Hemerobaptists and the Masbothfeans (Masbothfeans) as two distinct sects "in the circumcision among the children of Israel." The brief characterizations of the Masbothfeans given by the ancient historians are based simply upon their etymologies of the name, which they connect either with the word "sabbath" or with the word "will," therefore. Among modern scholars A. H. Johnston has advanced the suggestion that the Masbothfeans were the followers of the early heretic Theoditius, also mentioned by Hegesippus, but in all likelihood the name simply means "baptist." In glossaries of Palestinian Arabic the only word given for "baptism" is *masboth,* and, as we know that among the Mandeans on the Euphrates the regular term for ceremonial immersion in running water was *masboth,* we can hardly doubt that *masbothia* signifies people in whose religious practices such immersions 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 misinterpretation of the word 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 devout, who bathed every morning and evening, and the "bathers of the early morning," who thought it necessary to perform an immersion before morning prayer. The term "Hemerobaptists" would, of course, be quite appropriate for both groups.

The designation "Masbothfeans," however, would also suit the Elkesaites, and, in fact, pointedly suggests that sect, as the Elkesaites tradition contains the name *Masbothia,* formed from the same verbal root as *masbothia* (cf. and *Elkesaites*, vol. ii. p. 255). 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, and it would seem very probable that those who had become known to him as the sect of the Masbothfeans were none other than the Elkesaites.


**Mask.** A mask may be defined as a moulded surface, representing the anterior half of a head and face, and usually worn over the face of a person. Further significations are the mask taken from the face of a dead impersonator, impersonation alone, 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,' 'maskette,' resembling mask but worn upon but above or below the face, and 'mask bead,' resembling a mask, but 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 of the Aborigines 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 spiritual and divine, or various animals and natural objects. Robertson Smith regarded the use of animal masks at ceremonial as a survival of an earlier practice according to which the worshippers put on the skin of a victim, in order to 'envelop himself in its sanctity.' In the form of a 'maskette' many peoples have used the heads of animals, even as a war head-dress. The ritual mask is frequently credited with the power of imparting to the wearer the qualities of what it represents. The Eskimo believe that the wearer is 'mysteriously and unconsciously imbued with the spirit' represented by the mask, and, when wearing the mask of a totem, he becomes that totem. 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 factor in the invention of the mask. Dall considers the original mask

1 W. H. Dall, *On Masks, Labrets, etc.*, in *S REW* [1884], p. 90.


3 F. W. Nellson, in *D REX* [1890], pt. i. p. 204.4.


5 Krickhelfer unten, in *U. T. S.* 1889, p. 482; 1890, p. 432.

to have been a shield held in the hand to protect the face from missiles, and later worn on the face, after which it was carved into 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 psychological element. The Australians do 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 with the idea of assimilation to the deity, and the masks of the ancient Roman kings and generals, whose faces were painted with vermilion 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 primordial 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, but analogous to the blackened face of the modern peasant mummer, as contrasted with the wooden masks of the N. American dancer. We may conclude that the ideas of assimilation, whether magical or religious, of terrorism, of protection, and even of disguise are secondary, and that the primary meaning of the mask is dramatic; the mask is a concrete result of the imitative instinct.

The various purposes, therefore, to which the mask is applied have no necessary development from one another, but are natural applications to particular purposes of the original mimetic instinct.

2. War masks. These are not of frequent use. In Central and Eastern Africa warriors used hideous ‘masks’ of animal hides. The natives of Taveta wore two masks representing lions, tigers, and so forth, to terrify the enemy. In medieval Europe and Japan, soldiers wore helmets fronted 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 terrorist idea has been applied. The Chinese placed horrible paper masks on the faces of their children in order to frighten away the ‘goblin of the痘痘 box.’ The mask of the office of ‘sham devil.’ In China, in order to neutralize the activity of an evil spirit, a man was masked to represent it, and placed in its sphere of operations to discourage its advance. The Greek mask, like the Roman’s helmet, was copied by similar ideas, with which a primitive custom may be compared: in Timor-laut, in order to deceive evil spirits and prevent them from injuring the remains of a dead man, a coconuts 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 evils. The people of China and Celbes, when ‘driving out devils,’ blacken their faces or wear masks. Possibly the manked Perchten of Central Europe had originally a similar function. There may have been a mimic struggle between the Beautiful and the Ugly masks, symbolizing a struggle for the crops; masked mummers at Kaysan sowing festivals represent evil spirits.

4. The mask of justice. Officers of justice or terrorism assume the personality of a supernatural inquisitor, the Volume of medieval Europe being a historical case. Executioners wore a mask, and possibly the black cap of the judge is an adaptation.

5. The mask in secret societies. These institutions are practically universal in the middle culture. In some cases they include among their functions the administration of some form of justice. This, like all their proceedings, is carried out with mummery, and the mask is employed along with other disguise or impersonation.

The Sindurao society of Loango collects debts; the tolled the war mask. The Kukwes, Egbo, and Egungun are other instances of the West African societies; their masks are based on various ideas connected with the tutelary spirits of the society. The Ogelon society of the Yoruba-speaking peoples is closely connected with the priesthood, and the king is obliged to submit to their decrees. The mask of Egungun represents a hideous human face; he is supposed to be a man risen from the dead, in order to spy out what is going on in the land of the living and carry off those who misbehave. The Tamate of the Banks’ Islands is a secret society whose name means ‘ghosts.’ The members possess much power, and periodically hold meetings and processions, wearing their masks.

The famous Dukduk 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 Dukduk is 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 extinguisher 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 gaudy. The extraordinary belief is held that the Tubuan mask has been privately initiated into the society; and two female masks are kept from year to year for the purpose of annually breeding two Duk duk. The persons 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 Agul; he is painted all over and wears a leaf petticoat and a turtle-shell mask. Several masked magur (devils) frighten the novices, who are well beaten, and are told the dreadful names of the masks. A ‘wolf’ society among the Nuxkas holds initiation meetings; men wearing wolf-masks carry off the novices.
6. The divine mask.—The shaman of N.W. America, e.g., among the Makah, wears a mask for each of his familiar spirits. When giving a séance, he puts on a mask and summons the spirit with his rattle.\(^1\) The Eskimo shamans, in making their masks, give expression to their ideas of the spirit-world.\(^2\) Hence this is a creative plastic art. The shaman is said to be able to see through the animal-mask to the manlike face behind.\(^3\) In the ritual of ancient Mexico the priest wore a mask representing the god.\(^4\) On the other hand, priests in Nigeria may not wear or touch a mask.\(^5\)

From a similar point of view the protégé of a guardian spirit wears a mask, when dancing, to represent that spirit and identify himself with it.\(^6\) The Mammoo of New Guinea wears masks representing guardian spirits, when they appeal to them for help, fair weather, and the like, among the masks being those of kangoaroos, dogs, and cassowaries. The masks, when made, are flirted in order to cut them, and put in and turquiose mosaic in bands across the face.\(^7\) The image of the goddess 'Our Mother' wore a two-faced mask, and her priest donned a replica of this.\(^8\)

7. The death-mask.—In connection with the death-mask has been found some 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 ancestors, several peoples have made masks of these. One such has been mentioned as placed upon the face of a Mexican idol, and there is a fine example in the Christy collection in the British Museum. In New Britain and elsewhere in Melanesia and New Guinea, such masks (full masks) were worn in sacred dances.\(^9\) The Mexicans also placed painted masks or masks of gold or turquiose mosaic on the faces of their dead kings.\(^10\) The Aleuts covered the faces of their dead with masks.\(^11\) The meaning of the last practice is obscure, but the Aleuts think that it is intended to protect the dead against the glances of evil spirits. Their practice of wearing masks in certain religious dances, so as not to behold the idol round which they revolve and whose glance means death, may be compared.\(^12\) Similarly, among the Guaymis of Panama, during the initiation of young men, the women who attend upon them wear masks.\(^13\) Basuto girls at puberty wear straw masks,\(^14\) and Lidoet girls (British Columbia) wear goat-skin masks at the same period.\(^15\) In Mexico, when the king was ill, the images of the gods were masked, possibly to prevent them from drawing away his soul.\(^16\) Some idea of disguising a person dangerous in danger, or, in the case of a head, and here 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.\(^17\) These cases and that of the Algonquin may be looked upon as the next step in the evolution of the 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 Meso-America, Phoenicia, Luristan, Nigeria, Italy, France, the Danube valley, and Britain.\(^18\) The most conspicuous and complete examples are supplied by Mycenae and Rome. In the famous shaft-graves opened at Mycenae golden masks, 'elegantly portraits,' were found, corresponding to men and children. These at least of the latter, being of thin gold leaf, 'must have been moulded with the hand on the faces of the dead.' The masks of the men were of thicker plate, and had no eye-holes. The hands and feet of the children were also wrought in gold leaf.\(^19\) This suggests that the informing idea was similar to that of swathing the dead, painting the face, and otherwise decorating, while protecting, the corpse. The Roman nobilis kept wax portrait-masks of his ancestors in the atrium; the nobilis lay in state for seven days, during which the embalmer (pollinctor) 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, and the ritual was held for a week. After the burial the mask was hung in the atrium, 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 place of origin and other particulars, as stenata. The ima imagineu gave a man the right of having his imaui 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 Pliny's time the wax masks were given way to clipeatae imaginis, i.e., medallions of metal.\(^20\)

Since Roman times the method of securing a portrait by taking a mould of the dead man's face has been continued in the great personages. This is the 'death-mask' of sculpture.

8. The dramatic mask.—The secret societies of N.W. America are, in contrast with those of Melanesia and Africa, chiefly concerned with dramatic representations. Their 'masonic' privileges are important, but they exercise little authority; in fact, these societies might be described as amateur dramatic clubs, with a religious setting like that of the medieval gilds. Frazer describes the institution as 'a religious drama like that of ancient Greece.' 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 ceremonial. The dead spirits or otherwise. But the essence of their

\(^1\) Dall, p. 110; Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, iii. 435 f.
\(^2\) Nelson, loc. cit.; Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, iii. 377 f.
\(^3\) For the use of masks in connection with a number of ceremonies, see the text of the Artefactum, in the Antiquity, p. 137.
\(^5\) Descriptive Account of the Scoopeat, p. 392.
\(^6\) Nelson, loc. cit.; Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, iii. 377 f.
\(^7\) G.E., pt. vii, The Scoopeat, p. 287.
\(^9\) Dall, p. 105. 13 Id. p. 139.
\(^10\) Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, iii. 555.
\(^12\) J. Titten, The Lidoet Indians, Leyden and New York, 1906, p. 263 f.
\(^15\) See generally O. Benndorf, 'Antike Gesichtshelmene und Sepulcralsmken,' in DWAW, 1878.
\(^17\) Pliny, HN xxx. 5 (6).
\(^19\) Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, iii. 500.
function is pantomime, and the mask is the means of impersonation. The masks are made of various woods—alder, maple, or cotton-wood; they are highly polished, but sometimes painted red, blue, and white. In some of the grotesque sort the eyes and jaws are movable, and worked by a string. Some are held by means of a month-bar. Some 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. For their manufacture and use 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, sulka (tutelary spirits), natural objects (e.g., the sun-mask of the Kwakintuk, set round with soul's whiskers, and feathers, which gradually expand like a fan), animals, and birds form the subjects of a remarkably varied collection. The Tsims-hians have a mask representing the thunder-bird, and at the performance mock lightning is produced and water is poured from the roof on the spectators. Salish masks represent the ancestors of the clans; viz, the wolf, owl, frog, and coyote. But, since the wearing of a mask is regarded as being unlucky, well-to-do men hire professional actors to represent the idea may be 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 pantomimes of the Australians. They are meant 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 use of the mask throws a sort of mystery 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 drama of the Pueblo Indians is remarkable; it has features resembling those of the Australians, and the costume and dance. Divine beings are the characters represented by masked actors. The performances take place in the village square, and have (at least as a secondary object) the intention of procuring rain, good crops, or prosperity 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 popularity of the weather 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 mummeries that seem to have produced the painted red, blue, and white. The face of a Greek mask is made of linen, or, sometimes, of cork or wood. It was large (in tragedy) to correspond to the superhuman proportions of the actors. The onkos (bykor), a cono-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 that the mask aimed at was the bold emphasizing of types; every feature was exaggerated, and in the huge theatres of the Greeks this fact was essential. No change of facial expression being possible and the inner shades of emotion excluded, the mask prevented any considerable evolution of the psychological drama. 'It would be difficult to imagine the part of Hamlet played in a mask.'

Pollux enumerates twenty-eight styles of tragic masks. The tyrant's mask had thick black hair and beard and wore a brow. 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 the and the Comedy of the drama. Divine beings are the characters represented by masked actors. The performances take place in the village square, and have (at least as a secondary object) the intention of procuring rain, good crops, or prosperity in general.

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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:

3 See Aul. Brill., and Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. 3, s.v. 'Pershoura.' This term refers to the resonance.
4 Pollux, Onomasticon, iv. 153-141.
5 Haigh, pp. 202, 264.
6 Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq. 3, s.v. 'Pershoura.'
8 Johnson, p. 591. 'See connect the terms 'mumming,' 'mummer,' and the Lower German 'Kumme' ('mask'); it is etymologically from man, som, used by nurses to frighten or amuse children, while pretending to cover the face.
9 Ib. p. 419 ff.
Deuteronomist code and in the Law of Holiness (Lv 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 Hosea, see no harm in these stones; but the teaching of the other prophet is that this is the same thing as an aversion, and Hezekiah, Josiah, and Deuteronomy insist on their destruction. Later writers, such as P, consider the altar a divinely authorized instrument of worship, and they reproduce to describe the patriarchs as having anything to do with the massebah, representing them as making altars (cf. LXX Ex 24, substituting ἡμέραις, 'stones,' for σέπτα). Hebrew monotheism, when fully developed, denied sun and moon of their ancient divinity (Gn 1:17). ‘The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: what manner of house will ye build unto me? (Is 66:2).’ At such a period in Hebrew thought there was no longer any superstitions regard for stones, cairns, cromlechs, or menhirs.

Stones are used with no occult associations. Samuel commemorates a victory by setting up a stone which he called Eben-ezer (1 S 7:10); the Temple has two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, set up in the porch (1 K 7:4; inscriptions are recorded on stone (Gn 32:34, Ex 34:20 [the Ten Words]; Jacob’s grave is marked by a stone (Gn 35:19); Absalom in his lifetime wears a pillar, called a ‘hand,’ to perpetuate his memory (2 S 18:18); an agreement between Jacob and Laban (Gn 31:49) by the boundary between them is marked by a stone and cairn (אבמה, ‘cairn of witnesses’).

When men sought an enduring memorial, when they wished to make the death of a friend or relative, they often chose some form of stone as an emblem of the divine presence. Something more than this is indicated in this few instances. Jacob sets up a stone on the top of it, and called it Bethel (Gn 28:18, 29:3). Jacob pours a drink-offering thereon. As the massebah is found associated with altars and adaroth (massoth), or temples, in many places, so Jacob’s ceremony implies more than it states. Joshua sets up a stone saying, ‘This stone shall be a witness against us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which we have spoken unto us’ (Jos 24:26). The use of unknown stones for an altar (Ex 20:24, Dt 16:22, Jos 23:1) betrays the feeling that the chief would offend the nations in the stone.

Semitic and other parallels show that such instances are surviving specimens of an elaborate system of stone-worship. The massebah is found in the cognate languages, and denotes ‘lapis qui divi deciduntur’ (Lampriédis). Among the primitive Arabs the masbah serves as an altar, the victim’s blood is smeared over it; hence the name gharib. It is, however, more than an altar, it is a ‘temple’ (J. Wellhausen, Rote arab. Heidentäume, Berlin, 1885, p. 99). Herodotus (iii. 8) describes Arabas making a covenant.

An umpire draws blood with a sharp stone from the hand 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 Allat. Herodotus might have added that the parties tasted each other’s blood (W. E. Smith, King of Israel, and Marriage, London, 1907, p. 504). The Canaanite high-place discovered at Gezer reveals the conspicuous place assigned to standing-stones in the cult of Palestine before the Hebrew occupation (R. A. S. Macalister, Excavation of Gezer, London, 1912). Phoenician coins and tablets confirm the sanctity of some stones, and the Greek name παρανος, παρανοος, appears to be derived from Beth-el.

Theophrastus, in the 4th century B.C., depicts the superstitious Greek passing the anointed stone with smoke, taking out his phial and pouring oil on them, falling on his knees to adore, and going his way (Ph. ii. 165). Traces of like practices are recorded down to the present day. A full description of a shrine of pre-Islamic stone-worship’ with a ritual preserving pre-historic customs in a Turkish village of Macedonia is given by A. J. Evans in his ‘Stone Tree and Pillar Cult’ (JHS xxv [1901] 99).

It is due to the profane intolerance of the irrational and immoral that so slight traces of litholatry remain in the OT.

**LITERATURE.**—This is fully given in the article.

MASS.—See Eucharist.

MASSÆBHAR.—In the OT massébhâh (מָשֶׁבֶת) denotes a standing-stone, stèle, obelisk, or pillar, sometimes conceived as being an abode of spirit or deity. The name is derived from 220, ‘to set up’ (Ellicott). In history the Faux Visages, a section of the Gibeonite faction in the 13th cent., otherwise the Maccarat, are curiously named in the by the ‘False Faces’ secret society of the Iroquois. The man in the iconography of a deified people is illustrating not the permanent fascination of this element of applied psychology.

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‘What mean ye by those stones?’ asked the Hebrews; *ratio in absentia* answered Tacitus. To seek one principle consistently applied is as hopeless in custom as in a language. Feeling, variable and indiffere nce to logic, determines usage in regard to the cosmology of the soul and is supposed inspired awe and affection—e.g., Olympus, Fujiyama, Hermon, Horæb, Sinai—and it has been suggested that the sacred pillar is a little model of the Holy Hill. Meteorites have been found and treasured; and, if the host of heaven recorded 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 17.10]; Záthor in Danannseas, quoted by Photius [A.D. 860], *Bibl. 3426, 26; 345a, 25*; the Kaaba at Mecca, as R. Burton thinks [Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, London, 1893, ii. 300 f.], retaining its sanctity in spite of Islam). Moreover, the shadow of a pillar is a clue to the movement of the sun and the regulation of the calendar. The structures at Stonehenge ‘had for the most part an astronomical use in connexion with religious ceremonies’ (N. Lockyer, *Nature*, 1883, 24, 342). The word *massebkah* of *Stonehenge*, *ib. lxxii.* (1905) 32, 246, 270, lxxiii. 224. The same conclusion is maintained with regard to the standing-stones of Stenness in Orkney by M. Spence (*Scottish Review*, xxii. [1936] 401—417). The term *massebkah* or *magebkh* is used, e.g., in *Talmud* (Jewish *Biblioth.* ii. 381 [1912] and iii. 537, 2 Ch 14* cf. 14*) 31*—which, probably represents the *masebkhah* with solar associations. Palestine had a human past before the Hebrews entered it. The same holds for limited human imitations of the Jordan served as prototypes of the *magebkhah*. Of the more obvious influences specified by the Biblical writers the commemoration of the dead has always been the strongest inspiration.

Cup-markings on the *magebkhah* or on adjoining altars are not infrequent (cf. art. CUP-AND-RING-MARKINGS). On an altar they are supposed 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. The cups are sometimes in the side, not on the upper part of the stone; and that may have signified the shape of a horse-shoe. Cup-markings are held to be inconsistent with the purpose of the pillar in one case at Gezer, and the situation showed that the cups and pillar had not originated at the same period. (*PEFS* xxvi. [1904] 112 f.). The cupped stone is cited to explain Zee 39: *Behold the stone that I have set before Joshua; upon one stone are seven eyes: behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day.*


‘The massebkhah is easily explained as a house for the soul. Therefore the name of the deceased person is inscribed upon it; and the monument itself is called “soul.” The male form was chosen for the graven of men, the female form for the graven of women’ (p. 116). These are, with some reservations, been approved by E. Sellin, who adds corroborations and, in consequence, suggests striking interpretations of Is 64 and 51 (OLZ xi. [1912] 119 ff.; 371 ff., 588 f.). The views of Eerdmans and Sellin are strongly attacked by K. Runge.

This indication of a soul is a welcome improvement on the suppositional *con supressione* which prevailed for some time. In spite of Herodotus, ii. 106, 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 stone slab or pillar may serve as a resting-place for the soul was inspired upon funerals or cemeteries (252 n. 5, as they are called) of giving every individual a stone. The inscribed name indicates the sex, apart from a special shape of the stone. The tomstone of a Rabbi or of a person who died of plague has a distinctive shape—regards these two principles as simply modes or 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; spiritualised ufrone, which regards the universe to be the only ultimate reality, and materialism, which makes the same assertion of matter. Thus, according to the doctrine of materialism, extended, impenetrable, eternally self-existent matter, susceptible of being in hundreds of suggested imitation; the menhirs to the east and west of the Jordan served as prototypes of the *magebkhah*. Of the more obvious influences specified by the Biblical writers the commemoration of the dead has always been the strongest inspiration.

MATERIALISM.—Materialism is one of several types of metaphysical theory concerning the nature and number of the ultimate principles to be assumed in order to explain the universe. Dualism (g.v.) asserts that two independent principles must be presupposed, viz. mind and matter. Monism (g.v.) regards these two principles as simply modes or 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; spiritualised ufrone, which regards the universe to be the only ultimate reality, and materialism, which makes the same assertion of matter. Thus, according to the doctrine of materialism, extended, impenetrable, eternally self-existent matter, susceptible of being in hundreds of suggested imitation; the menhirs to the east and west of the Jordan served as prototypes of the *magebkhah*. Of the more obvious influences specified by the Biblical writers the commemoration of the dead has always been the strongest inspiration.

i. History.—The atomism of Leucippus and Democritus is the earliest example of materialistic theory. According to these philosophers, the physical world and all its phenomena are made up of material particles, and mind is made up of similar atoms, smaller, rounder, smoother, and more mobile. The theory reduced all qualitative differences to quantitative (of size, form, arrangement), banished final cause or intelligent purpose from the universe, and 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. Gassendi, who, however, deprived it of metaphysical significance by reconciling it with belief in God as Creator of the atoms. T. Hobbes, at the same time, taught a similar view, so that, though the theory 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 developing in England, materialism perhaps reached its climax in the writings of the French Encyclopedists (g.v.), after science had revealed how closely psychical states and
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mental development depend on the body. P. H. 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.

Nearer to our own time materialism appeared, as a reaction from post-Kantian idealism, with renewed energy in Germany, K. C. Vogt, J. Mole- schott, and L. Büchner being its leading exponents at about the middle of the 19th century. Their worthless, though reviling 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 connection, and in the enthusiasm of the scientific popularity are of no philosophic 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 mental events as if they were part of the same language of materialism, is easier to science; and this fact, together with the jubilant confidence with which science, flushed with many successes, over-hastily exaggerated its own scope and functions a generation ago, accounts for the manner in which many generalizations of natural knowledge have received—a colouring which has often been taken by students of the physical sciences, unpractised in philosophical reflexion and criticism, for an enlightenment in the sense of scientific truth rightly so called. T. Huxley, who on occasion could teach materialism of the most dogmatic kind, and in another mood would capitulate to spiritualism, sought permanent refuge in agnosticism, as his conscience his theory of wisdom, 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 the Italian critic, Guglielmo Ferrero, and in less dogmatic essays of Haeckel, which is materialism in all but its name, awakens no enthusiasm among scientific students in Britain; it is rightly regarded as involving an obsolete standpoint which science, now mental and caution and not more critical—than formerly, has left behind.

2. The attractiveness and plausibility of materialism.—The chief outbursts of materialistic metaphysic have coincided with occasions of renewed interest in the rational philosophy of physical science. The emergence of this tendency to regard the world as fundamentally material, at successive epochs in the history of thought, is evident that materialism strongly commends itself to many minds, especially to those whose studies chiefly lie in the sphere of the physical sciences.

There are many reasons for the attractiveness of materialism as a metaphysical theory or view-of-the-world to such minds, and the view possesses great plausibility when it is contemplated from the epistemological standpoint which the natural sciences, as well as the philosophy of common sense or ordinary social intercourse, take for granted. These reasons may now be specified, and the assumed theory of materialism whence they derive their plausibility examined.

One reason why, as H. Höflling says (Problems of Philosophy, New York, 1905, p. 149), '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. In so far as it embraces psychophysics and is pursued in its relation to physiognomy, 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 studied by the investigator of physical phenomena. 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 as disputing 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 rare.

The physical sciences, again, impress us with their connectedness. The connectedness of the material world exercises an overwhelming power on our minds, and especially upon the imagination. Mind, on the other hand, is regarded by us 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 only the inner life of the bodies or material organisms, 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 the material 'things' exist without mind. Science is also the story of the physical part of the 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 furnished by physiology, comparative anatomy and psychology, and pathology as to the concomitance of psychical processes with physical, their dependence on material phenomena, and their correlation with other phenomena which are also of a material kind. Science provides a basis for our ideas of mental development throughout the animal kingdom with organization and complexity of brain-structure, the effects upon mind of injury or disease in brain tissue, and so forth. Thus a very strong, clear, and convincing case for the priority of matter to mind, and for the dependence of the mental on the material, is presented by science; and there is much to suggest that consciousness is a property, and, indeed, a product of matter, of the processes of physical science. The material part of science would seem, as Huxley put it, to have meant the extension of mechanical law and the realm of matter, and the concomitant banishment 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 that 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 counter-case can be made, for instance, out of the fact, if it be a fact, that to some mental events no correlated material changes within the brain have been discovered; for future research may possibly discover them, and it is precautions to stake our metaphysical theory on gaps in scientific knowledge. Nor can materialism be refuted by saying that thought, or consciousness in general, is physical activity or properties of matter. Heat, light, sound, and electricity are qualitatively different, yet all of them are properties of matter or of ether possessing some of the characteristics of matter. It is a baseless dogma that the effect must resemble the cause, so long as we refer to phenomenal causes and effects. Science, in its more abstract development, does indeed reduce all diversity to quantitative difference, all causality to identity, so that
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heat, light, electricity, etc., are resolved into
motions of matter—i.e. of extended and inert sub-
stance; but at this level of analysis consciousness
looked upon as one kind of experience is
obscurely regarded from the purely or abstractly
objective point of view adopted by science, might
similarly be held capable of resolution into physi-
ocal antecedents. Perhaps the most that can be
urged, from this epistemological standpoint, in
opposition to materialism, is that the adoption of
it as metaphysical truth would involve us in ab-
solute scepticism, and therefore in doubt as to the
validity of materialism. For, if thoughts and all
other things are arrayed without being produced by
material causes, and their co-existences and se-
quences are mechanically determined (so that all
purposiveness is excluded), there would seem to be
no reason for believing that any of our thoughts
and judgments, even concerning matter, are true.
This argument should suffice to dispose of the
dogmatic certainty of materialism, though not
necessarily of the possibility of its (indemonstrable)
truth. That material change, while ever pursuing
the same path of least resistance should throw all
psychical 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
valid. But it is a different thing to be able 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-
phenomenon, a shadow cast by the machinery that
he is engaged in the stock-in-trade of. He may
wonder that, when science, without raising the
previous question as to the nature of experience
and the implications and presuppositions of knowl-
edge, sets out in quest of a metaphysic, it should
land in metaphysics as a fixed goal. Not only do
the arguments in question lose much of their
apparent force, but consciousness, which materialism
would resolve into an epi-phenomenal effect or property of self-existent matter, is seen to
be the primary reality, and matter as we know it
should be a conceptual construction of mind.
Materialism, we conclude, misunderstands human
experience, in which subjective and objective form
one whole, while they are gradually differentiated
only through increasingly complicated processes of
conceptual distinction. The objective, moreover,
is not to be identified with the material, as if these
were convertible terms. Matter is a conceptual abstraction from experience, and so cannot be
taken for the ground or source there. Arguments,
again, are only figurative ideas; and that they
have to be endowed with the very attributes which,
in gross matter, they were invented to explain, if
not indeed with attributes that contradict all
observation, is a sufficient warning against ado-
nption of the naively realistic view that they are
corporeal or material particles.

Materialism also involves the old and obsolete
assumption that the so-called secondary characters of
matter (colour, tone, odour, etc.) are fundamen-
tally different from the so-called primary (extension, impenetrability, etc.). It was one of G. Berkeley's great contributions to philosophy to show that this distinction is untenable. The secondary quality of matter have been generally admitted to be 'in our mind' and not 'in matter.' But on closer examination it is to be seen that the primary qualities are not precisely the same. Our idea of extension, for instance, is gained only through touch or sight; and the perceived 'size' of a body depends on our distance from it. That a material object is of the same size, though at one time it may be a larger and different to a perceptive, is an inference, and involves the revision of the evidence of our senses by reasoning. The extension which we attribute to a physical object, then, is inferred, and not perceived, extension; and, if we abstract from our idea of extension the sensation-elements supplied by touch or sight, nothing remains. Therefore matter possesses extension no more than it possesses colour, except as perceived by our minds. If, then, there be any thing which is all without science exempt from the laws of 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, it is evident that this something cannot be the subject of physical sense and its perception and may be in the 'mind' in the sense of J. S. Mill called a 'permanent possibility of sensation' independent of us, whose case is not percipi; but, if there be, it is an entity wholly different from the 'matter' of physical science and common sense. It is a subject-matter which 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 nomenal 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 first point of view, is nothing but/awareness. The concept of matter, then, is built on the basis of sense-impressions; and materialism uses this manifestly conceptual construction to explain the origin of sense-impressions. It thus seeks to so pervade the world.

There are several other inconsistencies involved in materialistic 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 and permanence 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 is this kind of monism superhuman type, regards consciousness as the product or effect of matter, while cherishing the principle of ce nihito nihil fit in its application to what physicists call 'energy.' The law of the Conservation of Energy 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 appears in another, 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 it with their assertion that mental phenomena are caused by material. For it means that every production of consciousness as a disappearance of physical energy should take place, 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 produce physical effects, that they have avoided working it out. Lastly, it is generally admitted that materialism cannot explain even the simplest type of conscious process. The difficulty of conceiving how 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: hylozoism. It is not surprising, under the pressure of all these difficulties and in the light of the self-criticism to which the structure of physical science 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 a leaning towards metaphysical speculation and a desire for new terminological adopt in its stead a monism which has much in common with the ancient doctrine of hylozoism, according to which all matter is not inert— as mathematical physics asserts for its necessary postulate—but is endowed with the idea of 'life and potency of life'; and W. K. Clifford, in his 'mind-dust' hypothesis, and Haeckel, in his imaginative theory of atoms endowed by rudimentary souls, go yet further, and confound mental and material. Hylozoism is as ancient as the Ionian school of Greek philosophy, and was taught in a crude form by Thales. The Stoic doctrine of a world-soul is another form of it, revived and developed by several thinkers in the period of the Renaissance (Paracelsus, Teleos, Ernino, etc.). Hylozoism reappears again in the writings of the Cambridge Platonists (q.e.), as well as in the speculations of philosophers such as J. B. Robinet and T. Peirce; and pan-psychism—the view that all matter has or has a psychical aspect—which was held by Spinoza ('omnia quanvis diversis gradibus animata') (Ethics, ii. prop. xii. note) and Leibniz, is common to the numerous advocates of pluralism who finds at the present day. It is doubtful whether hylozoism, with its assertion that all matter is organized or living, can be maintained without the further assumption of pan-psychism, that the real elements of the world, and all that we call 'things,' are psychical entities endowed with 'being for self'; and, indeed, many writers seem to use the term 'hylozoism' as if it included the latter doctrine. But, without this added implication, and taken in the etiological sense alone, hylozoism involves the repudiation of most of the consequences drawn from rigid materialism. For it denies the inertia of matter and the statement that motion is exclusively caused by external forces, crediting material bodies with causality for materialistic regarding life as an inherent or essential property of all matter as such. Thus, as Kant saw, hylozoism is the death-blow to science— 'science' being understood, as Kant understood it, to mean a priori pure or mathematical physics. The latter kind of knowledge being assumed by Kant to be necessary and universal, he could write thus:

'The possibility of living matter cannot even be thought; its concept involves a contradiction because lifelessness, inertia, constitutes the essential character of matter,' (Kritik of Judgment, tr. J. H. Bernard, London, 1925, 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 the material particles, even modern upholders of the mind-stuff hypothesis, and of Haeckel's hylozoistic or pan-psychic theory, have not been so clear-sighted. They would retain materialism, for all intents and purposes, while changing its name. Qualities are no longer taken in all its forms a position of unstable equilibrium; or, to change the metaphor, it is a half-way house (for temporary lodging) between materialism and spiritualism. And, as retreat upon materialism becomes more and more impossible, as hylozoism is seen to possess greater capacity to explain actuality than the doctrine of dead and absolutely inert matter, and as, finally, life means the power to act or change according to an internal principle, while only one such principle is known to us—i.e., thought, together with feeling, desire, and will, which depend upon it—it will doubtless come to be more and more plainly seen that the implications of 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; one of them went even so far as to regard materialism as a special creed taking rank with Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. This view implies a misconception of materialism: a philosopher who does not believe in a personal God, or who assigns to a Supreme Being a substantial body, is not a materialist. Materialism assumes matter to be the only basis of reality. This is called *cosmologic materialism,* to be distinguished from *ethical materialism,* which sees the aim of life in egotism, pleasure, and sensuality. But, as with the father and mother, the child is found at the root of her great religious systems, although materialistic tendencies may be found occasionally. Nobody will seriously think of imputing materialism to the Buddhist faith, which teaches that the vital world consists of nothing enduring, a view without any reality. Taoism takes a similar viewpoint: there exists nothing 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 we have no knowledge about death, let us think of the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth); reason is the life- and mind-producing element, which also contains the virtues (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge).'

Another key paper of non-materialistic materialism was in vogue in ancient China, and seems to have been the starting-point of Chu Hsi's philosophy. At the earlier stages of civilization religion, philosophy, and sciences are usually not yet separated. So we find 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 philosophic ideas. In the commentary to the *Yi King* ascribed to Tse-sze, 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; yang is the bright, male, generative principle, yin the dark, female, and receptive power; yang forms the heaven, yin the earth. Most Chinese critics look upon these principles as material substances—an interpretation open to doubt. But we have another testimony by the Taoist writer Lieh-tse, who, in the same time of the sixth and seventh centuries, declared 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 sages of old held that the Yang and the Yin govern heaven and earth. Now, form being born out of the formless, from what do heaven and earth take their origin? It is said: There was a great evolution, a great conception, a great beginning, and a great homogeneity. During the great evolution, Vapours were still imperceivable, in the great conception Vapours originate, in the great beginning Forms appear, and during the great homogeneity Substances are produced. The pure and light matter becomes the heaven above the earth below' (Lieh-tse, i. 27).

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 theory but they are not content with enlarging on the working of the five elements which were conceived as physical and as metaphysical essences as well. They were believed to become of a third element, and to be the choicest of the whole world. The sun is the element wood reigns supreme, in spring fire, 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 genii of the seasons and the four quarters.

Whereas this attempt at natural philosophy is nothing but a medley of heterogeneous, more or less fanciful, thoughts, the old dualistic theory was transformed into a consistent materialistic system by the sceptic Wang Chung (1st cent. A.D.). From various utterances it would appear that he thought of yang as a fiery and of yin as a watery 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 motion, but under (7th-century) and by 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, nor are they endowed with consciousness. Wang Chung rejects all anthropomorphisms which have clustered
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round the idea of heaven or God. The human body is formed of the two fluids, the yin producing the body, and the yang the vital spirit and the mind. At death they again disperse, the yang, or heavenly fluid, returning to its original state of union with the yin, and the human spirit and body return to their respective elements. Confucius and Mencius, which they have never condoned. So far as we know, Wang Ch'ung is the only Chinese thinker who so far with a scientific system of cosmological materialism.

Already in the 4th cent. B.C. ethical materialism found an advocate in 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 bhood of the world and of men's own doing. The practice of virtue is of no avail, because in this world the wicked thrive, and the virtuous are visited with dishonour and suffering, and thereby set themselves in striving after unattainable 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 that is all there is to the world. In consequence of the vehement impeachments 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 the conginal interest of foreign admirers.


MATERIALISM (Indian).—I. We possess several comparatively modern works which set forth the various philosophic systems of India—e.g., Summary of all the Systems, and Reunion of the Six Systems. 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 contradistinction 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 scarce but very important.

As regards the sources that would give us direct information about the materialist school only a few citations can be brought forward, and their authenticity is not certain. 3

We are not convinced that a materialistic 'school,' a 'system,' in the exact sense of the word, existed. There have been criticized materialists, who have espoused some very well-defined theories, to whom the 'materialists,' whether Brahmins, Buddhists, or Jains, give different names, and whose opinions were, 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, ośa ānta. 4 The most famous are (a) Chārvakas difficult to interpret; Chārvaka was a theoretician, the founder of the sect; he is undoubtedly the denier nicāgore spoken of in the Mahabharata. 5 (b) Lokāyatas, 6 'worldly,' 'spread throughout the world,' (a term which, according to T. W. Rhys Davids, denotes primarily the knowledge of nature, and whose adherents are said to be the 'explainers of [the genesis of] the world'; and (c) Bāhāmaspatas, 'disciples of Brahmāpati' (the chaplain of the Vedas, and the lord of wisdom).

2. In the Buddhist canon, 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 sacrifice or offering. There is neither fruit nor evil deeds. There is no such thing as this world or the next. There is neither father nor mother, nor beings springing into being. There are in the world no recluses or Brahmans . . . who, having understood, and realized, by themselves alone, both this world and the next, make their wisdom known to others. A human being is built up of the four elements. When he dies, the earthly in him returns and resembles the air, water, the heat to the air, and his faculties ['the five senses, and the mind as a sixth'] pass into space [for ether]. The four elements, one by one, pass out of his dead body away; till they reach the burning-ground men utter forth exclamations, but there their bones are bleached, and his offerings end in ashes. It is a doctrine of fools, this talk of gifts. It is an empty lie, mere idle talk, when men say there is profit therein. Fools and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut off, annihilated, and after death they are not. 7

It will be seen (1) that these formulae 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 Agnikas or Jatilas (ascetics who give burnt offerings, who have braved hair), who entered in large numbers. 8

Citations in the 'summary' mentioned above on pp. 205-207, and also in the Buddhist sources (see p. 425, n. 4).

2 Mātrī Upaniṣad, Manu, Mahābhārata: the name originally extended to all kinds of sceptics, deniers of the Vedas gods, or of the Brahmanalaws (see below).

3 See O. Bohling and R. Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, Petrograd, 1915-17, i. 508.

4 See Ryce Davids, Dictionary of the Buddha, i. (Oxford, 1899) 11, 119, 125, 160. C. S. Colebrooke (Athenaeum, 19th June 1835) rightly remarks that Ryce Davids is wrong in saying: 'Of the real existence of a school of philosophy that called itself by the name [Lokayata] there is no trace. The traces are numerous. See also art. Lokāyata.

5 Mahābhārata, 1. 63, 3; Sūtrasūtra Nāgīra, i. 207; Mehimtaka Nīkāta, i. 416, and also in the Sanskrit sources. This passage has often been translated. The version reproduced above is that of Ryce Davids, Dictionary of the Buddha, p. 125. It should be drawn to those of E. Burnouf (Le Lautus de la bonne foi, Paris, 1852), P. Girardot (Sept Sutras pauka, deo, 1876), and R. G. Frank (Buddhagā-tan in Amurzād abhrerattī, Götingen, 1849).

6 The sacred writings of the Jains contain the same evidence, and confirm the Buddhist traditions (see H. Jacoby, Jainā Sūtras, ii. pp. xxiii, 329, 343; Skt Jn., 1896).

A more complete study would describe the opinions of Pārāśara Kūnpī, another materialist yogin, who with Buddhist (Bhūta, 52), who denies responsibility, and teaches what is called the 'theory of non-action': 'If a discourse with an edge sharp enough, a discourse in which I should make all living beings perish, the heap, one mass of flesh, there would be no guilt thence resulting, no increase of guilt. For it is always pleasant to me, and the seeds of the Wise, and the Brahmin, and the monk, and the layman, and the beings are best this way and that by their nature,' and comes very near the well-known point of view of the Mahābhārata, namely, the complete absence of fate (dharma), and the weakness of human activity (pravritti). The same is true of Buddhist; those who said that fate (dharma) 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'.

(2) Ajita does not believe in life after death or re-birth; he believes only in the four elements, earth, fire, wind, and water, conceived in a materialistic sense; he therefore denies the fifth element, consciousness or cognition (vijjnana), which, under different names and in different manners, constitutes, in the orthodox* or 'spiritualistic' schools, the soul. The soul, from this point of view, is no more than a name, a term, which is a necessary part of the West, 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 of the juice of the sugarcane,' arises quite naturally from this ancient theory of Ajita.

(3) Ajita denies the fruit of good and bad actions, and, consequently, morality. He is a Nastika, a 'denier.' He certainly denies sacrifice, supernatural births, etc., but, of all these denials, the denial of the remuneration of good and bad actions is the most monstrous. The Buddhist works teach that false opinion (vyavahara) consists essentially of the denial, which destroys the 'roots of merit' and causes a man to commit all kinds of sin.

Ajita seems to have led an ascetic life; but 'unbelievers,' 'deniers,' are usually 'libertines,' in the sense that 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?

3. What leads us to believe that there was, properly speaking, a materialist school, is the double philosophical theory that our texts attribute to the deniers.

The only means of knowledge (pramana) is the immediate evidence of the senses. All orthodox Indian schools are wrong in appealing to induction (anumana) or to authority (the word of a competent person, of an omniscient being (paramaprajña), 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 world.' 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 middle fingers of his two hands, marks resembling the footprints of a wolf. In the meantime 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 super-sensible objects, and who are regarded as scholars by the crowd.'

(4) Denying induction, these philosophers without philosophy are forced to deny causality. The name Svaabhāvikas is given to the scholars who

believe that things, the colour of the lotus and the sharpness of thorns, are born from the svaabhāva, 'own nature.' Much could be said on the exact value of this word; it probably means: 'Things are not produced by causes; they are because they are.'


MATHURA (Mathara).—The name Mathura, or Muttra, is borne by both a district and a town in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The District (145 sq. m.) lies to the north of the Agra District, and includes many places sacred to the worship of Krishna, the most important being the small towns of Bhindābān, Gobardān, Gokul, and Mahābārī (qq.v.).

Mathura town or city stands on the right bank of the Jumna, on the main road from Agra to Delhi, in 27° 35' N., 77° 4' E. (pop. in 1901, 60,042). The city, which is the oldest settlement, was the seat of an ancient lineage, was placed by early Hindu writers in the country of the Sāruscencas, and was reckoned by Ptolemy (c. A.D. 140) to be one of the three cities of the Kaspatria. It is called Mudrā (Mudrāsa), the 'city of the poets,' and a toponym Muḍārā, the name of the people of the city, is preserved in the name Mudderā, which is mentioned by early Arab writers. In the middle ages it was known as Mathura, and it is still called Mathā in the local dialect. The city was plundered by Māmul of Ghazni in A.D. 1018-19 and again by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī in 1757. The greater part of the District came under British rule in 1803.

Mathura, one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, is second only to Benares (q.v.) in sanctity. The city and the western half of the District, known as the Braj-mandal, are now associated almost exclusively with the legend and cult of the cow-herd-god and Krishna, but the eastern portion of its suburbs (Growsv, Memori, p. 4). Arrangzi, who destroyed the temples, changed the name to Isalmābād and Isāmpur (ib. pp. 6, 35), but the new name never became current (see Num. Chron. 4th ser., 2 [1902] 282).

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The objects connected with the Jain cult have been discovered for the most part in the Kankali or Jaini Til (mound) to the S.W. of the city, which was the site of two Jain temples, one Dharmatra and the other Svetambar. The temple of Dharmatra was only a remarkable stupa, the only Jain monument of the kind about which details are known. In its earliest form it dated from remote antiquity, possibly from 600 or even 700 B.C. The Jain faith was vigorous in the Kusana period early in the Christian era, and the images found came down to the 11th century. At the present day Jains are few and unpopular in the Mathurā District, their principal settlement being at Kosi, where there are three temples.

The numerous Buddhist remains, which are of great interest, disclose the former existence of an important monastery founded by the Nāgārjuna, probably early in the 2nd cent. after Christ. In 1869, P. Maury travelled more than two centuries later, the number of monks had diminished. The Muham- madan rule soon ended the safety of the Buddhist establishments. There are plain indications that the popular Buddhism of Mathurā included a sensual erotic element, which probably contributed to the subsequent development of the Svetambar and Digambar sects associated with the Mathurā region. Nāga worship was much practised during the Kusana period.

Brāhmanical Hinduism appears to be the most important of the Mathurā religions. The Greek writers call the chief local god by the name of Heracles, and the sculpture representing the light of Heracles with the Nemean lion is one of the most famous of Mathurā antiquities.

The temple of Kesava Deva at the Kātra on the western side of the city, rebuilt early in the 17th cent., was described by J. B. Tavernier (c. A.D. 1650: Journals in India, tr. V. Bull, London, 1889, ii. 246) as ‘one of the most magnificent temples belonging to all India.’ Aurangzeb 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.

It is evident that the cultus of Kṛṣṇa was well established as early as the 4th and 5th cent. after Christ (Bhātārī inscr. of Skandagupta, c. A.D. 466; sculptures at Maṇḍor in Mārvarī [Arch. Surv. Assam, Rep., 1903-06, p. 140]), but the local cultus of Kṛṣṇa and Kali is of a special form was not developed until the close of the 16th cent., under the influence of the Bengali Gosains of Brindāban. The history and character of the cult are well described by Grove, to whose book the reader is referred. The great temple of Vaiṣṇava under the name of Rājā, built between 1845 and 1851 by local merchant princes, is remarkable for being designed on Dravidian lines. It cost 41,000 rupees. The magnificent erotic seat of Vaiṣṇava was founded by Vallabhachārya (g.v.) (born A.D. 1479) has its headquarters in the town of Gokul.

Three Christian missions (Baptist, Church Missionary, and Methodist Episcopal) are established in the city.


VINCENT A. SMITH.

MATRÇEṬA.—Mātṛcēṭa is the name of a Buddhist author, identified by the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, Tāranātha, with Āvaghoṣa, concerning whom the identification itself appears in the work Āvaghoṣa and the works there mentioned. It may be pointed out that the identification is made only by Tāranātha, while a much older writer, the Chinese traveller I-ṣing (2nd half of 7th cent. A.D.), distinctly distinguishes two authors: The best of the ascriptions of works seems not to betray either in the Chinese tradition or, with one exception (see Kavi-ṁo-vacara-sānnakī ṃchārya, ed. F. W. Thomas, in Bibliotheca Indica, New ser., no. 1389, pp. 25-29), in the Tibetan writings, that the identification is the fact that both writers stood in relation to Kaniṣka. But this reason will be seen upon relexion to have actually a contrary bearing; for nothing is more certain concerning Āvaghoṣa than the special character he holds in relation to Kaniṣka, whereas we have an epistle from Mātṛcēṭa declining, upon grounds of age and sickness, to visit the king. Perhaps this is the reason why Tāranātha, identifying the two poets, makes an unneccessary distinction between the Āvaghoṣa and the Kaniṣka of Āvaghoṣa and the Kaniṣka of Mātṛcēṭa.

According to Tāranātha, Mātṛcēṭa was the son of a rich Brāhmaṇ named Pañcaghoṣa, who married the youngest of ten Buddhist daughters of a merchant belonging to the city of Khota (Gāndhāra). The time is given as during the reign of Śrīchandra, nephew and successor of Bindusāra—a statement which reflects the confusion of the Tibetan authors about Eastern history. The son given to the child at birth is said to have been Kāla; that he was subsequently known as Mātṛcēṭa and Pīṭrēṭa is set down to his filial devotion. We must, however, distrust the whole story; the name of Mātṛcēṭa is not a suitable name for a man, nor is marriage with a Buddhist woman very probable. The name Mātṛcēṭa, which in later times was attached to other persons, means, no doubt, like its equivalent Mātṛdāsa, ‘servant heaven’ of the Mother of Heaven in its present form (the form of Dūrgā): and this is quite in harmony with the fact that Mātṛcēṭa was at first a worshipper of Mahēśvara-Siva (Tāranātha and I-ṣing) and composed hymns in his praise (I-ṣing). He became an expert in Mandala and Tantra formulas and a master of dialectic. In the latter capacity he entered upon a course of controversy with the Buddhists of Oli-viṣa (Orissa), Gānda, Tirhūt (Tīrhaī), Kāmarāja, and elsewhere, forcing them to join the heretics, whereby he acquired the signal and unassailable Kāla, ‘the unassailable’ (Tāranātha, 1-ṣing). At the suggestion of his mother, who hoped for his conversion by the leading doctors of her faith, he proceeded to the great Buddhist centre of Nālanda, where, in fact, he was overthrown in argument and joined the order.

According to Tāranātha, the agent of his conversion was Ārya Deva, who showed him a sūtra wherein he had been foretold by Buddha. If we must reject the introduction of Ārya Deva, which involves an anachronism and is due to a certain confusion (see J A xxxii. [1903] 346), the incident is confirmed by the statement of I-ṣing that Buddha, on hearing the notes of a nightingale,
had said: 'The bird, transported with joy at sight of me, unnecessarily utters its melodious notes. On account of his good fortune (Nivara) this bird shall be born in human form, and named Mātriketa; and he shall praise my virtues with true appreciation' (Record, tr. Takakusu, p. 156 f.). We recognize here one of the prophecies (vyatarpaya, vika Van) narrated in connexion with many Buddhist divinities and others, in this case involving, perhaps, also an interpretation of the name in Prakrit form, Mātiketa = madhuvala, 'transported with joy (at sight of me).\footnote{156} In this way Dignaga has already brought into connexion with the Miśra traditions various Mani- 
touilleries from Chinese Turkestan, so that in due time it will be possible to form a first-hand appreciation of the poet's work. Pending the complete publication, we may base our estimate upon what has already been stated, and give the following English rendering of a portion of the Varnanāravanna hymn, and of the whole: Epistle to King Kan'iśka.'

The former, the 'Delineation of the Worthy to be Delineated in Mātriketa's own work (Varnanāravanna, vv. 1-3 and 30 f.) allusions both to his previous heretical poems and to the supposed prophecy of Buddha.

The remainder of Mātriketa's career may be recorded in the words of Taranātha (tr. Schiefner, p. 91 f.):

'At the time when Mātriketa was converted to the Buddhist doctrine, the number of heretics and Brahman in the Vikrama of the four quarters, who had entered the order, was very great. It was thought that, if the greatest ornament of the Brahman and Vaiśākha, induced them greatly to renounce the like of his shoes and turned to the Buddhist doctrine, that Buddhist doctrine must be in truth a great marvel. Consequently there were in Nalanda alone more than a thousand Brahman monks and an equal number from the heretics. The Acharya, being for a long time full of earnest religious concern, on his daily parinirvanas in the city for alms immense quantities of food, where he entertained five hundred dhikus, namely two hundred and fifty at contemplation and two hundred and fifty studying, leaving them to their uninterruptcd occupation . . . The Acharya's followers are also spread abroad in all lands, as finally singers and strolling chanted them and faith in Buddhism grew mightily among all the people in the land, greater service was rendered to the spread of the doctrine. Towards the end of his life King Kan'iśka sent an envoy to invite the Acharya, who, however, as he was prevented by old age from going, composed an epistle and converted the king to the doctrine. He sent his own pupil Jānakārya to the king as in- strument of the Acharya's teaching found in the Sūtras and other works, he desired to put into writing the ten times ten birth-stories, corresponding to the ten Pāramitās, which were transmitted from ear to ear by the Pañcita and Acharya, 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 impossible. 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 gave her a little strength, and then surrendered his own body. Others assert that the person who thus acted was an Acharya Parashuramavarnakāya, who is known as the latter Mātriketa. The latter composed the aforesaid poem of the Prejñapāramitā and many other Sūtras, and wrote many benefactions to the Mahābhāka of both the Great and the Lesser, and as he was a Mātriketa, he was inclined to go to Mahāyāna alone, and the Saivakas were devoted to him, he was revered as a general hero of the orthodox.'

The testimony of I-teiṅ, earlier by some 900 years, is not less emphatic (p. 157 f.):

'He composed first a hymn consisting of four hundred stanzas, and afterwards another of one hundred and fifty. These charming compositions are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain. Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men like Bodhismatva Anakha and Vaiśākha are his disciples.

Throughout India every one who becomes a monk is taught Mātriketa's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (Sīla).

This course is adopted by both the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna sects. There are many who have written commentaries on them, nor are the limitations of them few. Bodhisattva Gana (Dignaga) himself composed such an imitation. He added one verse to every one of the hundred and fifty verses, so that they became altogether three hundred verses, called the 'Double Mixed' hymn.\footnote{158} The latter composed the aforesaid poem of the Deer Park, and when, as was customary in the course of the Vedas, he was asked to compose an ode, he composed ninety-five stanzas as a contribution to the Veda, for which reason he is also known as the advocate of fruitfulness.

He proceeds to include Nagārjuna and Aśvaghosa among those who inspired Mātriketa. The renown and influence exercised in these statements are further substantiated by the fact that the two latter's works were translated, as well as others, into Tibetan, and one of them, the 'Hymn in One Hundred and Fifty Verses' also (by I-teiṅ himself) into Chinese; moreover, the originals have been preserved in the various fragments among the Miśra 
touilleries from Chinese Turkestan, so that in due time it will be possible to form a first-hand appreciation of the poet's work. Pending the complete publication, we may base our estimate upon what has already been stated, and give the following English rendering of a portion of the Varnanāravanna hymn, and of the whole: Epistle to King Kan'iśka.'

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MATTER. — See Mother-right.

MATRIARCHATE. — In metaphysics matter is one of the ultimate primary or fundamental forms of phenomena, as 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, in which those properties inhere, or by which, as impressions made on our senses, they are caused. It is the support, or substratum, of such properties, and it is necessary in order to explain, in any given case, their constant co-existence as a group. The British empiricists, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, minimized the importance of the conception of substance. Locke thought that it was a mere abstraction; Berkeley dismissed matter as an abstraction and a superfluity; and Hume similarly banished spirit. Kant retained the conception in the sense of the primary in all change. Modern phenomenalism, in which the properties of the primary substance become associated with the secondary substance, and consequently of matter, regards it as denoting the unknown existent upon which physical properties somehow depend.

In the physical sciences matter is the substance of all things. It is derived from the abstract, 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 accidental 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 impenetrability; and these were believed to inhere in matter, and to be in no way conditioned by our mind. The secondary qualities, such as colour, sound, taste, and, on the other hand, were held not to subsist in matter itself in the same way conditioned by our mind. The secondary qualities, such as colour, sound, taste, and, on the other hand, were held not to subsist in matter itself but in a condition of those things, or as the qualities of the things, according to the order of the primary and secondary qualities. And modern science retains the distinction only so far as it tends to resolve the secondary qualities into conditions of substances, 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 led to the first attempt to explain the properties of matter in terms of its atomic constitution. The happy guess of Democritus, that matter is composed of indestructible particles, or atoms, was revived as a genuine scientific theory at the beginning of the 19th cent. by Dalton. The observed fact which seemed to this investigator to demand an atomic hypothesis of the constitution of matter was that chemical elements combine with one another in definite and invariable proportions by weight. This would naturally ensue if combination were the union of one or more atoms of the one element with one or more atoms of another, the atoms of 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 the atomic hypothesis its facts and laws would be unintelligible.

But the notion of simple, impenetrable, hard atoms, such as Democritus postulated, is not free from difficulties. These atoms must be endowed with elasticity if they are to serve to explain certain physical phenomena; and this is incompatible with their simplicity. Difficulties of this kind led to the suggestion of Boscovali, that the atoms composing matter are not extended, hard bodies, but primary in the sense of little used by the scientists. Boscovali dismissed matter as an abstraction and a superfluity; and Hume similarly banished spirit. Kant retained the conception in the sense of the primary substance in all change. Modern phenomenalism, in which the properties of the primary substance become associated with the secondary substance, and consequently of matter, regards it as denoting the unknown existent upon which physical properties somehow depend.

Another hypothesis as to the nature of the atom, and, therefore, as to the constitution of matter, is that devised by A. J. Smend. In this the 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. It now also serves to explain the constitution and properties of matter. It has also furnished an explanation of gravitation, and it seems to require modification if it is to supply a mechanical representation of what physicists call electricity. For if electricity is material, it is indeed unreasonable to explain 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 Boscovali in that it offers a physical explanation instead of isolating and empty space; this plenum provides for action and reaction without resort to the notion, distasteful to physicists, of action at a distance. It differs again from Newton's in dispensing with the hypothesis of the mass in motion which are not only extended, but also, in virtue of their rotational movement, elastic.

It has been claimed on behalf of this kinetic theory of matter that it enables the physicist to deduce material phenomena from the play of inertia 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 explanations attained is an explanation of the world only as it has been first artificially

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simplified by science. The further claim that physics is thus capable of reduction to a branch of pure mathematics is, however, not allowable; in general, physics is a special science, and it refuses to deal with the real or sensible material world; it indeed passes, as it becomes more and more abstract, into 'pure' physics; but then it no longer is 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 fragmentarily; it exhaustively 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 non-matter to which matter is reduced, or which science substituted for matter—is not a real thing, but an abstraction. A perfect fluid, in the first place, is a fiction, not anything known to observation. In the second place, Lord Kelvin's medium, in so far as it is describable by the negative terms incompressible, frictionless, inextensible, and structureless, differs in no respect from empty space. The one property in virtue of which it has been argued that the ether differs from space is that of inertia. But Lord Kelvin has made clear in his 'Agnosticism, vol. i. lect. v.), inertia, in the qualitative sense, does not suffice to supply determinateness to the primordial fluid; inertia is a property of matter, but not of modes of motion, and it is perfectly possible for the property of inertia to be, as both Clerk Maxwell and Lord Kelvin recognized, the kinetic theory of matter fails to explain. This theory of the constitution and nature of matter, therefore, belongs to the realm of symbolic description. 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 professed 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 amen- able to the analysis it has made of matter, and replaces them by hypothetically representative movements of ideal 'masses.' Matter, with its diversities of quality 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 metaphysic or a mechanical philosophy, but has only provided a provisional symbolical description of certain aspects of the material world, valid so long as other aspects may be neglected. Such is the philosophical outcome of the scientific mode of dealing with matter.

Until recently matter was regarded as divisible only so far as to the chemical atom. There were held to be some four score fundamentally different, simple or irresolvable, kinds of matter. Matter which may be the primary concern of the physician, of 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 there are electrically charged, but that portions of them can be split off and exist separately, and that these detached fractions, called by J. J. Thomson 'corpuscles,' are identical, from whatever different kinds of atoms they may have been brought, and possess the same 'mass' or inertia. Thus it has become necessary to regard the atoms as complex systems, and, in spite of their differences, as built up of parts or corpuscles which are identical. Further, the corpuscle has been found to be a charged particle of electricity (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 cannot be indicated in an article of this kind. But it is sufficient to point out that it is the cause of the excitation of the ether-waves which produce light, and also render comprehensible other phenomena not belonging to the realm of the material. But it may be noted that the atomic (or, rather, the ultra-atomic) structure of matter, hitherto a supposition or indirect inference, has at length been experimentally demonstrated. The recent discovery and investigation of radium and other radio-active substances have led not only to the proof of interpretation of matter, but to the revelation of a new sort of matter, 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 out of the molecules it encounters in its path. These ions have two effects. They make the gas a conductor of electricity, while they exist, so that, by placing a current through it, and an electrometer, Rutherford has shown the effect of each particle by the sudden rise in the current. Secondly, the ions act as nuclei for the condensation of mist, and, in this way, C. T. R. Wilson has made visible as a line of cloud the track of each particle' (W. D. W. Whewell, Science and the Human Mind, London, 1872, p. 240).

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 hope for 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 figures in Euclid. They have no properties which are not properties of the physicist, of 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
valid of matter if it be wholly inert, or in so far as it is characterized by inertia. Whether any matter is wholly inert is a question; that everything is inert must be denied. The science of matter has no basis for a materialist metaphysics.

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sidered as the due subordination of the working classes. The 'respectable' press, secular and religious, fumigated against Maurice, and at length the Council of King's College appointed a committee to investigate the matter. But the result 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 1858 Maurice published the volume called Theological Essays. On most points the new book was only reiterating and expanding views previously expressed; but it made clearer the author's divergence from traditional and conventional theology especially on the subject of eternal death. He maintained, in effect, that 'eternal means spiritual. Knowledge of God, love, truth, and the like are eternal life. Eternal death is not a matter of time or place, but of spiritual separation from the divine. The locality and duration of future punishment were matters outside Maurice's message, and he seems to have believed that it was also outside the message of the Bible and of the Anglican formularies. But the religious world did not like the book; much of its content was fatal to what passed as Christianity, but it was expressed in such orthodox language that it was difficult to see how Maurice could be convicted of heresy. He must, therefore, be ejected from his professorship without any religious or theological qualification. Maurice's writings were not philosophical or theological; they were religious. 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 decision of the Council cannot be laid on any one party in the Church. It represented the view 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 tenets. Broad Churchmen alone protected his position, not the Church, and his position was not that of the Church. At the end 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 superstitious and out of date. Nevertheless, the Broad Churchmen stood by Maurice, though he vigorously repudiated Broad Churchmanship. The Evangelicalism of Wilberforce and Simeon and the Anglo-Catholicism of Keble and Newman were the dominant forces in the religious world. Maurice had learned much from both. But at bottom he was opposed to both powerful parties, and few were disposed to forgive this attitude, in consideration of his enthusiastic support of the Church at least of their cherished principles. Time has revolutionized the situation. At present many of the best High and Low Churchmen speak with grateful reverence of Maurice, and appear to ignore the great gulf which separates his view of the Church from their own. The fervent sincerity and profusion of the Theological Essays are unmistakable, though to most readers much of the book seems tantalizing and obscure. More popular are The Prophecies and Kings of the Old Testament (1855) and The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament (1855). Maurice meant by revelation a literal un-}

\[\text{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 he sought to bring out their profound and critical meaning. Maurice's view of criticism had to say. His attitude towards the Bible was in some respects vague. Without claiming for it infallibility, he was pained by any criticism of its contents, and disposed to re-interpret rather than reject. He would not join in the outcry against Colenso 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 Mansel's Bramp ton Lectures (1858) practically declared that man could have no knowledge of God, except what was given him by the Bible. Snob orthodox agnosticism was horrible to one who believed in a Light that lightens every man. Mansel taught, in effect, that men had no right to assume that words like 'fatherhood,' 'righteousness,' and 'that of which much is said was fatal to what passed as Christianity, but it was expressed in such orthodox language that it was difficult to see how Maurice could be convicted of heresy. He must, therefore, be ejected from his professorship without any religious or theological qualification. Maurice's writings were not philosophical or theological; they were religious. 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 decision of the Council cannot be laid on any one party in the Church. It represented the view 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 tenets. Broad Churchmen alone protected his position, not the Church, and his position was not that of the Church. At the end 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 superstitious and out of date. Nevertheless, the Broad Churchmen stood by Maurice, though he vigorously repudiated Broad Churchmanship. The Evangelicalism of Wilberforce and Simeon and the Anglo-Catholicism of Keble and Newman were the dominant forces in the religious world. Maurice had learned much from both. But at bottom he was opposed to both powerful parties, and few were disposed to forgive this attitude, in consideration of his enthusiastic support of the Church at least of their cherished principles. Time has revolutionized the situation. At present many of the best High and Low Churchmen speak with grateful reverence of Maurice, and appear to ignore the great gulf which separates his view of the Church from their own. The fervent sincerity and profusion of the Theological Essays are unmistakable, though to most readers much of the book seems tantalizing and obscure. More popular are The Prophecies and Kings of the Old Testament (1855) and The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament (1855). Maurice meant by revelation a literal un-}

\[\text{veiling of truth, and especially of God's character, by a direct intercourse of the divine with the human. God literally spoke to the hearts of the} \]
MAY, MIDSUMMER.

— Agricultural peoples throughout the world have established a ritual, marking the end of the Little Lentinal period of their common industry. This ritual, in effect, is the farmer’s religion, and it may be considered the culmination of all pre-ethical animism, and its most important development prior to the great organized faiths. In the form of beliefs customs its survival and value survives abundantly throughout Europe, and probably not a little of its belief is latent underneath 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, midsummer, 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 home to the village, and to each house, the blessings which the tree-spirit has in its power to bestow. 1

They had ‘originally a serious and, to speak, sacramental significance; people regarded 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 it is most viscerally manifest.2

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 a fir-tree was brought to the village, decorated with garlands or 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.3

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.

1 When the meaning of the custom had been forgotten, and the May-tree was regarded simply as a centre for holiday merrymaking, people saw no reason for felling a fresh tree every year and preferred to leave the same tree stand permanently, only dancing round it.

2 Instead of a tree or a branch, a branch decked with flowers, or simply garlands of flowers, are frequently employed. English children use two hoops of osier or hazel, crossing at right angles, and twine flowers and ribbons round them. 4

3 The two popular ideas of Moorish magical belief are Loba, evil magic, and Barobo, holiness or good magic, each being a force or substance. The negative method of opposing the latter by eliminating the former is conspicuous in Berber custom. But it would be carried with it, the modern method is the earlier; they are obviously complementary.

4 A consideration to be added later may, however, have some significance here.

The negative aspect of agricultural ritual, viz. the imposition of tabu, has traces in European custom, especially in the prohibition of unlucky acts or times. Tabu 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 harvest are especially critical times. The most elaborate tabus are imposed, and omens are constantly taken. Merriment and feasting follow the period of tabu.

The Swadee proclaim a gama (communal tabu) at planting and harvest. The idea ‘underlying the various restrictions is that men must not give time and attention to anything but the care of the crops.5

1 G.B., p. 1. The Magic Art. II. 73. 2 Ib. 80, 82, 84. 3 Ib. 88. 4 E. Westermarck, Ceremonial and Beliefs ... in Morocco, Helsingfors, 1913, p. 20.

If the Christian Lent was developed out of a period of agricultural tabu, there is complete continuity between the old and new faiths. The dualism of spring and death was not to be overcome. The Christian festival of Easter, where no sacrifice or sabbath have been noticed. The pagan festival of spring was not to be replaced. In Celtic Scotland, there is still a festival of May Day, followed by a dramatic advent of Spring, Summer, or Life. The former generally are dated on Shrove Tuesday, sometimes at Mid-Lent, the latter sometimes follow immediately, or at a later date—the fourth Sunday in Lent, for instance. In a few places, cowherd dances are held in the spring, and the sex of the first calf born determines the order of the harvest. 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 Beltane fires of Scotland were kindled on May Day as late as the 19th century. The tree of human sacrifices at them were particularly clear and unequivocal. The most significant example is that of the northeast of Scotland. Here the Beltane fires were lit not on the first but on the 2nd of May, O.S. They were called Bonfires. The belief was that on that evening and night the witches were abroad in all their force, crouching in the cattle and stealing cows' milk. To counteract these forces of evil, yew and willow, chestnut and rowan-tree, were placed over the hayre doors, and fires were kindled by every farmer and cottier. Old thistle, or straw, staves, or broom was piled up in a heap and set on fire a little after sunset. Some of those present kept constantly tossing up the flames and at others several portions of the pitch-trees, poles, or poles, and ran hither and thither, holding them as high as they were able, while the younger portion, that assisted, dragged the burning fire or ran through the smoke, shouting, “Fire! Blaze an burn the witches; 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, Sweden, and Bohemia bonfires were lighted on the first day of May; and in the last mentioned 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 Whitsun-tide. This date is especially marked in Russia, but also occurs in the Almav, Bavaria, and other parts of Germany, Denmark, and Austria-Hungary. They are also elsewhere celebrated at Midsummer, and 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 May Day, but are remarkable among European peoples for concentrating these customs upon Midsummer-tide, when May Pole, garlands, arbours, and jumping over bonfires are in great evidence. It is curious that parts of Bohemia, while in Russia both Whitsun and Midsummer are celebrated similarly. The same ideas and practices are more or less equally applicable to May Day and Midsummer Day, but a Pyrenean custom suggests a possible connexion. Here a 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 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 thrills of sun-charms or on that of purification and barbaric.

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 to be danced round and jumped over. In Bohemia the May Pole itself is burned.

In Russia on St. John’s Eve a figure of the mythical personage, Kupalo, is made of straw, and is dressed in women’s clothes, a necklace and a floral crown. Then a tree is felled, and, after being decked with ribbons, is set up on some chosen spot. Near this tree, to which they give the name of Marena (Winter or Death), the straw figure is placed, together with a table, on which stand spirits and viands. Afterwards a bonfire is lit, and the young men and maidens jump over it in couples, carrying the figure with them. On the next day they strip the tree of 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 are attacked. In Macedonia there is a ritual which seems to be a survival of the ancient Greek ‘Gardens of Adonis.’ The village swain proposes to a village girl early in spring. Then in May they build a fire not a little distance from corn, which is well grown by Midsummer Eve, when it is called Erine or Keneri. 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 ultimate the reproductive spirit of vegetation.

In Morocco smouldering fires are made on Midsummer Day or the evening before.

Men, women and children keep open watches, believing that by doing so they themselves shall be free of evil, which may be clinging to them; the sick will be cured and married persons will have offspring. Nobody is hurt by the fire since there is beroka in it."

In the Moroccan custom the smoke is more

important than the blaze; the practical point is
fumigation of men, cattle, trees, and various
belongings.

It is also noteworthy that in Morocco at midsummer magic
forces are supposed to be active in certain species of vegetation. 1
Fumigation by burning leaves and branches promotes fertility, act as
catapults; the evil eye, and bring general well-being. 2 There
is also a custom of eating, in a quasi-sacramental manner,
special foods, in which there is karaka. 3

There is probably no corner of Europe in which it has not been the custom to kindle bonfires at
Midsummer-tide. Besides the leaping through the
fire, there are customs of throwing blazing disks through the air and of rolling burning
wheels downhill. 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 mid-
summer 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 'sacri-
cific ritual rites of the Celts of ancient Gaul,' as typical
in the druidical sacrifices, and mythically in the
death of Balder. 5

Two main interpretations of these fire-rituals
have been put forward. Mannhardt, originally
followed by Frazer, explained them as sun-
charms. 6

At the 'great turning-point in the sun's career,' the summer
solstice, primitive man 'fancied that he could help the sun in
his seeming decline—could prop his failing steps and rekindle
the sinking flame.' 7

The wheel and disk are suggestive shapes. Frazer
also noted the purificatory aspect of these customs.

Fumigation is a cleanser, and is frequently used for the
purpose, as in 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.' 8

In the Moroccan customs cleansing by fumigation is the
chief idea, although there is also the ascrip-
tion of positive virtue to the smoke. Westermarck
finds no evidence for the sun-charm theory. 5 Later
Frazer regarded the two views as being not mutual-
necessarily exclusive, but admitted the purificatory theory
as being the more probable. 9

Traces exist of what has been interpreted as human sacrifice by burning on this date. Various
stories have been supposed as sun-charms. 10

In Morocco, however, midsummer ceremo-
nial 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. 12 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 homoeopathic magic 'move-
ment' in the weather or in the growth of the
plants. 13 Magic plants are gathered at midsummer

(see art. DEW) such as fern-bloom, fern-seed,
musteloe, and St. John's-wort. 14

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 death of Balder, and it is evident that 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 concerned not with
the spirit of vegetation but with vaguely-defined
'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 dramatic, but
unconscious, imitations—e.g., jumping to make the
corn grow; in the same way, many ex-
planations might be made of such necessary process
as weed-burning. When established,
these EX POST FACTO explanations, magical, myth-
ical, or theological, obviously tend to usurp
preeminence.

LITERATURE.—This is very extensive, but the main critical
works are cited in the text.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

MAYÄ.—Mayá, 'illusion, appearance,' is a term in
the philosophy of the Vedánta applied to the
illusion of the multiplicity of the empirical univer-
se, produced by ignorance (avādāna), when in
reality there is only One, the brahman-atman.
It is not till a somewhat late period that the word
assumes the technical meaning of this cosmic illu-
sion, although this development of its sense is not
an unnatural one. The word mayá is not un-
common even in the Rigveda, where it has the
meanings 'supernatural power,' 'cunning,' 'myst-
erious will-power,' Sayana usually explains it by
prajnā, 'mental power,' or kapata, 'cunning,'
'guile,' 'deception.' Indra, e.g., is said to assume
many forms mayāyabhya, 'by magic wiles, or mys-
terious powers'; as the possessor of this power, he
is called mayáyabhya, 'by magic wiles.'

[The use of the term in the Rigveda has been thoroughly
analyzed by A. Berggren (Religion et culture, Paris, 1878–85, iii.
It, or such derivatives as mayin, mayam, is applied to the
wiles of the demons conquered by Agni (vi. 3. 3, etc.) and Samsa-
vati (vi. 11. 3), and especially by Indra, whether alone (t. xxvi.
4. etc.) or accompanied by Viśnu (vii. xcv. 4). By overcoming
the mayā of the demons Indra won the Soma (vii. xcviii. 6).
Men of evil craftiness are mayāin (t. xcviii. 2) or dharma (vi.
xxix.15); the sorcerers use mayā (vii. xcv. 24); but the mayāin
cannot overcome 'the primal firmaments of the gods' (t. vii. 1).
The Aśvin conquer the mayā of the evil Daśyau (vii. xcvi. 30).

On the other hand, the terms are applied to good deities.
Through maya Mitra and Varuṇa send rain and guard their law
(isi. 33. 7); through maya the sun is adorned (cv. xcvii. 1).
The Marata employ it (r. xcvii. 6), and are mayin (r. xcvii.
2), or simā (r. xcviii. 1, etc.). Mayin is known to, or used by,
Traya (t. li. 9), the Asvins (t. xxvi. 10), and Varuṇa and
Mitra (t. lii. 9, etc.) and it is a characteristic of Varuṇa (r.
xcvii. 14, etc.); while by it the Aputa attained divine dignity
(isi. 1). It was also employed by Agni (t. xxv. 7) and soma
(isi. xcviii. 3), and in the former deity the mayā of the gods
are united (isi. 41); and in the latter as in the soma, of the
earthly gods (t. xxiii. 6, etc.), and even earthly sacrificers are mayin (t. xcviii. 5).

Through maya the Yaks become immortal (r. xxv. 7, xxv.
xxvi. 6, etc.) and he 'has much maya' (paramā, r.
xviii. 12, etc.). Terms of the latter development of the word are
found in such passages as r. li. 3, 'in the form of
a man, working mayās about his body,' and r. xcvii. 18, where 'through maya Indra goeth in many forms' (cf. also
r. xxvii. 7). Sun and moon succeed each other in
Maya.
With the knowledge of self phenomena become known as phases of it; they are provisionally real to a certain extent. The doctrine regards them as independent of the atman. We have not quite reached the stage of the later Vedanta, which regards phenomena as absolutely unreal, like a mirage. Ignorance, in the Upanishads, is an absence of true knowledge; in the later Vedanta it is rather an active force which compels up the illusion of phenomena for the delusion of the self. In the Upanishads also we find a kind of pantheistic compromise which grants that the world does exist, but holds that the sole reality of the atman is not in the least degree affected, for all is the atman. This view pervades the Chhandogya Upanishad, e.g.

The atman is above and below, behind and in front. The atman is all the world (vi. xxv. 2).

As time went on, maya gained an ever-increasing independence as the substance prokritis (nature), which was at first subordinate to the atman. In post-Upanishadic literature the term appears frequently in a limited sense, as in 'an illusion gazelle' (i.e. not a real gazelle); a man who craftily seeks to gain money does it through maya; ananyaya, lit. 'without maya', means 'honestly'. In these cases (for further references see Böhltingk-Roth, loc. cit.) the original meaning of maya persists.

In the philosophical sections of the Mahâbhârata the term is used in its philosophical sense. Thus Vigna, speaking as the supreme god, says: 'Entering into my own nature, and that of the gross or subtle', the last word means to be no more, hence 'to change, to deceive.'

In Upanishadic literature maya is first found in the Sâkta Upanisad (iv. 10) with the meaning 'cosmic illusion'; it is no longer applied so much to a juggler's art, but now connects with the illusion created by him. It is in the latter sense that the word is henceforth mainly used in philosophical literature. Sankara, in his commentaries on the Vedântasûtras, always used the word with the meaning 'illusion,' and the simple term employed by him became more or less stereotyped by his successors.

Although it is occasionally asserted that the idea of illusion is as late in origin as the use of maya to describe it, there is little foundation for this view, and passages may be found in the Rigveda which show that even then it was felt that there was an underlying unity beneath apparent multiplicity; indeed, the doctrine that phenomena are unreal in relation to absolute being is common to all metaphysics.

In the Rigveda, e. e. xiv. 46, evah sêd viûpa bhuvidâ vadhanti, that is the sages call by many names; it is felt that all plurality is a matter of words only, or in x. 5, where the whole universe is said to be purusha alone, it is implied that all else but purusha is illusion.

It was with the introduction of the doctrine of the atman in the Upanishads that this denial of the existence of the empirical universe became firmly established in India as a philosophic doctrine. This was an all-pervading atman, the 'self' of the universe, necessitates the exclusion of all that is not the self, and hence implies its un-ality. The substance of the teaching of the Upanishads is Brahman is real, the universe false, the atman is brahman and nothing else. Although it is not possible to quote early forms of the statement that the universe is maya, or illusion, it is frequently in-listed that the atman is the only reality, which means the same thing—that, i.e., that all that is not maya (world, etc.) is not real; it is mere appearance or illusion. This is the teaching of Yajñavalkya in the Brhadâranyaka Upanishad:

When the self is seen, heard, perceived, and known, the world is called real. When the self is not known, there is plurality of eyes from death to death (rv. iv. 19, v.)

(x. xxv. 15), and maya explains the double form of Vaiyana and advaita (non-duality); the phenomenal world does not exist; it is only maya, arising from avidya, that makes us erroneously think it to be real; maya is overcome when he who ignorantly believes himself to be Brahman realizes that in actuality he is one with the atman; then only is salvation (moksha, lit. 'liberation') finally won. In the Sûkhyana system, on the contrary, the phenomenal world is real; the Vedantic atman is ignored (Sûkhya in the Brhadâranyaka, v. 14, 2); this is a subtle but unconscious, individuality. (On the distinctions between Vedanta and Sûkhya see especially Max Muller, Sûkhyana, p. 279 ff.)

One of the most important of the early works on Vedanta is the Kârikâ (c. 4th cent. a.d.), one of whose pupils was a teacher of Sankara. He is an uncompromising advocate of the doctrine of maya, and strongly denies the existence of the universe. The waking world is no more real than the world of dreams. The atman is both the knower and the known; his experiences exist within him through the power of maya. As a rope in a dim light is mistaken for a snake, so the atman is mistaken for the variety of experience (jiva). When the rope is recognized, the illusion of the snake at once disappears; when true knowledge of the atman is attained, the illusion which makes us think of it as a multiplicity of experiences vanishes. The world has no more real existence than the snake, and, as it cannot remove or cast off what does exist, it
MAYANS

The territory of which 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 'Mayan,' from the name of its most conspicuous members, the people of Yucatan. This population is to be regarded as the second of what already exists, and the latter is equally impossible, for the non-existent—e.g., the son of a barren woman—cannot be the cause of anything; it cannot even be realized by the mind.

General's moment assumed its final form in the commentaries of Sankara (b. probably A.D. 788). Sankara is well aware of the difficulties in the way of reconciling the various views of the Upanishads, and is further perplexed by the fact that the term 'atman' or spirit, he distinguishes in equal weight; the latter difficulty he overcomes by his classification of knowledge as of two kinds: a higher, the knowledge of brahmān, and a lower, including all that is not this metaphysical knowledge. He then investigates the nature of ignorance (avidyā), and concludes that it is to be sought in the knower. The phenomenal world is considered real so long as the unity of the atman is not realized, just as the creations of a dream are there till the dreamer awakes; just as a magician (māyakāra) causes aphantom, having no existence apart from him, to issue from his body, so the atman creates a universe which is a mere mirage and in no way affects the self. It is therefore impossible to realize that there is really only the atman. Multiplicity is only a matter of name and form, which are the creations of ignorance, being neither the atman nor different from their source the whole (māyapattī). The Highest One manifests in various ways by avidyā as a magician assumes various forms by his wiles. Sankara further defines two kinds of existence, empirical and metaphysical, for the first time by a distinction which seems, however, to be known even in the Upanishads. 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 brahmān is arrived, all worldly actions are justified (on Vedāntaśūtra, n. 1. 123).

In spite of the discussion that has raged round it since Sankara's time, the doctrine of māyā as enunciated by him still holds the field in India to-day, and one of the fundamental doctrines of his Advaitist 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
dise of ancient Central America, celebrated a great feast to the black god Ekekuan, the god of the caravans and the merchants, to the chie, and to Hobin, the god of the bee-hives. They killed a dog of the spotted colour of the canco-pod and offered blue ignamas, feathers of wild fowl, and incense. And with this feast the seven days was another great feast, called Pucumac, celebrated to Cit chae coh, the god of war. It began with a five days' watch in the temple of the god of war, and during this time the war-chief, called nacom 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 like a deity with incense-burning. The people performed a dance called holkon-okot, a warrier-dance. At the end of the five days the war-chief's house was cleaned and his new dress was on. At this time the chieftain was taught to govern the country after the death of his father, and the new chieftain was invested with his new robe and clothes and a new sword.

In the next month the feast of the moon-god, Tzitzumá, and the festival of the moon was celebrated by the Zapotecans. The moon-god was venerated as the god of the dead. After the moon-god the feast of the great earth-god, the god of fertility, the moon-god and the god of fire, was celebrated by the Zapotecans. For the south and the years corresponding to the south, we have the festival of the great earth-god, the moon-god and the god of fire, which was celebrated by the Zapotecans.

In the month of July, the feast of the moon-god, Tzitzumá, and the festival of the moon was celebrated by the Zapotecans. The moon-god was venerated as the god of the dead. After the moon-god the feast of the great earth-god, the god of fertility, the moon-god and the god of fire, was celebrated by the Zapotecans.

The month of July was reckoned as the beginning of the new year by the Zapotecans at the time of the conquest. The twentieth (main) in question was called Pop, 'straw mat,' meaning 'dominion,' 'reign.' They swept the Popmat, the village streets and renewed all objects of domestic use—plates, jars, bowls, wooden chairs, garments, and the wrappings of their idols—throwing them on the fire. The priests, who had fasted for one, two, or three months, eating only once a day and abstaining from sexual intercourse, assembled in the temple and kindled a new fire by friction, twirling a wooden stick in the hole of another: this new fire was put into the brazier before the idol, and all the priests and principal men burned incense with it to the idol. In the following months all the professional instruments of the different classes of the people—the beakers, the repositories, the utensils of the doctors, the weapons of the hunters, and the fishing-nets of the fishermen—were consecrated by anointing them with blue color. This feast was called Poctum. In the month of September the bee-keepers had a special feast at which they brought offerings of incense and honey to their god Hobin. In the month of October, called Xul by the Zapotecans, there was a great ceremony in the village of Mani, dedicated to the god Xolotl, the 'feathered snake,' the Zapotec translation of the Mexican god Qnetzalcoatl, who was venerated as a culture-hero in Yucatan, some of the most important towns of the peninsula, Mayaqui, and Uléqui Iza, having been bound 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 Ecclesi, ceremonies being performed to promote the growth of the young and to strengthen the old. Contrary to the custom of the Mexicans, the Zapotecans performed very particular and important ceremonies in the last five days of the year, which they called xma taba kin, 'days without name,' i.e. unlucky days, the importance of which is due to its pronunciation. These days they set up in the midst of the village the image of the deity that was to govern the coming year, this god being one of four who correspond to the four cardinal points and follow each other in turn. These gods were: (1) for the east and the years corresponding to the east, Ah bolon tz'añeb, the god of fertility; (2) for the north and the years corresponding to the north, Kinech ahuan, the sun god; (3) for the west and the years corresponding to the west, Litzumá, the old god, the moon-god and the god of fire; (4) for the south and the years corresponding to the south, Zucmitan ahuan, the god of the dead. At this time the offerings were performed in honour of these gods, and the evil that was to befall the village, according to the character of the new year and of the heavenly quarter corresponding to the god thereof, was taken, represented by the figure of a demon, out of the village in the direction of the coming year.

The priests were called ah-kin, 'lords of days,' i.e. 'lords of day-signs,' 'dealers in prognostics,' 'sooth-sayers.' The main prophet, called Panquetzi, and Mayan priesthood, in Yucatan the office of sacrificer (nacom), who had to kill the victim, was not a highly honoured one, whereas in Mexico the highest priests and—_in extraordinary celebrations, such as the inauguration of a newly built temple—the kings themselves acted as sacrificers.


EDUARD SEELE.

MAZANDARAN.—The Persian region of Mazandaran, or Tabaristan, is bounded on the north by the Caspian Sea and on the south by the Alburz Mountains, and extends from Astaraibling in the east to the Pul-i-Rud in the west. The winds from the Caspian bring abundant rain, and the country is highly fertile in contrast to the arid regions south of the Alburz. The climate is decidedly unhealthy, and the difficulty of access to the country, increased by lack of good roads, has combined with Mazandaran's inability to exclude the progress of Persia. It is to these disadvantages that the district owes its place in the history of religion in Iran.

Of the aboriginal inhabitants of Mazandaran we know nothing beyond the statement of Strabo (p. 515; cf. 520) that it was their custom to 'give their married women to other men after they themselves had had two or three children by them. The Bandahkhor (xv. 28) has a fantastic tradition of their origin, and the Dinkart (ix. xxii. 19) describes them as filthy and dwelling in holes.

In regard to the latter point, we may note that Firdausi (Shahnameh, tr. A. O. and E. Warner, London, 1902, E. 86) makes the Mazandaran White Dece in a cavalcade of the king, but one thinks involuntarily of the repeated Avesta statement that demons hide in dry earth or dwell in caves (IV. iv. 15; IV. xix. 21; Vend. iii. 7, 10).

In the Avesta Mazandaran is the abode of the Mazaiyana deveda, concerning whom E. W. West sees xviii. 1882) 29, n. 10) to pronounce them.

1 The meaning of the name Mazandaran is not certain. The old native etymology (Ion Isidori, tr. Browne, p. 14) makes it a later form of Maz, 'east' or 'morning.' Maz (so also Curzon, Persia, i. 354.) = Daromesta's etymology (Zend-Avesta, ii. 376, n. 321) is incorrect); but it more probably means 'Land of the Mazai' (T. Noldeke, 1457, tr. 1941) 178, n. 1). Tabaristan, the Arab. form of Phalavi Taparisan (on coins) or Tabaristan (Avesta, Vend. xii. 17, 24, its etymology, xii. 23, v. 27), is the land of the Zanda, the Koxer (v. 10) and the Targo, of Badoristan, v. 11. Atehnaeus (p. 448 F. Marquart, Einlau, n. 129. F. Windischmam's identification of this place, with Media (Zoroast. Stud., Berlin, 1863, p. 229) was wrong.)
view when he says that 'those demons were, no doubt, merely hoodlums' while M. N. Dhalla (Zoroastrian Theology, New York, 1914, pp. 8, 160) 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 Azis of the Varna doves' give names information as to their nature or habitat (1s. Ivi. 17, 32; Vend. ix. 3, x. 10, xvii. 91.) We have, however, more precise indications as to their location in the account of the threefold sacrifice by the hero, Haruta and Parvatiya on Mt. Haru to gain the victory over 'two-thirds of the Mazayyian demons' (Vt. v. 22, ix. 4, xv. 8, xix. 26), for Haru (or as it is also called in the Avesta, Haru Berezati, 'lofty Haru') is generally—and probably correctly—identified in a mythological, rather than a geographical, sense (e.g., Spiegel, Erön. Alterthumskunde, i. 191, 463, 482; Darmesteter, i. 101, n. 25; K. Geldner, Göt. Mem., xxvii. 188, and especially Geiger, Ostrotän. Kultur, pp. 42-43, and the 'Pandita,' (Yt. 17, vii. 22, xii. 25; Bund, v. 4; Ys. xiii. 3) of Haru is probably the Mt. Identification of Mazan (the noun from which Mazayyana is derived) with Mazandaran is also made by Niero- sand (Ostrotän., ii. 380), and by von St. Beaufpruis, who equates the Pahlavi version of the Yasna, renders 'Maz- alayna' by 'Mazandara' or 'Mazandardesīya' (Yt. Ivi. 17, xii. vii. 1, Ivi. 32).

Characters with the Mazdaic doves are the Varenian doves and dovecotes, or adherents of the Lie demon (Ys. xvii. 1: Yt. v. 22, xili. 37, xv. 8, xix. 26; cf. Darmesteter, ii. 373, n. 33; Yt. x. 97, xili. 21, and Ys. x. 14 are unimportant for our present purposes.) The land of Varena, was the fourteen best created by Ahura Mazda, but Angru Mainyu cursed it with 'intemperate nuns and non-arian over-lords' (Vend. i. 17.) It was 'four-eased' ('atha-ra-goesta, i.e. four-square or four-sided) (Dinkart, i. 14, n. 38), and was the birthplace of the hero Thronata or Faridun, who overcame Azi Dahaka (Vend. i. 17; Yt. v. 33)—a tale which was discussed at length in the lost Sīkōr Nām of the Avesta (Dinkart, i. xii. 17-24, and cf. also vii., xii. 9, ix. xix. 4.) The location of Varena is a matter of some dispute. It was certainly near Tabaristan (Spiegel, i. 545), but is hardly to be identified with the modern village of Verek, south of Sari, as argued by Spiegel (172), F. Justi (Handbuch der Zend-Vendische, Leipzig, 1864, p. 270 [with earlier literature], Göt. Mem., ii. 404). Equally certain is the view of C. de Harlez (Avesta trad., Lübeck, 1875-77, i. 87, n. 2) that it was the modern Kirman, A. V. W. Jackson (Göt. Mem., ii. 663 and Dhalia (loc. cit.) identify it with Gilan, and Darmesteter (i. 14, n. 38) with Tabaristan or Dailam. Tabaristan was formerly preferred by Geiger (Ostrotän. Kultur, pp. 127, 154); his later view (Göt. Mem., ii. 391), identifying Varena with the Caspian Gates, seems scarcely an improvement. Niero-sand was ignorant of the meaning of the term, for he renders Varena by saburakness, 'confusing,' and Kamne, 'love' (on Yt. i. 19, Ys. xvi. i. 1), confusing the epithet with the later Pahlavi Varen, the demon of lust (Jackson, ii. 660, 663; Darmesteter, iii. 373, n. 33; L. C. Casartelli, Philosophy of the Mazda- yaan Religion under the Sassanians, Bombay, 1889, pp. 91, 166). On the whole, Giliyan appears to be the most probable identification.

It would seem that the legend of Hoshoyanga, 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 head tradition of the early 18th cent., for Ibn Isfandiyar (p. 15) held that 'until the time of Jamshid it was in the possession of the demons. He conquered them, and made them the mountains with the plains, fill up the lakes, drain the fens into the sea, open up the country, and distribute the rivers and streams.'

The Iranian religion found some place, at eartu events, in Mazandaran, for tradition sees in Farshahr and Ervinspā, who are mentioned in Yt. xii. 121, two pious men who came from Mazandaran to receive the faith from Farshahrast, the father-in-law of Zarathushtra (Dinkart, ix. xxi. 17-24).

In the Pahlavi texts a most interesting passage in the present connexion is found in the Sīkōr-gāmāyîn Vīyār (xvi. 28-36), which records a belief closely similar to the frequent pronic concept of the entanglement of light in darkness combined with a touch of the Iranian heresy of Zarvanism.

'The rain was the seed of the Mazandaran for the reason that when the Mazandarns are bound on the celestial sphere, whose light is available space, from them through a new regulation, discrimination, and retention of the light of Time, the wheel of glorification and destruction (Time) to the household-keeping male Mazandarns, so that while the last of those Mazandarns, from seeing them, is well suited to them, and seed is dispelled from them, the light which is within the seed is poured on to the earth. Trees, shrubs, and grain have grown therefrom, and the light which is within the Mazandaran is discharged into the world.'

In the Shāh-nāmān Mazandaran is described with little geographical accuracy (Nödeke, ii. 178), and the Kūrgasārs ('Vulture-heads'), who are mentioned as inhabiting the country, like the Sāgārs ('Dog-heads'), Būgūsā ('Goat-ears'), and Nārūpās ('Strap-foots, 'Jarrārōshēs'), betray the influence of pseudo-Callisthenes upon Firdausī (Nödeke, ii. 146, n. 3). In his proper shape the king of Mazandaran had a bear's head (Warner, ii. 75). The land itself was 'the home of warlock-diva and under spells Which none hath power to loose.... To go or even to think of going thither Is held unlucky ' (ib. 361).

Nevertheless, it was invaded unsuccessfully by Kā Kāns and successfully by Baydu (ib. 29, 42-44, 57-79), one of the most great achievements of the latter being the slavery of the 'White Demon,' whom Warner (ii. 271) holds to be a personification of the Mazandarans, rendered hideous by the unhealthiness of their climate. This 'White Div was

'mountain-tall, With shoulders, breast, and neck ten cords across' (ib. 55).

The magic exercised by the 'White Div' against Kā Kāns roads like a description of a severe hailstorm (ib. 40); the only other point worth noting is that his blood cured falling sight (ib. 62).

Even in the Arab period Mazandaran remained imperfectly Islamicized. 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, pipers, and other inaccessible places (Masūdi, Provinces d'or, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861-77, ix. 5). It was a

'the zodiacal signs, appointed as celestial leaders by Ahura Mazda (Avesta, viii. 135) along the Caspian.' (Strabo, pp. 507 ff., 614; cf. W. Tomaschek, in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Dari, ii. 19, 25; and Dhalia, loc. cit.)

in a Persian fragment, a boar who was persecuted in Damvand, called 'Azmān.' The adjective has thus far been found in two other passages, but in both cases the accompanying names are illegible (C. Salaman, Mittheilungsblätter, i. (Petrogad, 1888) 88). For the local Mazandaran version, according to which Soloman imprisoned in Damvand the priest who stole his ring, see Ibn Isfandiyar, p. 36.
centre of the Hurmazite and Zaidite sects of Muhammadians (ib. vi. 128, vii. 117; cf. also ib. vii. 119). The Zaidites call for no special remark, but the Hurmazites may be briefly described, as being one of the many attempts at religious syncretism in Y. A. Sinia.

The exact meaning of the name is not absolutely certain. It is usually explained as from Pers. zarzam, 'cheerful' (cf. Persian zarzamak, 'the cheerful, gay'). The origin of the name is derived from the town of Hurmaz near Ardashib, which appears to have been an ancient centre of Mazdak's sect. This is also implied by the title Hurmazd. (Mazdak), given to him on his death (ib. vi. 119, vii. 150, note). The present writer is inclined to trace the term to the name of Mazdak's wife, Hurmazia, who, after her husband's execution, died of grief by her own hand. For he was a powerful propagator of the Mazdakite heresy, calling her teachings Hurmaz-din (cf. also C. Scherer, Christianomastik Perse, Paris, 1883-86, i. 170-75, where the relevant passage of Nisan's Mohammad-Siyyid, ed. and tr. in full by C. Scherer, Paris, 1863) is given in text and translation for the Mazdakite heresy see art. Mazdak.

The Hurmazites were divided into the Balakhiya and Mazgarya (the latter also called Muhammarin, 'red-botted'). While there is abundant material regarding the role played for more than two thousand years by the sects of the Persian and Turanian by 'Balakhiya', as well as by Mazgarya, for a knowledge of the special features of their sects we have only two sources: the Fihrist of Muhammad ibn Ishaq al-Assuli (ed. by Fligel, ZDMG xxii. 553, note 4), and from the Fihrist we learn that Bahak was the natural son of an Arab landlord of the name of Al-Kashef. He, one-eyed and poor, was adopted by a Mazdakite woman and later on adopted by Khodabakhsh, a Mazdakite, who engaged in an intrigue with Babak, and who had concealed from the public the news of his husband's death, told her lover that she would tell Babak's followers that he had decided to die and cause his spirit to pass into Babak. The present rulers, restored the Mazdakites, and enrich their adherents. The plan was completely successful, and Babak became the acknowledged leader of the sects of the old faith and these converts. After this, Babak's miracles, 'called for a cow, and commanded that it should be slain and that its skin should be spread out on the soil, and on the skin she placed a bowl filled with wine, and into it she broke bread which she placed round about the bowl. Then she caused it, and others, to eat the skin of the dead and to take a piece of bread, and to eat the wine, and eat it. saying: I believe in thee, O Spirit of Babak; as I believe in the spirit of Zayd'. (Ibid. 1850-58, ed. by G. Fligel, Leipzig, 1871-72, pp. 342-344. 18, tr. Brown, Liter. Hist. pp. 324-327) and the Tafsir fi al-din wa-tamnyiz al-farq al-najiyat an al-flaq al-halit, Lit. Hist. of Babak, and he took it from her hand, and this from which he had been derived for some glorious mission. Babak later entered the service of Zayd, and the latter died, in consequence of a wound received from the rival Iranian sects, the Buzabah, not far from Ardashib and Arzaban, and married, after a brief love affair with her, a one-eyed woman who later became known as the she was desirous for some glorious mission. Babak's mother was a Mazdakite woman, who engaged in an intrigue with Babak, and who had concealed from the public the news of his husband's death, told her lover that she would tell Babak's followers that he had decided to die and cause his spirit to pass into Babak. The present rulers, restored the Mazdakites, and enrich their adherents. The plan was completely successful, and Babak became the acknowledged leader of the sects of the old faith and these converts. 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MAZDA.—See ORMOND.

MAZDA.—1. History.—Mazda, son of Bardi-dād, a Persian (probably a native of Susiana), was the leader of a communistic sect which existed under the name of the Mazdakite sect, which is generally connected with the Sassanian empire. According to some accounts, the sect was founded by a certain Zardush, son of Khurrgan, 2 on whose behalf Mazda is said to have carried on propaganda among the populace, but in any case it was under Mazda that the sect first gained importance. Before he died, in 499, he was largely due to the state of anarchy then prevailing in Persia. The emperor Kawād, 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-enemy and embraced his revolutionary doctrines. The governing classes were strong enough to depose Kawād in favour of his brother Jamsap; but after his restoration, which took place a few years later, the power of the Mazdakites continued unimpaired, though Kawād does not seem to have supported them very actively. In the concluding years of his reign a bitter struggle was waged over the succession, which the Mazdakites endeavoured to use for the support of one of Kawād's sons who was devoted to their cause, while the Zoroastrian priests, in agreement with the emperor, resolved himself, p. 200.

2 Perhaps we may suppose the nocturnal orgies which are the pagan cultus, against which the Gathas polemize (cf. xxviii. 10, xxviii. 10; cf. B. F. Day, Zoroastrianism, Leipzig, 1896, p. 51; J. H. Moulton, Early Zoroastrians and the Gathas, Leipzig, 1896, p. 143), against which there is no evidence in this case. However, it was certainly a current bit of scandalous gossip w ithout sources. 3 The Mazdakites are called Zardushistn in the Syrian Chronicle of Sibyl the Sibyl, ed. W. Wright, Cambridge, 1882, p. 26.
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prince Khusran as the presumptive heir to the throne. The course of the events which culminated in the assassination of Khusran, together with many of the thousands of his followers is uncertain. According to the narrative of a Persian official who was converted to Christianity and assumed the name of Timotheus (Joannes Malalas, in PG xlvii. 654; Theophanes, in Chron. evii. 326d; 327a.), the ritual act yielded to the Mazdakites, and, having appointed a day for his abduction, caused his soldiers to cut down all the Mazdakites who had assembled with their wives and children in the neighbourhood of Khusran. On the day appointed for 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 Muslim writers place this massacre in the reign of Khusran, but the truth appears to be that, although it was carried out under Khusran's direction and probably at his instigation, it preceded his accession (A.D. 531) by two or three years. Noldeke assigns it to the end of 528 or the beginning of 529 (Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, Leyden, 1879, p. 465). The ruthless energy displayed by Khusran on this occasion earned for him, it is said, the title of Ambshakru (Ambaskan, Noldeke, Fratres, 19f.), i.e. 'he of cast away mortal spirit,' and the further measures which he took were so effectual that henceforward the Mazdakites vanish from history. That they were entirely exterminated is scarcely credible. There is some ground for the suggestion that the Mazdakite ideas maintained themselves in secret and found expression in various Antimonial sects which arose in Persia during the Muslim period (for an account of one of these see art. MAZANDAKAN). It may be concluded that the whole of our information concerning Mazdak is derived from hostile sources. The epitaph 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 are fortunate in possessing what appears to be the essential character of Mazdakism, however they may have misunderstood or misrepresented it in detail. Its socialistic basis is well described in the following passage of Tabari (Leiden ed., 1859-1901, i. 893 f.); quoted by Noldeke, op. cit. p. 154.:

"Among the commands which [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 these, yet the good works with which God was well pleased consisted in such cohabitancy." In another passage (Tabari, i. 855. 19f. = Noldeke, op. cit. p. 141) we read:

"They [the Mazdakites] asserted that God placed the means of subsistence (arzeg) 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 for the benefit of the poor, and give back to those who had less, at the expense of those who had more; and they declared that he who possessed more than his share of wealth, women, and power, should not better to it than any one else. The most eagerly seized this opportunity, and the Mazdakites became so powerful that they used to enter a man's house and forcibly deprive him of his dwelling, his womenfolk, and his property, since it was impossible for him to offer resistance. Soon things came to such a pass that these acts were committed even to the son of his father."

While the principle that every man is entitled to possess an equal amount of property involves logically and practically cohabitation, the restrictions of sex 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, Khusran, in his speech to the priests and nobles after his coronation (Tabari, i. 890. 15f. = Noldeke, op. cit. p. 160 f.), dwells upon the ruin of their religion and the heavy losses which they had incurred. The systematic retribution for which, to the last, he trusted to take effect, was, according to him, to consist chiefly in compensating the sufferers, establishing the position of children of doubtful origin, etc., show that the social revolution must have developed considerably, and that Mazdak himself regarded it as of capital importance. Our authorities give great prominence to this aspect of Mazdakism, and they are justified in doing so. Mazdak was not a philosopher, like Plato, content to work out on paper a theory of the ideal communistic State. He was a militant social reformer, but he was something more. Noldeke has remarked that what distinguishes Mazdakism from the organized socialism of modern times is its religious character, a peculiarity in which it resembles all Oriental sects, which, as we have seen, regard the whole of life as a matter of piety, and therefore, as the place of one worship. Thus, for example, the continuance of the Mazdakite sect is not to be traced to a fanatical zeal for religious observance, but to the force of circumstances, and the fact that the leaders of the sects were able to acquire or to hold a position of influence among the masses. Mazdak himself did not live to see the results of his efforts. He died in prison February 19, 528 (Pahlavi narrative of Shāh-nāmah, ed. Turner Macan, Calcutta, 1829, p. 1611 f.), which reflects the sentiments of the priesthood, brings out quite clearly the fact that Mazdak identified his doctrines of equality and fraternity with the religious doctrine of Zoroaster in its original uncorrupted form: i. e. 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 who does this (ds.)" (Shāh-nāmah, p. 1613, line 11 f.).

"First things turn a man from righteousness: The sage cannot add to these five: Jealousy, anger, vengeance, need. And the fifth one that men find hard is covetousness: If thou prevail against these five demons, The way of the Almighty will be manifest to thee. Because of these five, we possess women and wealth, Which have destroyed the good religion in the world. Women and wealth must be in 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 (dē) is always turning against the wise, Therefore these two things must be made common property."

(6. p. 1614, line 7 f.).

Without claiming that Mazdakism was animoted by no other motives than those which his enemies attribute to him here, we may well believe that he regarded his communist scheme as the only sure means of enabling mankind to attain the object which Zoroaster had set before them, namely, the defeat of the powers of darkness and the triumph of the spirit of light. The astonishing success of his propaganda is to be explained by the force of his appeal to human sympathy, and the failure of his attempts to obtain, by means of an exclusive 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 had few, if any, adherents, and no reliance can be placed on the statements of Shahrastānī and later writers who credit him with cosmological speculations closely akin to those of Mānū.

LITERATURE.—The principal references to Mazdak which occur in Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi, Arabic, and Persian literature are collected by T. Noldeke, Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, Leyden, 1879, at the beginning of the fourth exordium, "Über Mazdak und die Mazdakiten," p. 465 f., which
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Is the best existing source of information on the whole subject, and by E. G. Browne, in The Literary Hist. of Persia, ii, 1890, pp. 162, 193; F. Spiegel, Erant. Alterthumskunde, Leipzig, 1871-75, ii, 292-308; G. Rawlinson, The Seven Great Oracles of the East, London, 1870, pp. 243; and R. A. F. Seyf and A. Troyer, Parize, 1848, ii, 372 ff.; and Ch. Bonnier, The Development of Mithraism, tr. by W. M. Mack and W. R. Widdow, in Proc. Soc. of Biblical Archeology, London, 1890, v, 64. Shaikh ShaJu-astani, one of the students of Dârâb Hormâzyâr (i. e. M. N. A. Vâlî, 1914, 214-215) has not yet been published. He is also well known as a great scholar, and his knowledge of both the ancient and modern languages is very extensive.

1. As a general rule, the terms of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean are these: 'the mean of any two extremes being the middle between them, and the middle between two extremes being the mean of them.'

2. A. S. Stewart, The Ethics of Aristotle, ch. iv, 1910, pp. 85-86. The doctrine of the mean, as it is known to us, is derived from Aristotle, who calls it the 'golden mean.' It is also known as the 'golden mean' or 'golden mean.'


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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 its minuteness, nothing in the world would be found able to split it' (xii. 2). The superior man does what he wishes, to his advantage, but he does not desire to go beyond this... The superior man can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself,' and, if he fails in anything, he blames himself only himself (xiv. i., 5). He advances in regular order from stage to stage (xiv. 3) and constantly strives to advance and develop his virtues so that he may pursue the path of the mean (xxvii. 6).

When occupying a high situation, he is not proud, and in a low situation, he is not inordinate' (xxvii. 7); and it is characteristic of the superior man, though 'appearing in-aid, yet never to produce satiety; while showing a simple negligenice, yet to have his accomplishments recognized; while seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating' (xxxiii. 1). Among the many virtues of Confucius, supreme recognition is made of the fact that he never swerved from the mean (xxx. i).

The remainder of the Chung Yung is devoted to law action and practical duties of government, the obligation of absolute sincerity, the path of the sage, and the character of the ideal ruler—all of which depend on the cultivation of chung yung.

The ruler is mentioned a number of times in the other Chinese Classics; e.g., the Yi King says (xliii. 3) that the ruler should 'be sincere and pursue 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. in Chinese Classic, Hongkong and London, 1850-73, 2 vols. 246-228; ed. also his Prelogomena to this vol., pp. 35-255, and again tr. by him in SKE xxviii. (1857) 505-529.

MECCA.—Mecca (Arabic Makkah) is a city in Central Arabia, famous as the birthplace of Islam, and, except for a short period at the commencement of the system, at all times its chief sanctuary. A variety of the name, Bakka, occurs once in the Qur'an (ix. 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 his settlement, for the text of Ptolomy (vii. vii. 32) is derived from a different root. The 'Chronicles of Mecca,' of which the earliest extant is by Azraqi (+ 215 A.H.), so far as they treat of the pre-Islamic period, are collections of fables, in the main based on the Qur'an, by Louis H. Gray.

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The difficulties, which are mentioned elsewhere in connexion with the Meccan sanctuary, the former as a result, it would seem, of visits from pilgrims, whereas the latter probably means safety for refugees; but the texts are not very clear. The sanctuary itself is called in the Qur'an either 'the house, or 'the Ka'bah,' or 'the Ka'bah (a word said to mean no more than 'house,' and perhaps the Ethiopic word for 'double,' i.e., two-storied), or 'the place of prostration, the Sanctuary.' In iii. 90, it is called 'the first house established for mankind 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 is in this sense older than 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 'house' (and not the house only) might be secure. In xxi. 27 he is represented as doing in his time much the same as was afterwards done by Muhammad: he was told to purify the house for his sake that it might be a path to the people, and a token of purification (tawaff, standing, inclination, and prostration). In ii. 149, Abraham is associated with an event which had been earlier than the Prophet, except so far as the N. Arabian tribes were known by monothelites, 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 hijr to which is used for 'pilgrimage,' be explicable from the Hebrew hag, 'draw round,' the Arabian month which is called after it is likely to mean 'month of going round,' i.e., the round of the sanctuary, that is, the time during which the pilgrimage is made, without any reference to the preceding 'month of squatting' at home. The word technically used of going round the Ka'bah, tawff, 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 confusion 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 considerable distance from Mecca. The difficult sara, evi, 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. The Muslim chroniclers suppose that the Ka'bah is owing to their character as 'Allah's people,' enjoyed immunity from attack, and so had special facilities for the carrying trade. It is not easy to reconcile this with the primitive conditions which were very clearly prostrated, but it is possible that this story is an invention of exegetes, who coupled sara evi. with evi, which more decidedly deals with Mecca, and is itself a fragment, scarcely to be construed in its present form. In it the Quraish (the tribe in possession of the Meccan sanctuary) are advised to worship the Lord of this House, who has given them food after hunger and safety after fear. These two pheno-
and Taif; it is more probable that only Mecca is meant. Of walls we first hear in the reign of Mu'ta'in (A.D. 626-627) and these did not surround the settlement, which was naturally protected by mountains, but merely blocked the passes. Snouck Hurgronje 1 is probably right in thinking that the community first gathered round the well Zamzam which furnished a constant supply of brackish water. The tradition gives as 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 idea of Mecca, not merely of all, but of any of these, 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 were probably known; visitors to the shrine have frequently noticed the heavy loads levied on pilgrims as personal tribute, and this source of wealth is, as we have seen, indicated in the Qur'an. We possess only casual notices of the amounts demanded in later times, but these indicate that the piety of pilgrims to Mecca was considered a considerable period. The Fatimid khilifs expected the governor of Mecca to make the pilgrimage tax his chief source of revenue; besides this the pilgrims paid for admission to the sanctuary, and those who brought goods had to do so in accordance with the law. All these taxes were imposed on sovereigns to abolish these dues, but they had a tendency to revive, and their analogues doubtless existed in the period before the rise of Islám.

Prior to the rise of Islám it would appear that some portions of Chaldea were added to Mecca, and the biographies of the Prophet prefer to give us the names of persons who had either adopted that system or showed some leaning towards it. At the usual period of the rejection 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 were not assailed. It is for such a community as was 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 Meccans at the first was therefore understood by the Prophet, and in accordance with the rule of the Sharifs, who has lasted to our day: this word, signifying 'pilgrimage' is applied in all countries to the descendants of the Prophet. He submitted to the suzerainty of the Fatimids now established in Egypt, but in most respects was an independent ruler. His successors shifted their allegiance from Cairo to Baghdad and back according to the value of the gifts received; and throughout the subsequent history of Mecca recognition has been granted without difficulty to the suzerain who offered the highest price. According to Ibn Jukair 2 who visited Mecca in the years 1183 and 1185, the Sharifs were of the Zaidi sect, which, while recognizing the rights of the Prophet's descendants to the succession, held that considerations of expediency might justify their being ousted; the practice of the Prophet gave him a right to this. This is in accordance with this doctrine. The dynasty founded by Ja'far was displaced at the beginning of the 13th cent. of our era by another, also claiming descent from 'Ali. The founder was one Qatadah, who appears to have energetically supported the rising Zaidite dynasty of San'a, but whose successors fell back into the former practice of recognizing the power which for the time was capable of displaying the greatest generosity. The 'Chronicles of Mecca' consist largely of the particular disputes between Qatadah's descendants, which not infrequently had to be settled by the active interference of the Egyptian Sultans, who, from the fall of Baghdad until the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans, were ordinarily recognized as suzerains by the Sharifs. The Sharif 'Aljan (1346-75), who for a time transferred his allegiance to the Mongol rulers of Persia, definitely rejected the Zaidi system and made that of Shâfi'i dominant in Mecca, though the other orthodox systems were recognized; the dominance of the Hanîfite school, which is the official system of the Ottoman government, dates from a much later time. A permanent garrison was first established

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in the neighbourhood by the Egyptian Sultan Jaqmaq (1458-53). On the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516 the allegiance of the Sharifs was transferred without difficulty to the Sultan of Constantinople. The new rulers, who were almost the authority of the Sharifs, to a greater extent than their predecessors, and the presence of a Turkish governor at Jeddah has constituted a permanent restriction upon it. The introduction of Turkish 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 admission to the pilgrimage. In the 17th cent., owing to the decline of the Ottoman power, and this was involved in family quarrels, became somewhat less dependent on Constantinople, and could even at times defy the representative of the metropolitans at Jeddah. Both the sacred cities were threatened by the increase of the Ottoman power, and in 1695 Mecca was evacuated by the Sharif, and presently occupied by the Wahhabis, who reformed the place according to their ideas. The Sharif was, however, after a short time re-installed on his professing to adopt some Turkish customs. Details concerning the extent to which these subjects were excluded from the pilgrimage. In 1813 an expedition sent by Muhammad ‘Ali, founder of the khedivial family in Egypt, succeeded in recovering the sacred cities, and a TurkishPossession was in effect, though, however, the rule of the Sharif was nominally continued. After a time the Ottoman power was again represented by the governor of Jeddah. Both the meaning and the limits of the sanctuary (haram) were extended by Isfahan. 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 the limit was before life in the mountains extended beyond the Ka'bah itself. As for the keeping in that at this time the dwellings of the citizens surrounded the Ka'bah, leaving only a small area for the dwellings, the descent of the sanctuary necessary; and operations of this kind were undertaken by the second and third Khalifs. The area was further enlarged by the pretender ‘Abdallah b. Zubair, but the actual mosque surrounding the Ka'bah, built by al-Walid I (A.H. 705-715), who erected a colonnade with marble pillars and other luxurious decorations. Further additions to the area were made by the Abbasid Mansur (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 the tents were erected by the Wahhabis (850), 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 894-896, and the like are recorded for the year 918 under Mu'qtadir. Under this Khalif serious mischief was wrought by the Coromans, who massacred the pilgrims, and for a series of years practically put a stop to the institution; their atrocities culminated with the seizure in 317 A.H. of the Black Stone, which they conveyed to their headquarters in Hajar, whence it (or some substitute) was sent back twenty years later. This revolt had already been seriously in- jured in the time of 'Abdallah b. Zubair, when the Ka'bah was burned down, and, in spite of great precautions, it was finished by an earthquake in an Egyptian Shi'ite in the year 414, and not long afterwards was broken into three pieces by some Persian fanatics. The kissing of this object, which forms one of the pilgrimage rites, is not mentioned in the Qur'an, but probably is a survival from pagan times.

In 1399 a large part of the mosque was destroyed by fire, and orders were presently given by the Egyptian Sultan Faraj for its restoration with increased dimensions. This was finished by 1401. In 1551 the Ka'bah itself was found to be in need of repair, but before this could be effected the question was raised whether this sacred building could lawfully be touched by the builders; and the fanaticalolunteers were by no means in sympathy with those holding the negative view. The precedent of Abraham and Ishmael (Qur'an, ii. 119) finally decided the question in favour of the restoration. In 1571 orders were given for the complete rebuilding of the mosque, which was finished in 1583, by a successor. Details concerning the extent to which these buildings were so extensive as to cover by a mosque of Mecca or in Medina to preserve historic buildings or retain ancient sites. The architectural features of the mosque have never stood in the way of those who would wish to erect them as a place of pilgrimage. The case of the Sharif, whose besieging forces were to some extent responsible for the burning of the Ka'bah in 64 A.H., did no more than would have been done by any other Muslim ruler who was engaged in suppressing rebellion. Various buildings which figure in the early history of Islam were cleared away as the need for enlarging the temple area arose, and little regret was felt for them. On the other hand, many mosques which have no justification for their construction have been built in the early history of Islam. The jurist Malik (179 A.H.) asserts that this was restored by Omar to a place where it had occupied before the Days of Ignorance, on the faith of a chart preserved in the treasury of the Ka'bah. As we have seen, the Black Stone, which is supposed to represent the right hand of Allah, is of very doubtful antiquity. Besides the prohibition against bloodshed which theoretically covers the area occupied by the city, there are other legal peculiarities belonging to it. Closely allied to this prohibition is that against the chase, which is even extended to the cutting of trees and the plucking of herbs. This ordinance is modified in a variety of ways; it seems clear that the slaughter of noxious beasts is generally permitted, and wounding to a certain extent is also lawful. The slaughter of game has to be atomed for by compensation, on a scale fixed by the Qur'an. There is some difference of opinion among jurists on the question whether rent may be taken for

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houses in Mecca; according to modern travellers, this question is purely academic, since the inhabitants largely earn 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 inhabitants 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 and the spiritual benefits that accrue to those who go thither. These are not indeed free from danger; for, just as the value of good actions is highest in Mecca than elsewhere, so the debt incurred by evil deeds is there increased; and, according to the Saffis, evil thoughts and intentions are punished in Mecca, but not elsewhere. If Abū Talib al-Makki († 580 A.H.) is right, pious men in early times who went thither on pilgrimage used to pitch two tents, one within and another outside the sacred area, devoting the former exclusively to religious exercises. The resulting danger was one of the reasons why continuous residence in Mecca was discouraged. The Ghazīlīf († 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 that, according to the Qur'ān, 'the House' is present in the returned pilgrim, to be visited, not made a residence of (i. 119).

The various sovereigns who have been protectors or 'servants' of the sanctuaries have ordinarily been lavish in marks of their favour and somewhat perfunctory in munificence to the pilgrims; among the public works executed by these benefactors the greatest amount of space appears to be devoted in the Chronicles to the aqueducts; one which conveys water from Mt. Arafat to Mecca, utilising a channel originally constructed by order of Zubaydah, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, 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 a mosque has been erected by Islamic sovereigns and their ministers, many of them furnished with endowments. The fate of all pious foundations in Mecca, according to Snouck Hurgronje,3 is the same: most of the houses and mosques 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 waqfīf (on which see E.R.E. vii. 877 f.), without serving any pious purpose. The name, however, prevents their being legally sold, yet sale is often necessary, and this is effected in fact, though new names are employed to serve instead of 'sale' and 'purchase.' An attempt was made by a Turkish resident in the middle of the 19th century, to declare all such transactions invalid, but his removal was procured before this could be carried out.

The ejection 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 have been noted by A. Le Chatelier, indeed, attributes the part played by Mecca in recent times to the influence of the Sanā'is: 'La conférence nouvelle rendez à la Mecc a le rôle de foyer du fanatisme musulman, qui avait fait perdre la carte secrète de l'islam' (Les Conférences musulmanes du Hadith, Paris, 1857, p. 19).

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tween Muslims of various nationalities recently placed the scene in Mecca.1 Yet the cosmopolitan character of the pilgrimage appears from the time of the early Islamic conquests to have rendered this sanctuary the place where the Musliins address the Muslim world as a whole. Deeds of settlement of succession to the khilafate were issued and deposited here by Harūn al-Rashīd.2 If a man wished to procure a copy of a rare work, he would have a crier advertise the want among the pilgrims.3

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, 1909) Augustus Ralli gives accounts of sixteen such visitors, beginning with Ludovico Varthema, 'a gentleman of the city of Rome,' who reached the forbidden city in 1563. Since the publication of Ralli's collection two more English travellers have been added to the list: Hadij Khan and W. Sparrow, With the Pilgrims to Mecca, 1902; London, 1905; and A. J. B. Wavell, A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca, 1913.8 Other pilgrimages that by R. F. Burton (Pilgrimage to Al-Medinah and Mecca, London, 1855-56) is classical; it adds, however, very little topographical information to that which had been given to the world by R. L. Durocher (Le Meccah, Paris, London, 1829). Of the others the account of the city by Snouck Hurgronje (op. cit., 1885) is the most important. In several cases the travellers were so fully occupied with the task of preserving their own and their followers' lives that they have not been able to collect any information 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 (Walshfahrt nach Mekka, Leipzig, 1865), who, in order to pass for a Muslim, borrowed the personality of an Algerian, but have any valid reasons for returning, is now in progress, but at no 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 waqfīf (on which see E.R.E. vii. 877 f.), without serving any pious purpose. The name, however, prevents their being legally sold, yet sale is often necessary, and this is effected in fact, though new names are employed to serve instead of 'sale' and 'purchase.' An attempt was made by a Turkish resident in the middle of the 19th century, to declare all such transactions invalid, but his removal was procured before this could be carried out.

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The author of a dialogue on Islamic revival be-

1. C. al-Qunfūdhi, Cairo, 1319, l. 119. 2. Ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Dābī, Cairo, 1904, l. 190. 3. op. cit. p. 164.

MEDALS.—See COINS AND MEDALS.

MEDIAN RELIGION.—The religion of the ancient Medes is one of the most difficult and disputable questions in ancient Oriental 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 inscriptions of Bogaz Koi have shown that there was an Aryan, but not as yet Iranian, population in Mesopotamia who worshipped the gods Mithra, Varuna (written Urvanana and Aruna), Indra, and the two Nasatya, the Vedic corresponding of the Dioscuri (cf. E. Meyer, S.E.A. III, 1908, pp. 14-19). In 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 Madâ, or Medes, a name also written Amadi, like Anamori for Mardoi. From this time forward the names of the kings and chiefs of Media and the neighboring districts mentioned on the Assyrian monuments are Iranian, and in a list of Median princes conquered by Sargon in 714–713 B.C. we find the name of Mazâkina, proving that he was the good Mâdâ. The Wise, was already worshipped (cf. also F. Hommel, PSBA, 1899, p. 132). The name of 'Mîrta,' the sun-god, is also found in the tablets from Assur-lam-pa's library at Nineveh. On the other hand, 'Mîrîrâh, opposed to the righteousness of Ekbatana, is termed in the inscriptions, not 'King of Media, but 'King of the Umanan Manda' or 'Hordes,' an archaistic title given by the Babylonians in early times to the northern barbarians. See Mâdâ, pp. v. v. The similarity of the names Mâdâ and Manda raises the question whether the Medes of the classical writers who were conquered by Cyrus were not really Scythians who had adopted religious beliefs and practices that had been transferred to their Median subjects or neighbors.

Like the Medes, the Persians also were Iranians.1 But here again the inscriptions make it certain that whether Cyrus and his successors, the founders of the Persian empire, were of pure Iranian stock, and whether the religion of Cyrus, at all events, was not the polytheism of Susa (cf. art. Achaemenians, vol. i, p. 76). Both Cyrus and his son conformed to the ancient worship of Babylon. Gaumâta (Gomates), the Magian, is expressly stated by Darius (Ih. [Pers. text] i. 63 f.) to have destroyed the ahdaya, or prayer-chapels, of Persia, a word which is translated 'temples of the gods' by von Oppenheim 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 Auranâzî (Ahriman [q. v.]). But there is no reference to the Zoroastrianism of the Avesta in the inscriptions of either Darius or his successors; their priests, moreover, were not Magians, whose overthrow and massacre were, on the contrary, commemorated in the festival of the Magophonia.2 and the bodies of the Persian kings seem to have been burned in the ordinary way; the Magians were not, as the law of Auranâzî was the 'Lie' (drozga), the Achaemenian equivalent of the Zoroastrian Angra Mainyu (Ahriman [q. v.]). The date of Zoroaster (Zarathushtra) is uncertain, but modern scholarship is inclined to assign it to the 6th cent. B.C.; and Jackson seems to be right in concluding that he arose in Media rather than in Bactria, the tradition which makes him a Bactrian being late. Zoroaster is unknown to both Herodotus and Ctesias, the earliest mention of him occurring in a fragment of a poem, probably written by such an author as the Persian King (i. 104), but he also implies that they were a class of priests (i. 140), and he describes certain of them as interpreters of dreams (i. 167). He further ascribes to them the Zoroastrian practices of renouncing 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 Gatha); and there was neither altar, fire, nor libration (i. 132). The Greek historian, however (i. 631) 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.' Thus Abûru, the Medes, were opposed to Zoroaster, and the sun-god, revered as a god of the fathers by the Medes, among whom the Magi were a sort of hereditary priests, like the Levites in Israel; and that the religious system of Darius represented the religion of the Persian aristocracy, but that the origin and fundamental principles of the two were the same. The conquest of Media by Persia would have introduced the Median forms of theology among the Persian people, though their influence would have been considerably weakened by the fact that Darius and his successors transferred to their Median empire, through the help of the great god Auranâzî, the religion of the 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 Auranâzî but also by 'the other gods, all the heavenly and terrestrial' (cf. Avesta-7, 9, 77, 79). The Magi were a sort of hereditary priests, like the Levites in Israel; and that the religious system of Darius represented the religion of the Persian aristocracy, but that the origin and fundamental principles of the two were the same. The conquest of Media by Persia would have introduced the Median forms of theology among the Persian people, though their influence would have been considerably weakened by the fact that Darius and his successors transferred to their Median empire, through the help of the great god Auranâzî, the religion of the 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 Auranâzî but also by 'the other gods, all the heavenly and terrestrial' (cf. Avesta-7, 9, 77, 79).

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 to us somehow. Our very being comes to us through our parents. The society into which we are born and in which we are trained mediates to us most of
what we think of as intellectual, moral, and religious revindications. The greater part of what comes under these headings is not original achievement of man, but is imposed upon him; it comes to us in some way by the mediation of others. It may be possible to make our own what is thus mediated to us, and to become possessors, as it were, in our own right of what we have inherited or been taught; but, to begin with, every creature born in time owes to mediation of some sort the whole capital with which he adventures upon independent life.

1. The NT use of the term 'Mediator.'—The technical use of the word is best and 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 five NT passages where this is found: 1 Ti 2:1, Heb 4:14 12, 16. In all these passages Christ is represented as mediating between God and man. And man has been estranged. The relation which normally subsists between them has been destroyed, and the work of the mediator is to restore it. In 1 Timothy this work is explicitly connected with the redemptive death of Christ: there is one mediator between God and men, Himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all. The same connexion is implied in all the passages in Hebrews; there is the spoken mediator of a new covenant, or a better covenant. The covenant is the religious constitution under which God and men form one society, or live a common life. The old and inferior constitution, under which the idea of religion was not realised, was a fall. This was annulled because of its ineffectual character, and in place of it, through the mediation of Jesus—i.e., by means of, and at the cost of, His incarnation and sacrifice—comes the Christian relation of men to God and to one another. This the end of the world was the peaceable kingdom, and is defined by Suidas as Ἑλπιστήριον, 'peace maker.' The verb μεσιτεύω, which occurs once in the NT without an object (He 8:2, though some here would supply τὴν ἐνοσοκομίαν, 'His promise') is elsewhere usually transitive: μεσιτεύω τὴν δικαίου εὐδοκίαν (Polyb. xi. xxxiv. 3): 'to achieve the settlement by friendly mediation.' A state of hostility or estrangement, in which the making up of the peace is the work of a third party, and can therefore be called mediation, is the background of the primary Christian use of the term.

2. Extension of mediation in the NT from redemption to creation.—But even in the NT it is not limited to this use. It is not only that peace with God, or the forgiveness of sins, or reconciliation, or eternal life for the spiritually dead is mediated through Christ and His redemption; Christ is presented also as the mediator of creation. All that has come into being through Him. We find the idea without explanation, as if it were self-evident, or an agreed proposition among Christians, in 1 Co 8:6. It is expanded in Col 1:16, with a view to securing to Christ, who has just been referred to as the mediator of salvation (in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of sins [v. 14]), a place of dignity above all angelic powers. In Colossians, apparently, such powers were recognized by some or other; it comes to us in some way by the mediation of others. It may be possible to make our own what is thus mediated to us, and to become possessors, as it were, in our own right of what we have inherited or been taught; but, to begin with, every creature born in time owes to mediation of some sort the whole capital with which he adventures upon independent life.

3. Rationale of this extension in Paul.—So far as can be seen, there are only two possible explanations of Paul's use of the term 'mediator.' First, it designates and reduces the idea of mediation, so far as it applies to all being, to a pure formality. It assumes that Paul had identified Christ with some supernatural being to whom this attribute or function of mediating creation already belonged and that with the identification there went, as a matter of course, the ascription of this attribute or function to Christ. This is supposed to explain why Paul, when he introduces the idea of creation through Christ, does it simpliciter, without any justification or explanation: he is only doing what every one would concede who agreed with him in identifying Jesus with the Christ. But to this there are many objections. As far as can be known, there was no trace whatever in the Pharisaism in which Paul was reared of any such idea as that the Messiah was participant in the creation of the world. Further, though this may be discounted 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 the Jewish eschatological Messiah with whom Jesus is identified by Paul, but a Greek idea, the Logos of popular Greek philosophy, of whom such things were predicated as Paul predicates of Christ in connection with creation—then the further question is raised, How did Paul come to

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MEDICATION

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 present philosophy, which did mediate something between God and the universe, was the philosophical solution of the difficulty which he had never felt: namely, how the transcendant God was to come into any relation to a material world. Paul was not troubled by this any more than the OT prophets or Jesus Himself; nor does he ever bring his doctrine of creation through Christ into any relation to it. The motive and the meaning of that doctrine must be sought elsewhere.

A real debt to his thought, as opposed to this formal one, may perhaps be found in another way. In Paul's experience, Christ was everything. He had reconciled him for himself and made him a new creature. He had put him in possession of the final truth and reality in the spiritual world, that which could never be transcended and could not exist unless he lived in Christ, he lived in the eternal world, and he felt that to that world and to the believer's interest in it everything else must be subservient. He could say, "All things new (1 Cor. 5:17); All things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are called according to his purposes (Rom. 8:28)." And all things here must be taken without restriction. It means not only all that happened when Jesus (1 Co. 15); All things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are called according to his purposes (Rom. 8:28). And all things here must be taken without restriction. It means not only all that happened when Jesus lived, but what he did in the world, 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 way which was created for Christ was created in Him and through Him? The difficulty of apprehending 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 mediation. Again it is only one aspect of the omnipresent and immanent Divine which defines the relations of eternity and time. If preexistence 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 have found the way of salvation. Paul does not start with the speculative idea that creation could not be immediate, and that all material and spiritual existences things on earth and in heaven, things visible and invisible must owe their being to the mediation of some supernatural power which is identified in his mind, we cannot tell why, with Jesus. He does not start thus, and then give this vague speculative idea any particular application when he comes to explain the Christian redemption. On the contrary, he starts with Christ, and with the experience of redemption, which, as a matter of fact, is meditated through Him. But the redemption thus meditated 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 on everything 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 probation, is possible except with a background of nature which is morally indifferent; it is only in a world which is indifferent to the distinction good and evil that man can prove his devotion to good for good's own sake. But there is really no such world, though the lightening does not shun the good man's path. What the doctrine of creation meditated by Christ implies is that in the very constitution of nature it is possible to discover the same principles and laws revealed in the life and work of Christ. If it were not so, no one with roots in nature would understand Christ's work, and the whole book would be made as a book of the New Testament only 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 14:11, "No one comes unto the Father, but by me." It is to Jesus that men owe all the experiences which constitute salvation. They are variously described, most frequently as life and eternal life, yet 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 (6:4). It is as thought there were powers in the world antecedent to the historical Jesus which had Him in view, which prepared men to understand Him, and to welcome His mediation when He came into 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 New Testament and believe in Him that we truly come to the Father. The earlier stages of religion are mediated to us through all the experiences of life; these provide for a broad and indisputable basis for the present, and now, and make it independent of any particular historical mediation — i.e., of any mediation through persons or facts which have their place in the past. But this immediate experience of religion — a religion, as some might call it, of inwardness and spirituality, which has its center in itself, and is not at the mercy of a historical criticism for which no fact is beyond question — does not, according to the Evangelist, enable men to dispense with what is mediated through Jesus; it only enables and prepares them to appropriate it. It is consummated through Him. Only he who has seen Jesus has seen the Father. And, para-
doxical as it may seem, this historical mediation does not shake the certainty of religion; the perfect religion does not become doubtful because the mediator of it lived in time. We are 'in Him that is, and he that believeth hath the witness in himself' (1 Jn 5:20).

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 more speculative than anything in Paul, and it is difficult to think otherwise than that the author has identified Jesus with the Logos of the current philosophy, and that he is speaking of Him in terms whose antecedents are philosophical rather than the specifically Christian sense of mediation. The very ambiguity of the term Logos (pato, orato) may have contributed to it. He suited him equally well to have Jesus feel that in Christ they had God's last word to man, and to have Greeks feel that in Christ they had the answer to all the world's perplexities. The rational principle or truth in which all things lived, and moved, and had their being. The one knowledge and the other alike, he would have held, were mediated 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 to man or of a special 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 grandiose interpretation of the prologue, according to which the Incarnation does not appear until v.14—an interpretation which has so completely passed the stage to which 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 Him); 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 propitiatory work of Christ, that is, the mediation itself, which is vital: Jesus is the mediator between God and men. The wider sense of mediation, according to which Jesus mediates creation as well as redemption, while it is found in both, has not the same emphasis. The apostles seem to feel that their religion ultimately implies this, but it is not this that directly inspires or sustains it.

5. Mediation and Jesus' consciousness of Himself.—The most important of questions to the Christian religion is whether this specific sense of mediation, which is not only recognized by but pervades all the apostolic writings, is confirmed when we turn to the mind of Christ Himself. He never speaks of having anything to do with 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 intent? Did men in any sense owe to Him either the knowledge of God or reconciliation to God, or were these supreme spiritual blessings immediately open to them, in independence of Him? The questions have been 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 uncompromisingly representative of this side are W. W. Hepburn and W. Heitmüller. The former, in Das Urchristentum (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 had to give Him a place in his religion somehow; but Weiss, with a sense of his own daring,1 declares that there was no necessity for His mission and work in the nature of God, and that God's eternal love, that is 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 vehement: '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 and no one has place, not even Jesus. Religious significance in the proper sense Jesus in any case does not claim' (p. 73).

But Heitmüller feels a certain embarrassment when he deals explicitly with some words of Jesus. He admits that they disclose prolepses to a universal church, but a superprophetic consciousness—e.g., the well-known passage Mt 11.13. To be the bearer of a unique revelation, the Son simpliciter—it almost terrifies us to think of it. It is not a divine self-consciousness, but it is almost more than this. It might impel us to ask whether it was compatible with soundness and clearness of mind. 'Here is the point at which the form of Jesus becomes mysterious to us, almost uncache' (p. 71). Further on, he speaks of the riddle as insoluble (p. 80), but apparently he thinks that he has reduced it to less disquieting proportions when he writes (p. 125) that Jesus seems to have claimed for Himself only that He is the way to the Father. It is difficult to see how He could have claimed more. The opposite view, that the place which the NT generally assigns to Jesus, as the indispensable mediator between God and men, is in harmony with Jesus' consciousness of Himself, is argued by the writer's Jesus and the Gospel (London, 1908, p. 150ff. on the self-revelation of Jesus). The argument covers both the Johannean idea of the mediation of the knowledge of God (as in Mt 11.13) and the Pauline idea of the mediation of redemption (as in Mk 10.30). What it does not expressly extend to is the speculative idea that creation as well as revelation and redemption is mediated through Christ.

6. Other mediators than Jesus.—Emphasis is laid in the NT on the exclusive character of Christ's mediation: there is one God, and one mediator between God and men. This is the idea of such passages as Ac 4:12 ('none other name'), Col 2:9 ('in him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, and in him ye are made full'), and He 7:26 (the priesthopd which does not pass to, or cannot be trrenched upon by, another), as well as of Jn 14. What is in view in these passages is the idea that Christ in His work of reconciliation may have rivals and competitors, but none in degree—principalities, powers, dominions—owe their own being to Him, and have their functions.

1Wir müssen es aus sprechen ... chrilicherweise nennt man sagen' (60).
whatever they are, in a world which He has reconciled to God.

The exclusiveness of His mediation with regard to nature (being) as well as redemption is strongly asserted both in Col 1:16 and in Jn 1:1. Probably in both these passages, there is reference to forms of Gnosticism which it is difficult for us to define. For ancient thought generally, and therefore for ancient religion, the world was full of invisible powers of a personal or quasi-personal sort, and the individual created and preserved for themselves in the religious life. They came between God and the soul in ways that we cannot appreciate, and the interest of the apostles is to expel from the relations of God and the soul every personal or quasi-personal sort of mediation which is the voice of God's experience against uncontrolled imagination. The controversies of later theologians, Catholic and Protestant, on the mediation (intercession) of saints are like this, but not identical. Those who are interested in this theme will find support for denying that the saints can pray for us. All that is to be said is that we do not know anything about it; but whatever the saints may do for us they can do only in dependence on Jesus, not as mediators of any rights which might be vested in them. In A. G. apart from Him.


7. Mediation in the OT.—If we look back from the NT to the OT, we find much every where which can be described in terms of mediation, though *mediatrix* occurs only once in LXX (Job 9:1), where, according to T. K. Cheyne (*EBi*, 3003), it answers to *vτης*, and means a person who could interpose betwixt God and man, and is his imperfect or arbitrary mediator—an arbitrator who would see justice done. This is akin to the *διαβρωτή*, defined by Aristotle as *διαβρωτή*, and often found in Greek as a synonym of *mediatrix*; but it is hardly the equivalent of the NT *mediatrix*, 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 present the same difficulty. Revelation of God, is mediated to men through the prophet. It is not necessary to ask here how it is mediated to the prophet himself; for the purposes of religion he obtains it immediately. He stands in God's council and hears His voice; it is the voice of both, God and man, or Hes, or perhaps 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 25:14); they have, without knowing it, what the NT calls (1 Co 12:8) the gift of 'discernment of spirits.' As revelation is mediated through the prophet, so is the reconciliation through the priest. The Levitical system may have been very imperfect—it was destined, indeed, to perish by its inadequacy; but the idea of it was to enable men to approach God, to give them access to Him, to make them all that they had done, to have communion with God, living as members of a society of which He was the head. The Levitical system does not, of course, exhaust what the OT exhibits of the mediation of reconciliation. Much importance is attached to prayer: the hour of irredeemable ruin is come—the final breach between God and His people—when Jeremiah hears that, though intercessors like Moses and Samuel stood before Jehovah, they could not turn His heart toward Israel (Jer 15:1). The ministry of intercession mediates for man to God, as well as the ministry of sacrifice—unless we reduce the latter to the former, and regard sacrifice as in essence 'embodied prayer.' It is another form, possibly a form of intercession, of showing the cost at which reconciliation is mediated to sinful men.

8. Later developments of mediation.—Though the main content of mediation in the OT may be condensed under the heading of priestly and prophetly, it is not quite exhausted there. Especially in post-Exilic literature, where the transcendence of God is emphasized till it depresses the soul, we find intermediate beings appear whose functions are wider and less defined. Sometimes they have to do with the creation of the world, sometimes with its government in nature or in history; sometimes they are specially concerned with Israel's fortunes, or with the giving of the law; sometimes they are beings, the angelic hosts, who, instead of making the prophets or sages. Foreign influences as well as philosophic necessities determined the form of such thoughts, and they grew to have a larger and larger space in many minds. In B. C. 113, in *2 Baruch* (§2), there is a sufficient account of this faith in intermediate beings (Hypostaselehre), so far as it can be derived from the Greek Bible. The most important of them was Wisdom, the Logos, though, in *2 Maccabees*, in *Ezek.*, in *Ecclesiasticus*, in the *Apocrypha* in *Ilk 11*, possibly has, because it seems to have fallen out of favour in the NT, and is not once mentioned where we might most have expected it, in the Johannine writings. Perhaps this was due to J. Grill has suggested (Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums, Tübingen, 1902, p. 199 f.), to the frequency with which in Gnosticism *σωφία* represented a lost son which had to be redeemed (etc.), and the importance to Wisdom came the Word or Logos. On this see W. Boussort, *Die Religion des Judenreichs*, Berlin, 1906, p. 309, and cf. art. LOGOS, § 2. The doctrine of the Logos as 'mediating' is developed at great length and with infinite mystics in Philo. It can be best studied in E. Bröcher, *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1908, i. p. 11 f. It is perhaps not unfair to say that in Philo the Logos mediates in the secret mediations between God and knowledge, but not through a form or mediation further, between God and man as made in the image of God and participant in reason, but that it is not a mediator in the specifically NT sense of the term, i.e., a mediator of redemption between God and sinners. The verbal coincidences between Philo and the NT are often, perhaps always, conceal a wide divergence of meaning. A full discussion of what Jewish belief in mediating powers eventually came to be may be found in F. Weber, *Die Lehre des Talmud*, Leipzig, 1886, ch. iii. H. Schwab enumerates five: (1) the angel Metatran, (2) the Word, or Hĕmeret (v. v.), of Jahweh, (3) the Shkhbinah, (4) the Spirit of God, and (5) the Bath Qôl, or heavenly voice through which revelation is given. Where the mind starts with these generalities, whether in a more speculative or in a more religious interest, it does not seem able or impelled to bring them to any convergence upon a single mediator; but the NT writer, starting from their experience of Christ as the only and the real revealer of God and reconciler of sinners to Him, are able to regard all these doctrines of mediating hypostases as hints or suggestions of what they possess in Jesus, and are not afraid in a manner to identify Him with them all. Whatever they promised or were intended to secure has been finally made good and secured through Him. He is the Wisdom of God—the Key to the world of nature, of history, and
of all human life: He is the Word made flesh; Paul can even say (2 Co 3:7) that in His exaltation He is the Spirit. All mediation between God and sinful men is summed up and exhausted in Him. He is Himself our Peace. But all mediation, if it is not theologically mediated in this sense between God and creation is also transacted through Him. The last, however, is not the starting-point; the mind rises to it only inferentially through an overpowering impression 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.

9. Subordinate sense of mediation (means of grace).—Mediation in a subordinate sense is the subject of the whole doctrine of the means (medio) of grace: that is, of the divinely appointed ordinances through which the salvation of Christ is brought home to man. Grace is mediated through these ordinances, especially, according to Protestant theology, through the Word, sacraments, and prayer. The conditions under which the use of them becomes effectual for salvation—i.e., the terms on which grace really is mediated through them—are stated in all the confessions in more or less total and arguable form. Comparative religion offers examples of mediation more or less analogous to those here considered. Wherever there are religious institutions and customs, they are mediatorial. It is through them that the idea of a religion is conveyed to the people, who are brought up within its pale. Sometimes there are what A. M. Fairbairn used to call "developmental coincidences" between other religions and Christianity where there is no real interdependence. Thus there was an Arabic tribe calledMedian in the first instance as dwelling in the air which is 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 (F. Camont, Les Mystères de Mithra, Brussels, 1913, pp. 129, 139, 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.

LITERATURE.—As the idea of mediation involves that of the mediator, so mediatorial literature especially raises the question whether Christ has a necessary place in the Christian religion, and, if so, what that place is, and what it implies as to Christian Christology. In itself, the literature is really co-extensive with that of Christian theology. Other discussions of main aspects of the subject are to be found in J. Butler, Analogy of Religion, ed. J. H. Bernard, London, 1800, pt. 2, ch. v.; and J. Martineau, Studies of Christianity, 5 vols. (1857-1878). 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 (Qur'ān ix. 102, 121), and is the name usually given to the city whither Muhammad fled from Mecca, sometimes interpreted as 'the Prophet's City.' Its proper name was Yathrib (ib. xxviii. 13), evidently the 'A'dhārā of the Byzantine (s. r.) and the Al-Dhār at Tolemy (vt. vii. 31), apparently identical in origin with the Egyptian 'Aθωβα (indeed a form Athrib is mentioned in their names elsewhere: Taibah or Tābih, to be compared with the Hebrew 'Tab', [J. 11, etc.], and perhaps with the Greek θησ, meaning 'fragrant' or 'good.' Many more names are collected by Samhādī (803 A.H.) in his monograph on Medina (Khuṣāṣ al-ṣafā, Cairo, 1285), but these are mostly honorific epithets; one, however, which he quotes from the OT is Salīqu (Isa. lx. 11; Joel ii. 12, etc.); but this identification is certainly erroneous.

Since Stephanaeus Byzantinus gives the relative adjective of Yathrib as ἀθωβορός, it must have been the home of some person known to the Greek-Roman world not later than the 6th cent. A.D., and to the end of the 7th cent. there probably belonged one 'John of Yathrib' mentioned in a letter of James of Edessa to John Stylites; this Yathrib is identified with Medina by some writers (ZDMG xxiv. 1870 p. 253), but it is difficult to suppose that there can have been a 'presbyter of Yathrib = Medina' at that time. For the early history of the place, then, as well as the later we have to rely exclusively on Muslim authorities, who naturally have much to say about a town which played so important a part in the history of their system. It is unfortunate that their notices of its pre-Islamic history are mainly fabulous, though they contain important live forms. The settlement, which is often called 'Between the two lābas,' i.e. volcanic formations, was at the commencement of Islam a joint one of Arabs and Jews. The former were grouped in two tribes, the Ansar and the Khazraj, whereas of the latter three tribal names are headed down—Quain'qā, Qurash, and Nadir. The native Jewish tradition appears to know nothing of these colonies, whose names surprise us; for the last two are clearly Arabic, and it is supposed to have had a dialect (or jargon?) of their own, some fragments of which are preserved in the Qur'ān (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'ān, 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 proselytes from these communities for certain technicalities and even whole maxims. The personal names which are preserved are partly Hebrew, partly Arabic. The Muslim tradition represents the Jews as further advanced in civilization than the Arabs of Medina, and engaged both in trade, including lending money on security, and in cultivation of the soil; the date was the most important product. Further, they are said to have had schools, and to have written Arabic in Hebrew script, as was done at a later time and is done even now. They were under the protection of their Arab neighbours, and were occasionally compelled to fight in the tribal wars, much against their inclination.

Between the Ansar and the Khazraj there was a long-standing feud, which led to the parties summoning the Prophet in the manner recorded in his biography. This furnishes many analogies to that of the Arabs, provides illustrations of this expedient for putting an end to civil strife. He called his new adherents Ansār, 'Helpers,' a name which, according to the Qur'ān (iii. 30, 31), originally belonged to the apostles, 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, sometimes elected his adherents were required to migrate to Medina, the
town grew vastly in magnitude and importance during his despotism. Neither he nor his immediate successors had any taste for architecture or other forms of art, and, though building must have made use of the increasing population, it was, like the Prophet's mosque and domestic quarters, of a primitive kind. There are traditions, probably deserving credit, that the former had to be repeatedly enlarged and repaired during this period; but reconstruction on a considerable scale appears to have taken place first in the time of the Umayyad Walid b. Abd al-Malik, who gave orders in the year 88 for the destruction of the older building and the houses of the Prophet's wives, and the whole area in a new mosque covering 200 x 200 cubits. According to Tabari (Chronicles, Leyden, 1789-1901, ii. 1194), the Khalif 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 Samhūdī's authorities, were at times guilty of profanity. The whole was under the direction of Omar b. Abi-d-dir (afterwards Khallīfah), who introduced a mihrāb and four minarets.

In 160 A.H. further additions were made by order of the Khalif Walid, and his successors repeatedly repaired and decorated it. The whole building wasJacob restored chiefly by the Egyptian Sulṭāns, whose successors continued to adorn and enlarge it. It was again burned down in 888 A.H., and rebuilt by order of Qāṭībī with great magnificence and exquisiteness in the time of Samhūdī, who was absent at the time of the fire, but lost much of his property owing to it. Qāṭībī's is the existing mosque. Architectural details connected with the various buildings are given by R. F. Burton (Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, London, 1855-56, vol. i. ch. xvi.), who also adds some details for the period since Samhūdī. Apparently a certain amount of destruction was effected by the Wahhābīs, who also plundered the treasures; but, when they had been forced to evacuate the place in 1815, the damage was made good.

Visitations of Medina are not incumbent on Muslims, but it is regarded as a dutiful act, the Prophet having said: 'Whoever performs the pilgrimage is not to fall within the proper rule of me' (quoted by Harīrī, Mağāna xxxix.). The visit is, of course, to the Prophet's grave, which is the chief object of interest in the sanctuary; for the Sunnīs those of his first two successors and his daughter Fatimah, but the Shī‘ahs of his Imāms, are also of importance. For a description of the tomb itself, which is screened off, Burton goes to the traveller Ibn Juhayr (ed. M. J. de Goeje, London, 1907, p. 121), neither having seen it himself nor having met any one who had. According to Ibn Juhayr, a place is supposed to be left vacant beside the others for Isa b. Maryam (i.e. the Christian Saviour). The European fable of Muhammad's coffin being suspended by a magnet between heaven and earth seems to be unknown to Islamic writers, though it bears some resemblance to a story told about that of Timur-Lenk, which, according to Ibn Iyās (History of Egypt, Cairo, 1831, L. 347), had to be something held because the earth was unwilling to receive it. Various superstitions connected with this tomb are to be found in the works of European travellers, especially that of J. F. Keane (Six Months in the Hejaz, London, 1887, p. 225). Some puritan sects the visitation of the tomb is regarded as idolatrous, but this view is unusual.

Medina remained the political capital of Islam during the reigns of the Prophet's first three successors, but lost that position in the civil wars which followed the death of the third. In normal times it counted as an annex of Mecca (q.v.), whose governor was responsible for it; hence there is a dearth of native chronicles, and Samhūdī makes use of the usual notices of the tracts of Ibn Juhayr, somewhat as modern European writers use the passage. On the other hand, owing to the continued residence of the Prophet's widows and such of his companions as were students or devotees, it became the first university of Islam, where what are called the Islamic Sciences, were founded. Numerous jurists arose in Medina, and presently a canon of seven was formed. The people of the place claimed that the governors should consult them about almost all of the internal and external affairs of the state. As late as 200 A.H. its jurists or traditionalists were regarded as more scrupulous than others (D. S. Margoliouth, The Early Development of Mohammedi anism, London, 1814, p. 73). On the whole, the school of Medina, associated with the name of Malik ibn Anas (q.v.), was supposed to attach more importance to tradition and less to inference than the school of Iraq, which had been founded by Abu Ḥanīfah. The differences which resulted were not of trivial importance, though discussion at times raged fiercely (see LAW Muhammadan).

For at least the Umayyad period Medina was supposed to be the seat of literary criticism as well. When a question-year 634 A.H. there was an entrance to a council of one of these Khalīfahs concerning the source of a certain line of poetry and the relative merits of certain poets, the Khalif sent to the governor of Medina, ordering him after his sermon in the mosque to refer to local historians, whose opinion, which proved able to decide them (Aghānī, Cairo, 1285, viii. 180). It would seem that the beginning of Islamic libraries is to be sought in Medina; the poems of the Prophet's court-poet, Ḥassān b. Thabit, were kept there, and the copy was renewed when it showed signs of evanescence.

LITERATURE.—Of the work of Samhūdī cited above the abridgment was published 1258 A.H. the original of which exists in the Bodleian Library. The portion of it which deals with places of interest in the neighbourhood is summarized by F. Wustenfeld, Der Gebiet von Medina, Gottingen, 1873. Accounts of the modern condition of the place are to be found in many of the records of pilgrimages, most recently in those of Hadji Kharazi and others, "With the Pilgrims to Meccah, 1906, London, 1907, and Ā. J. B. Wavell, A Modern Pilgrim in Meccah, do. 1912.

MEDITATION.—See DEVOTION AND DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE.

MEDITATION (Buddhist).—See BODHISATTVA, vol. ii. p. 752 sqq., Dhyana.

MEEKNESS. I. OT conception.—The Hebrew word for meekness (םֶנֶפֶשׁ) is closely connected with the ideas of humility, poverty, and submission. A great feature of OT literature is the attempt which it constantly reveals to reconcile with the facts of experience 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 temporary, and that the end of a righteous individual is prosperity and success, while the end of an evil-doer is degradation and downfall.

2. NT conception.—Christian teaching derives the concept of meekness from the OT, but enlarges and spiritualizes its meaning and application. The deep significance attached to this con-
exception 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 "counts it better to suffer than to do wrong" (Plato), but as one who "resists not evil" (Mt 5:37). He is not one who surrenders his interests of life, but in so doing he is not emptying his life but rather filling it with more interests. In ceasing to contend for his own rights against others he gains the rights of all others himself.

Accordingly, Jesus calls as his disciples to surrender even the most obvious rights of property (Mt 5:5). 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 the right to property. He confers upon the meek a title not only to the Kingdom of Heaven, but also to the inheritance of the earth (Mt 5:5). Such possession, however, is to be realized only through spiritual development; that is to say, self-surrender, or self-assertion by self-surrender or by insistence upon individual interest, but only as the individual identifies the common welfare of men with his own. Hence Christ's responsibility is the material factor in private gain, and His ultimate conquest of all opposition 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 the ethical systems which 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, on the other hand, seeks to repair this defect. He confers upon the meek a title not only to the Kingdom of Heaven, but also to the inheritance of the earth.

But how is such a quality of character, which has as its distinctive feature the utter absence of self-assertion, actually to achieve the conquests and acquire the possessions which are thus ascribed to it? (2) Its relation to the doctrine of evolution.—According to the principle of natural selection, it has been agreed that in the evolutionary process the unworthy or 'unfit' must be cut aside in order to make way for the survival of the fittest. There are some who, therefore, would support such institutions as hospitals, almshouses, and sanatoria we are retarding the process of evolution. It is argued that we are thus breeding degenerates and criminals, consumptives and consummatics, and, worst of all, taxing the same healthy, and law-abiding citizens for their support.

But this view fails to recognize all that the doctrine of evolution implies. It confuses this principle with that of letting the weakest go to the wall. It is hardly necessary to point out that by adopting such a principle we should burst our finer feelings and should therefore sink in the moral scale. And the cost in time, money, and efficiency for other pursuits that is entailed in our care for the aged and diseased is, in comparison, incomparably lower, and with the moral gain. Thus we find that the preservation of the infirm and consideration for the weak are strictly compatible with, and, indeed, an essential feature of, evolution, inasmuch as they tend to develop a quality of human character which has the highest survival value. The growth of the spiritual Kingdom and the dominance of the world by meekness and humility are thus progressively realized.


MEGARICS (Megapak).—Eleucides of Megara is generally regarded as the founder of the Megaric school, though it would be more correct to keep his name for the system by setting it down as a point of view later. Eleucides himself was an Eleatic and also an 'associate' (etaprio) of Socrates. The account of his philosophy given by E. Zeller (Philosophie der Griechen, ii. 1, Leipzig, 1889, p. 244 f.) is vitiated by his adoption of Schleiermacher's identification of the Megarics with the 'friends of the forms' (etipw fiaia) of Plato's Sophist. It is quite impossible to reconcile the few facts we know about the teaching of Eleucides with the theory of pluralism in the form-structure of our kind. Plato himself (Parmenides (p. 149, ed. V. Cousin, Paris, 1829-27), states quite distinctly that the 'friends of the forms' were the 'wise men of Italy,' that is to say, the Pythagoreans. On such a point Proclus' testimony is conclusive, for he had access to and was familiar with the works of Plato's immediate successors.

The most trustworthy account that we have of the Megaric doctrine is that of Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd cent. A.D.), some extracts from whose History of Philosophy are preserved in the Preparatio Evangelica of Eusebius (xiv. 17). Its Eleatic origin is at once apparent from these, and Aristotle expressly says that it was first the doctrine of Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno, and Melissus, and later of Stilpo and the Megarics. In the first place, they made it their business to "throw" (xaraiaaMEV, a metaphor from wrestling) all sensation and appearance, and truly in reasoning along the method which they adopted was that elaborated by Zeno, a method which was known as 'dialectic' by its admirers and as 'eristic' by its critics. It consisted in showing that two contradictory but equally cogent conclusions could be established with regard to everything without exception, and that there was therefore no truth at all in any of the appearances presented to our senses. That is
what Plato calls ἀπίσταιος, and we still possess a curious fragment of a work in the Dorian dialect, generally known as the Diotima (the name is without authority), which applies the method to certain ethical antinomies. It is most natural to regard this work as a product of Megara, and we know the Megarics clung with special tenacity to their native dialect.

The effect of this criticism is to leave us with nothing but the One or the Whole (τὸ έντό, τὸ ἔν δήνω) and to deprive the Many and the Parts of all claim to reality. That was the doctrine of Parmenides, but there is evidence that Cynicides understood it in a rather different sense than the founder of his school, and it is here that we can trace the influence of Soocrates. The One of the Eleanics had been a continuous, corporeal μένεσθαι, whether finite (Parmenides) or infinite (Melissus), but Cynicides took the step of identifying it with the Good, which was 'called by many names, such as God, Wisdom (φρονημα, and Μειν (τοί). It was in this way that 'the Absolute' made its first appearance in the history of philosophy, and its claim to the sole reality was based upon the inherent contradictoriness of all appearance.

The philosophy of Cynicides had a very great influence upon Plato, who (Megara after the death of Soocrates, and it to this influence that we may most probably ascribe the unique position assigned to the Good in the Republic. It was impossible, however, for Plato to escape the permanent, absolute doctrine of any kind; for that excluded from Reality what he was most interested in, the Soul, and especially the best Soul of all, namely God. The Parmenides and the 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 Cynicides. When an abstract Absolute has been set up, there is not much more to be said about the dialectic, and it was 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 determined by the dialectic, 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 Cynicides. When an abstract Absolute has been set up, there is not much more to be said about the dialectic, and it was always available for the criticism of rival philosophies.

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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. So great was the estimation in which he was held that, by one authority, these disciples are styled 'Meir and his associates' (Midr. Rab. to Lv 15). Learning, mental acumen, and critical spirit were combined with a lofty character to make him the remarkable man he was. His parentage and birthplace are either uncertain or unknown. Contrary to the Talmudic practice, he is cited without a paternal name, and his dogmatic precision is the legend which made him a son of Nero, a fabled convert to Judaism (Gittin, 55c). Even his real name, Menashah (Moses), was half-forgotten. When Agiba, slaying the edict of the Roman authorities, continued to teach, Meir stood by (T. B. Brakhot, ii. 6). His other masters were Rabbi Ishmael, to whom he went because he deemed himself intellectually unequal to the task of following Agiba's discourses, and—a still more interesting fact—Elisha ben Abuyah, who was later to become an apostate and a declared friend of the Romans. From the latter, recurrent 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, and threw away the stones' (Midagah, 12b).

His exclusive love was not exclusively 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 Elisha were viewed with suspicion, 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' (S. T. 49a). He is credited with being the author of three hundred fables, of which only a few have been preserved in the Talmudic writings (Sanhedrin, 35b).

His knowledge of Latin and Greek also helped him in his Biblical lectures. His acquaintance with the sacred languages was so extensive and precise that when once, on his travels in Asin Minor, he entered a synagogue on the eve of the Feast of Purim and found that there was no copy of Esther forthcoming for public recital, he wrote out the entire book from memory (T. B. Megillah, 2). 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 rationalistic. Keen and bold dialectic played a large part in his expositions, so that it was said of him (Sanh. 24a) that, in his lectures, he was like one who uprooted mountains and ground them together. He amazed and perplexed his colleagues by his daring decisions, for Meir, he said, would not regard to regard to regard in the Bible as necessarily having a common subject-matter; Meir, however, held a different opinion. There are many such passages, he declared (Siphre to Nu 25), which have no organic connexion. Thus his view was viewed differently by different minds. Some admired his rationalism and courage; 'Meir's very stuff,' they cried, 'teachers' knowledge' (Jer. Tanhurim, ix. 11). Others disapproved. 'Enough, Meir,' protested his colleagues when once he was more than usually daring (Midr. Rab. to Ca 12). Nevertheless, as Isidore Halevi (Hamburger, i. 15), in virtue of his qualities of mind and heart, he breathed into Judaism the breath of a new life. As to the Hhalakhah (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.

'There was one of my colleagues who was wont to set aside, in my own personal practice, the decisions of my colleagues when those decisions have been more stringent than mine' (Shabbath, 15a).

His strength of character is further illustrated by his opposition to Simeon ben Gamaliel II., then presiding over the Sanhedrin at Usha. To Meir had been assigned the office of 'hakham of that body (as to the duties of that functionary see J. E. art. 'Hakam'). Holding Simeon's knowledge of the Law inadequate, and resenting the President's excessive regard for his own dignity, he conspired with Rabbi Natan, one of his associates, to secure the Patriarch's deposition. Simeon was rudely betrayed, and it was the conspirators who were ejected. Later on Natan was re-admitted, but Meir sturdily refused to make the necessary submission, and he narrowly escaped excommunication 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 Hananiah ben Terafon, who suffered under Hadrian, she was noted for her learning and moral worth. The touching story which records her wonderful fortitude in the hour of crushing calamity has been told again and again.

During Meir's absence at the academy one Sabbath eve, their two sons suddenly died. Beruria withstood the sad tidings from her husband until the day of peace was ended. Then she told him of it in a parable. 'A friend,' she said, 'left me some jewels to keep for him years ago—so long ago that I had come to look upon them as my own. Now, at a sudden, she claimed them; but I find it hard to part with them. Must I really give them up?' 'Why ask such a question?' answered Meir, 'you should have restored them already.' 'I have done so,' she replied, as she led him to the death-chamber (Midr. Mekhile to Pz 515).

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.

Amongst the pin-pricks of unsympathetic neighbours, Meir angrily calls down imprecations upon his tormentors. His wife rebukes him. 'Rather,' she protests, 'they may be repentant; for the Psalmist's application is not "Let sinners be consumed out of the earth," but "Let sin be consumed" ' (the allusion is to Ps 104:19, where the Hebrew is susceptible of Beruria's interpretation; for the story see Br. 109).

The Rabbi, despite a certain severity and intolerance, was worthy of his wife. His defects were the defects of his qualities. If sometimes he set his face like a flint towards other men's weaknesses, he was strong and fierce. His sorrows touched himself. He, too, could preach and practise the great duty of submission.

Echoing Ec 25, he says: 'Let thy words before God be few; school thyself to be silent, and give way to the death well' (v. 69). And, again, 'As we should thank God for the good, so should we praise Him for evil' (v. 69). God Himself suffers with His sorrowing children (Mish. Sanh. 34b).

Expounding 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), he said that death, the consummation of life, is good for those who pass hence with a good name (Br. 17a). Again, he said that what, according to Gen 1 in, God saw and proclaimed very good at the Creation was death (Midr. Rab. to the verse). The section of the Mishnah known as Aboda...
(Ethics of 'the Fathers') assigns a typical maxim to the mouth of the Rabbis. The maxim associated with Meir reads as follows:

'Mist thy toil for worldly goods and give thyself to the Torah; but be holy of spirit towards all men' (Abodh, iv. 10).

Meir was clearly no Platonist; he did not consider it to be a sage, was, for him, to have an incentive not to pride, but to humility. To study the Law, too, was not an end in itself; it must be made an impulse and inspiration to the noble life. Thus in another utterance of the sage he pictures God as saying:

'Devote thyself with all thy heart and soul to know my ways,' thus saith the Lord; 'thou shalt walk in my Law in thy heart and my fear before thine eyes; guard thy mouth from sin, and purify thyself from all transgression. Then will I be with thee always' (Jer. iv. 12).

Equally notable are his teachings concerning social duty. Men are not to be judged by outward appearances.

'Look not at the flesh, but at what it contains; there is many a new flesh that contains old wine, many an old flesh which has new wine in it' (Abodh, v. 29).

Nor are men to be judged by the honey of their words. If we have two friends, one of whom admonishes us and the other flatters, we should love the former, for he is leading us heavenwards (Abodh & R. Nathan, 29). He preaches sincerity even in our minor usages of social intercourse; warns us against inviting a friend to dinner when we know that he will not accept the invitation, and against offering him a present which we believe he will not take (Beruria, 69a; Tob. Bo. Betha, vi. 14). It is a man's duty to adapt himself to the ideas and customs of the community in which he lives; in Rome he should do as Rome does. The angels, the sage points out, when they came down to earth and appeared to Abraham, at first terrified; when Moses went up to heaven he neither ate nor drank (Midr. Rab. to Gn 18).

Applying to Aaron the words (Mal 2), 'he did turn many away from iniquity,' Meir thus characterized the great high priest:

'If Aaron chanced to meet a man who was careless to salutate him, so that, when the latter next time meditated an evil deed, he said to himself, 'Were it me! how shall I then look Aaron in the face?' in like manner, if two men quarrelled, Aaron would go to one of them and say, 'See, my son, what thy friend is doing; he is beating his breast, rending his clothes, and crying: 'Woe is me! how can I look my friend in the face, seeing that I have sinned against him?' Then he would go to the other and say, 'My son, do not say that at length they embraced and were reconciled' (Abodh & R. Nathan, 12).

Meir has left many maxims on the self-regarding duties also. He exhorts us to the contemplation of God 'who is rich?' he asks, and he answers, 'He that hath peace of mind with his riches' (Shab. 256).

'That he feels shame,' he says elsewhere, 'will not quickly be led into sin' (Netharim, 29a). The sin of Samuel's son (I S 8), he declared, lay in their demanding what was due to them (Shab. 56a). The Law (Exx 29) ordains that a man who steals an ox must make fivefold restitution; but, if he steals a sheep, the restitution is only fourfold. The difference is to be explained by the fact that, unlike sheep, the ox is a toiling animal. 'Here,' cries Meir, 'is a proof of the worth of labour in the sight of God!' (Menah. to the verse). In common with the Rabbis who exalted the law of the sanctification of the week, and with the early Christians (see E. Gibbon, Hist of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, London, 1901-06, ii. 17), he condemns the theatre and the arena. The one is the 'seat of the scornful' (Ps 1), the other a place of proximity to the cruelties of the gladiatorial contests (Abodh & R. Nathan, 57; Abodh. Zarah, 18b). He emphasizes the futility of human ambitions by an apt remark: man, he says, is born with his hands clenched as though he were king of the whole world; he dies with his hands wide open, for he takes nothing with him (Midr. Rab. to Ec 54).

Unbending to the ignorant ('unci homines [u. r.]') and the sinner alike among his own people, Meir shows himself tolerant and liberal towards men of alien creed.

The Gentile who gives himself to the study of the Law is as worthy as the Jew, if he be in subjection to the Law and speaking of God's statutes, says that if a man do them, he shall live by them—a man, not a priest or a Levite (Zdbbd Qumran, 23a; Sanh. 29c).

He had many conversations with Gentiles, chiefly polemical.

One of these opponents designates a race a people contemptuous of God, driven by the Master from his house, and put in subjection to other lords. 'God,' argues the controversialist, 'has made you ever so many mitzvahs; when will the Gentiles assimilate with us?' Meir protests against the theory. 'Rather,' he affirms, 'we are to be likened to a son whom his father has disowned, and the paternal heart is ready to take back if he return penitently' (A. Jellinek, Beth ha-Midrash, Leipzig, 1853-78, iv. 21). 'If,' says another disputant, 'your God loves the poor, why does He not sustain them?' 'In order,' Meir replies, 'to give us an opportunity of escaping Gehenna by the practice of loving-kindness' (Zdbbd Baruth, 180).

Like Aqiba, his master, Meir is pictured by the Talmud (Qiddishah, 81a) as undergoing the temptation of St. Anthony. Satan, so runs the legend, appears to the sage in the likeness of a beautiful woman, who would entice him with her wiles.

But he escapes them. The legend puts in concrete shape the traditions concerning the Rabbis' unyielding rectitude which gathered about his name. Another story tells of a journey which Meir made to Rome in order to rescue from a house of ill-fame his wife's sister, who had been taken captive after her father's martyrdom. It is said that his mission was successful (Abodh Zarah, 180).

Born, it is believed, in Asia Minor, Meir died in that country. He enjoined his disciples to bury him on the seashore, so that the waters which loved the land of his fathers might touch his bones (Jerus. Kilayim, 32b).

He had no equal in his generation is one Talmudic authority (Erubin, 13b); and, in a public eulogy pronounced on him by Sepphoris, Rabbi Jose declared him to be a 'great man and a saint, but humble within' (Jerus. Ber. ii. 7).

Of all the Tannaim, Meir's name is most widely known among the people. In the house of every pious Jew there is a money-box hung on the wall, in which the inmates deposit their alms for the poor of Palestine. This box bears the inscription 'Meir, Eshah han-Nesi' ('Meir, the wonder-worker'), an allusion to the miraculous power attributed to him in Talmudic and popular lore (see E viii, 436).


MORRIS JOSEPH.

MELANCHOLY. — In Greek physiology the bodily constitution of an individual, his appearance, his liability to disease, and also his mental character were explained by the proportions in which the four humours were distributed in his framework. These were blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm, the predominance or excess of which gave respectively the sanguine, the choleric, the melancholic, and the phlegmatic temperament. Melancholy (melancos and χαλκός) was thus the result of a mental disposition of people. Various mental, among men, and writers on insanity are still careful, in their description of cases, to indicate 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-
MELANCHOLY

— or in its circulation; if the nervous system, in the strength of the rate of reaction, or be inflamed due to the infection of the 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 finds a certain degree of reaction 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 may rise or fall, and which is maintained by internal stimuli, acting through the blood. This is the condition of the nerves, their preparedness for action; the higher the tonus, the stronger the reaction. On the nerve-tone will, therefore, depend the sensitiveness of the individual, his prevailing emotional attitude, and his quickness and firmness of response. A low tone shows itself in the dull, heavy 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 impressionable choleric. The melancholic, according to Idenhe, has also a high nerve-tone, but reacts through the emotional or affective system, rather than the voluntary; whereas the choleric relies feeling by prompt and strong sensations, the melancholic is denied this advantage: his melancholy is the brooding upon and nursing of emotions, a habit from which genus, or, it may be, merely hypochondria and hysteria, spring.

Wundt's simple formula has been widely accepted, that emotion is primarily a question of emotion, that emotion together with the tonus of the conditions of change, one in intensity, or rate, the other in rate; hence the fourfold division: strong and quick — choleric; strong and slow — melancholic; weak and quick — phlegmatic; weak and slow — sanguine. Strong emotions under modern conditions mean a predominance of pain; slowness of change means that the mind takes time to follow out its own thoughts, is not wholly absorbed by the present but looks to the evil ahead. These tendencies characterize the melancholic (Grundzüge der physiol. Psychologie, iii. 637). The scheme is too simple to fit the complexities and subtleties of human character, however, and there is no general agreement as to the true order of temperament, as many as nine having been suggested.

1. Melancholy and pain. — Melancholy differs from the other dispositions in being a well-recognized temporary emotion or mood, as well as a prolonged or permanent, and in being among the most prominent symptoms 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 continued disease, a settled humour;' but it is built up, as he recognizes, out of 'melancholy in disposition,' which is 'that transient: Melanchole, which comes and goes, hope the smallest occasion of sorrow, need, sickness, trouble, fear, grief, passion, or perturbation of the mind, any manner of care, discount, or thought, which, however, without anxiety, distress and vexation of spirit, in any way opposite to pleasure, mirth, joy, delight, causing no motions or a distress. In which every colic in the improper sense, we call him melancholy that is dull, and, sour, humisph, ill-disposed, solitary, any way moved, or displeased.

'...Melancholy in this sense is the character of Mortality' (6. 164 [ed. London, 1906].

It might be said that this temporary melancholy is merely mental pain, however caused, and that the disposition is a state of mind in which mental pain is the dominant tone. The expression of melancholy is that of pain, the pale face, the drawn look, lips and eyes turned slightly downwards at the corners; the respiration slow and sighing, the pulse the low, the temperature lowered, the nutrition processes, including the appetite, impaire, so that the body seems inactivity. It is a malingering of the will, there is also a loss of sensitiveness to outer impressions; they lose in clearness and distinctness; the judgment follows suit, and the whole mental character is, even though only for the moment, changed for the worse. It is the ceremonial of the mind.

'The patient thinks only of himself and his sufferings; altruistic passions, family affection yield to an egoism of the most exacting and extreme type' (P. Janin, Les Sensations internes, Paris, 1869, p. 190 ff.).

Mental pain may be less acute, but it is more persistent than physical pain, and it has the same reverberation throughout the system. The distinction between the two is probably artificial; mental pain accompanies all physical pain, while in its turn physical pain — discomfort, loss of nervous tone — is a constant accompaniment of mental pain.

The most acute pain, it is the over-excitation or exhaustion of some sensory or motor nerve; so the most common cause of the latter, mental pain, is the over-strain or exhaustion of the brain centres and tracts concerned in attention, emotion, memory. This is certainly the case; in the over-study were two of Burton's causes of melancholy. So melancholy may be regarded as a pain of fatigue, as due to excessive functioning on the emotional or intellectual side, especially when the strain has not been rewarded with satisfaction.

The extraordinary persistence of melancholy, the difficulty of distracting the mind from it, is, due, as Beaurin urges, not merely to the fact that its causes — the desires, the memories — are persistent, but also to the 'sentiment of the irreparable, which is at the root of almost all mental pain, the idea that all has been lost and without hope. Whatever it is that she will 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 whose discovery is held up to ridicule, the poet whose verses, that he believes to be inspired, are laughed at, the thinker who seeks for truth and finds only doubt, the Christian who sees the foundering of his belief and of his faith, all have this sentiment of the irreparable, of the irretrievable return, which leaves behind only nothingness and despair' (op. p. 231).

2. Melancholy and the sense of values. — Melancholy is the mood of an imaginative mind; it is true that an animal is sometimes described as 'melancholy'; a dog that has lost his master, a wild animal in captivity in a narrow space, a bird deprived of her mate: death, even self-inflicted death, is known of distinct temperaments, as many as nine having been suggested.

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ness of their nervous system, but rather to the fact that the old 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 an immediate need or desires of the self. Hence the greater the individual's satisfaction of his life, the higher his happiness, and the deeper his 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 up to now recent growth, is more conscious of itself, and less conscious of the wider group in which the loss of one individual is compensated by the gain of another. It was mainly from Russia, Germany, and Scandinavia that the melancholy school of writers of last century—the Fin de siècle—came. Suicide is said to increase in number northwards, and one of the most common causes of suicide is melancholy (see Burton's disquisition on suicide [i. 405]; and Metemkoff, p. 366). 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 greater the value, or, rather, the greater the apprehension of a good, the greater the pain at its loss, and the greater the pain at the prospect of its loss. Hence melancholy is, paradoxically, more common in the idealist than in the materialist. Paul Bourget, writing of Baudelaire, finds the key to the melancholy temperament in modern art in the figure in the mysticism and idealism of his early faith. When such a faith, the faith in the eternal, has been strongly held, its object deeply adored, the loss of faith in it, and of love, is irreparable. The individual may no longer have the intellectual need to believe, but he still has the need to feel as when he believed. The desiries 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 mystical soul faith is not the mere possession of an idea, nor a dogma; God is not for it a word, a symbol, an abstraction, but a real being in whose company the soul walks as a child in its father's, who loves it, knows it, understand it.

Once an illusion so strong and so sweet has gone, says Bourget, no substitute of less intensity will suffice; after the intoxication of opium, that of wine seems mean and paltry. 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 dreadful but consoling figure of that which trees from all diaversy, and delivers from all doubts,—death (Paul Bourget, Essais de psychologie contemporaine, Paris, 1892, p. 21).

Still deeper is the melancholy of an 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, indigual its passions to the full, till its power to feel is almost destroyed, that finds life most unbearable.

Le mensonge du désir qui nous fait osciller entre la brutalité maussadière des circonstances et les impassibilités plus imprévues, nous emporte encore.

It is the melancholy of nature after the storm, of the evening, of the grey light that comes after the sunset, of the brown tints of autumn trees—exhilaration or doom after stress and decay.

Less tragic is the melancholy that is associated with pensive, deliberation, thought, as in Milton's Il Penseroso—the melancholy of the poet and of the philosopher. Beaumis connects this also with pain, however. When man reflects, he is forced to return to our according to Beaumis, 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 angina pectoris, no mental enjoyment which will disappear before the pain caused by the death of one we love, the intellectual pleasure which is not annulled when we think of how much is unknown in our fate. Personal pessimism, at the root of every reasoning, of every meditation' (p. 290).

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 insoluble; or, if they do 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 exhausted or decreased energy has been brought into connexion with the known laws of mental activity.

To Devan 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 reads. 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 unconscious operations, or latent states of consciousness which accompany all intellectual processes. The restless movements of the intellectual eye (in the artist, poet, etc.), as well as those of the state of mental excitement, bespeak in the former case the exalted muscular element of thought; and in the latter a highly reflex excitability, but in the melancholy the element of reflex activity is universally at rest, the eye is fixed, dull, heavy, sluggish in its movements and painful in effort, the cerebral functions limbs motionless. The only muscles in a state of tension are those which subsist emotional life, viz. the small muscles of expression (Textbook on Mental Diseases, p. 121). 'Facilities the muscular element of thought has as its results on the subjective side, enfeebled ideation and the sense of objective resistance' (ib., p. 122).

The eye sees 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 ones, if not the excitants, of action, cannot be formed or recalled accurately in the mind; hence apathy and inaction. The environment, the non-ego, appears as antagonistic or foreign to the self; it is no longer the world in which we moved freely and pleasantly, but one which is new and strange, which resists our efforts and counters our desires. The result is a rise in the subject-consciouness; 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 absence psychologique, or psychic misery, with its accompanying disaggregation of the personality, and subjugation of the conscious by the unconscious 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 simple instances of how acts are carried out which correspond to ideas or thoughts in the mind of the subject, yet not the excitants, or voluntary or conscious on his part: he is aware of the result, not of his own agency in it. In spiritualism—the possession of the medium by the supposed spirit of the dead, who gives through the medium information which the latter has neither wanted nor state, is wholly unaware of enjoying—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 thoughts, may become loosed from the control of the subject, yet by the conditions of their occurrence appear entirely foreign to him; he is their slave, they take possession of him, he is carried away by them. Passions, of the source of which the patient is usually unaware, darting back perhaps to a forgotten childhood, 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. It is not until he becomes morbidly exposed to his own feelers the physician as 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 doubledness is itself an added source of depression; it is the same in effect whether the two personalities succeed each other in time, as alternating personalities, or exist simultaneously, although acting separately; the disaggregation means an impairment of the self, often revealed by an actual loss of intellectual power, weakened concentration of attention and will. The subject becomes morbidly conscious of the one feeling, the physical agent; 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 nature of which melanchoia so prominently is a symptom. According to Janet, the cause may either be physical or mental; physical, as the exhaustion of a prolonged illness, or of a sudden shock, or continued over-exertion, as in heavy physical struggle, as in the rage of a lover, as a result of 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 of the subject is lacking; the elementary impressions and impulses fall apart, as it were, into their primitive independence; 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 (P. Janet, L'Automatisme psychologique, pt ii. chs. iii. and iv.).

4. Melancholy and personality.—The sense of mystery, of strangeness, of possession, that occurs in melancholy deserves to be considered in detail. In melancholy, as has been shown above (§ 3), the sensations are less clear, their threshold is higher, the perceptions based upon them are blurred, partly from the relaxation of the muscles of attention, partly from the absorption of the mind by the pain, real or 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 not as a change in the experiencing subject, but as a change in the objects experienced. One's friends, one's country, one's world have changed, and the subject feels that he must adapt himself to the new sphere. Still greater is the loss of clearness in the memories. The most vivid experiences, when they can no longer be clearly and definitely recalled, tend to lose the warmth and intimacy which memories of 'my own experiences' should possess, as compared with those of others of which I have merely heard or read. Thus in melancholy man and depression lose the memories of my own life lose their emotional tone; they seem to belong to another than myself. It is true that this state lends itself to analysis, and that the habit of analysis, once formed, may continue which was its origin. But melancholy is clearly a feeling of the past, a memory of one's life, and it is not to be described and understood as if it were a curiosity; melancholy is not curiosity, melancholy is the disease of the life. It is true that melancholy is a feeling of estrangement, but it is the feeling of estrangement, not estrangement itself; melancholy belongs to a life, and a life is not a mere condition.
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 when one thought to a train of others; they tend to clog 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 usual consequence of making the actual failure all the greater.

5. Melancholy and pessimism.—Melancholy and pessimism are two sides of the same state of mind, the one expressed in the attitude and disposition, the other the theoretical interpretation. Happiness becomes a dream which is never realized, and which it seems hopeless to pursue. Subjectively, indifferently, apathy, want of feeling; objectively, death, seem the only desirable things. The ideas, imaginations, and suggestions that arise in the mind of the melancholy, according to a well-recognized law (see Störing, Mental Pathology, p. 222 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 melancholic sees only the sad, the tragic, the bitter side of things, the pain that is suffered, the sins and crimes and follies that are committed, not the pleasures, the kind- ness, the love, of the world. 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 fearsome type, but that the structure of the suffering self sends it to religion, to the idea of sin and its punishment, as the most obvious and nearest interpretation; and, finally, that religion offers the only adequate relief and hope of escape. Religion is the most melancholy of all Burton's most curious dissertations (pt. iii. sec. iv. membrand i.), and James's Varieties of Religious Experience, lects. vi. and vii., on 'The sick soul,' give a modern presentation. It is there shown how, as in Polistel'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 of the highest whatever the cause of this is, the world, and people, look different and are thought of differently—as strange and unreal. It is also shown that in a rational being the strangeness and change of feeling invite to a search for an explanation of self 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 melancholies as of two distinct types—the one filled with enthusiasm for art, for literature, for all that is great and noble, or, among ordinary people, merely pleasant, lively, and affectionate, yet apt to torment himself and his neighbours by obscure and chimerical suspicions; the other is the type to which the Emperor Tiberius and Louis X. of France belonged—men who are gloomy and tac- tious, deeply suspicious of others, fond of solitude. Sometimes of others is the theme of the most cunning and duplicity of the most dishonourable and cruel kind, which, if power is added, become fiercer and less restrained as age increases (P. Pinel, L'Alienation mentale, Paris, 1809, p. 164). This represents with some accuracy the morose type of melancholy. Moroseness springs from the disposition to regard others as having secret designs upon one's property or life or place, and to avoid them in consequence. It involves extreme self-centring and misanthropy. Melancholy is a disease of the imaginative, moroseness of the unimaginative mind—the man who does not aspire beyond that which he has already attained, the man of narrow range of ideas, unable to appreciate the values that others place upon, but soiled by the specially the ideal values. Probably the pivot of the morose character is, like that of melancholy, fear or anxiety.

As de Faurac has said of the miser, 'It is undoubtedly true that from insecurity springs anxiety, and that anxiety becomes a torture and a source of trouble for the mind. It has for effects the diminution of activity, the development of defensive tendencies to the detriment of the expansion of the cult of absolute security, and the horror of risk. It is intimately bound up with insociability (L'Arcisse, p. 23).

This is true especially with or any kind of feeling for others; he is vindictive, and, if opportunity allows, savage, brutal, cruel.


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, at any rate in language; but, though Melanesians have been called Papuans, there can be no direct reference to their culture, except in the Melanesian 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 Mendaña, in 1567. In 1589 the same voyage discovered Samoa; in 1598 the same voyagers 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 succeeding voyagers 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 vol. viii.—34
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of Melanesian religion could be gained. The following account represents in the main the knowledge which has been gained by the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England. The religion of the Melanesians is considered in another article (p. 131). The account here given has been drawn from the Solomon Islands, the Santa Cruz group, the Banks' Islands, and the Northern New Hebrides. It has been gathered from natives of those groups in native language, and much of it has been gained from what educated natives have written in a native language. Very little, however, has come from the Western Solomon Islands or the Southern New Hebrides; but there is every reason to believe that religious belief and practices in these islands do not differ considerably from those of the central parts of Melanesia.

2. Basis of Melanesian religion.—From whatever source they may have derived it, the Melanesians generally have held the belief that their life and actions were carried on in the presence and under the influence of a power superior to that of living man. This power, they thought, was all about them, attached to outward objects, such as stones, trees, air, exercised by themselves, i.e., either by men, alive or dead, or by 'spirits' who never were men. This 'sense of the Infinite,' as Max Muller (Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion [III], London, 1878, lect. i.) calls it, was the foundation on which the religions beliefs and practices in Melanesia; the general object of their religious practices was to obtain the advantage of this power for themselves. This power is impersonal, and not physical in itself, although it is always put in human 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 conveyed in almost anything. All spirits, beings superior to men, have it; ghosts of dead men generally have it, and so do some living men. The most common name for it is mana (q.v.). The methods by which living men use and direct this power may well be called magical; the controlling force lies generally in words contained in chanted or muttered charms. If worship is addressed to beings who are not living men, and if the use of their power is sought from them to do good or to do harm, it is because such beings have this mana; the forms of words have efficacy because they are derived from the mana; a common object, such as a stone, becomes efficacious for certain purposes because such a being gives it 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; 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 prayers 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 spirits impersonated by the personal beings in whom the spiritual power was already manifested naturally abides, and who never were men; by ghosts are meant the disembodied spirits or souls of dead men. To keep these distinct is essential to the understanding of Melanesian religion. Natives themselves are found to confuse 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 nui, wrote the following definition:

What is a nui? It lives, thinks, has more intelligence than a man; knows things which are only known by the powerful with mana; has no form to be seen; and has no soul, because it is itself like a soul' (see Codrington, Melanesians, p. 125).

The nui of the Northern New Hebrides is of the same nature. Yet such spirits are seen, in a shadowy, unsubstantial form; and there are many spirits called by the same name to whom the definition does not accurately apply, while the stories concerning them treat as if they were men with superhuman and quasi-magical powers. Still the natives steadily maintain that these are not, and never were, men. In the Solomon Islands being were believed to exist who were personal, yet who had never been men, and who lacked the bodily nature of men, but they were very few and enjoyed little religious consideration. The term which is applied to such beings is also applied to some who had undoubtedly existed at some time as men. The question arises whether those beings, concerning whom stories were told and believed in the Banks' Islands and New Hebrides, which showed them to be like men of more than human power and intelligence, should not be called gods. Such were Qan in the Banks' Islands, Tagaroo, Suge (in various forms of the names) in the New Hebrides, and Lata in Santa Cruz. To such as these the natives apply the word 'god.' But the native word by which they are known, such as nui, is applicable also to other beings for whom 'god' is too great a name, this category including elves, fairies, nameless beings already mentioned, who have no physical form, but are 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 once did the Polynesian and waiotara, the power which must be called spiritual, which are 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 meanings which the Hawaiians call tamate or natama, in the Solomon Islands a very common word in various forms is tidalo. The question again occurs whether these should not rather be called gods. There are certainly some to whom prayers and sacrifices are offered, whose place and time in human life are forgotten or unknown, and whose existence as persons possessed of powers far superior to those of living men is alone present to the belief of the existing generation. Such may not unreasonably be called gods. But, whereas in the Eastern groups such beings are plainly called 'dead men,' it seems more correct, and serves better for clearness, to use an English word which shows them once to have been living men, and separates them from any such beings as are believed never to have belonged to human kind. The word 'god' cannot be a translation of 'dead man.' Where, as in the Solomon Islands, a distinct name, such as tidalo, is in use, the term of the word 'god' does not so plainly apply. Yet the natives emphatically declare that every tidalo was once a man, that the tidalo is the spirit (tamata) which once was the seat and source of life, intelligence, and power in a man who was then in the body. The living men who worship the tidalo 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 by them from the dead. They believe that, when they are dead, they will also, it may be, receive a great access of this power. The difference which they recognize between the souls of the living and the souls of the dead is that they are alive and have but a comparatively small measure of spiritual power. But it should be understood that every living man does not become a tindalo after death. The large mass of the Melanesian, whose grave is marked by a small mound, or whose grave is unmarked, show no remarkable powers in their lifetime; alive they are nobodies, and such they remain when dead. But there are always some living men who show great tindalo, their spiritual success and influence. Such success and influence are not ascribed by the natives to natural powers, but to the possession of that spiritual power which they have obtained from the tindalo with whom they live in constant and close association. Indeed, they are expected that he should prove to be a tindalo, a ghost worthy of worship, an effective helper, one whose relics will put the living in communication with him. Thus, after the death of Gamindo, a chief among bathing natives, whose grave was invd and a sign of his power sought from him. On proof of this power a shrine was built for him, his head, his tools, and his weapons were preserved in it, and sacrifices with invocation were offered. Since then, a tindalo appears to European visitors to be a god; but to the natives of the place, who now worshipped him, and among whom he had lived as one of themselves, he was his ghost, in the common English sense of the term, who was among the spirits, expected that he should prove to be a tindalo, a ghost worthy of worship, an effective helper, one whose relics will put the living in communication with him. Thus, after the death of Gamindo, a chief among bathing natives, whose grave was invd and a sign of his power sought from him. On proof of this power a shrine was built for him, his head, his tools, and his weapons were preserved in it, and sacrifices with invocation were offered. Since then, a tindalo appears to European visitors to be a god; but to the natives of the place, who now worshipped him, and among whom he had lived as one of themselves, he was his ghost, in the common English sense of the term, who was among the spirits, of whom they had some conception, not an ancestor. The natural tendency is, as new objects of worship of this character arise, and as one great man after another dies, to neglect and despise the dead and their shrines of the past generation, while the elder wonders and powers attract faith and veneration to new ghosts and shrines. As the object of worship thus became more of an ancestor, he was less an object of worship, and certainly there are some concerning whose time and place of life the natives professed to be ignorant, but whose names, such as Daula and Hauri in Florida, are known to all, and who are now universally believed to be very powerful, although in ancient times they lived in human form on the island. These may be called ancestors, and they are worshipped, but not as ancestors.

The personal beings towards whom the religion of the Melanesians turn a great many men, with the view of obtaining their mana for aid in the pursuits, dangers, and difficulties of life, are thus spirits and ghosts; and it is remarkable that the Melanesians are thus divided by their religious practices into two distinct groups. But certainly there are some concerning whose time and place of life the natives profess to be ignorant, but whose names, such as Daula and Hauri in Florida, are known to all, and who are now universally believed to be very powerful, although in ancient times they lived in human form on the island. These may be called ancestors, and they are worshipped, but not as ancestors.

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5. Sacrifices.—There can be little doubt that sacrifices properly so called have a place in Melanesian religion. One simple form 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, though perhaps only as a form or as a memorial of them, but which they will be gratified. This is accompanied with a prayer. With the same feeling of regard for the dead, food is laid on a grave or before a memorial image, and is then left to decay, or, as at Santa Cruz, is taken away and eaten by those who have made the offering. In a certain sense, no doubt, the dead are thought to eat the food. Yet the natives do not apply to these offerings the words which connote sacrifices in the strict sense of the term. In the Western Islands the offerings in sacrifices are made to ghosts and consumed by fire as well as eaten; in the Eastern groups they are made to spirits, and there is no sacrificial fire or meal. In the former nothing is offered; in the latter native money has a conspicuous place.

(1) In the Solomon Islands.—A sacrifice in San Cristoval, one of the Solomon Islands, has been thus described in writing by a native of the place:

'In my country they think ghosts are many, very many, indeed, some very powerful, some not. There is one who is principal in war. This one is truly mighty and strong. When our people wish to fight with any others, they choose a ghost as the chief of the village and the sacrificers, and the old men, and the men older and younger, assemble in the place sacred to this ghost;
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 cut out in the form of a pig as when a pig was offered; but a piece of flesh was buried for the ghost's portion, and bits were eaten by young men to get fighting power, and by the sacrificer who had made the offering.

In the island of Santa Cruz the flesh of pigs or vegetable food is placed before the stock of wood that represents a person recently deceased for him to eat; feather-money and betel-nuts are laid out for ghosts, and food is thrown to them at sea. These offerings are distinctly ordered for the offerings which are naturally used, but they are soon taken up and disposed of by the offerers as common things. Such offerings resemble those of food laid on graves or at the foot of an image in the Solomon Islands, which would not then have the name of sacrifices, but the full sacrifices of the Solomon Islands, as has been shown, have the sacrificial characteristics of intercession, propitiation, substitution, and a common meal.

23. In Bank's Islands and New Hebrides.—To offerings here, no doubt, the name of sacrifice is far less properly applied, and yet it is almost necessary to employ it. The offerings are made in almost all cases to spirits, but in some cases to the ghosts of the dead, and are offered together with 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 object being as it were fused with the spirit who is to be conciliated or from whom 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 coconut on the stone, while he makes his request on behalf of his client. There is thus an intercession, a propitiation, an offering, and some sort of a communion with the spirit who has pleasure in receiving. So far it is a religious action of a sacrificial character, and is distinct from prayer. In the New Hebrides, besides similar sacrifices to spirits, offerings are made to the gods of powerful men literally derived from either at their graves or in the places which they haunt. Men who know these and have access to them take nuts, food, and pigs (living or cooked) to the sacred place, and leave, or profess to leave, them there. Nowhere in these islands is there an order of men who can be called priests. The knowledge of the spirits and of the objects through which access to them can be obtained is open to all, and is possessed by many. Most of those who possess it have received it secretly from their fathers or older relatives, but many have found it by happy accident for themselves, and have proved their connexion with the spirit by the success of their ministered charms. The offering is literally 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 older relatives, but many have found it by happy accident for themselves, and have proved their connexion with the spirit by the success of their ministered charms. The offering is literally an order of men who can be called priests. 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it may be conferred by men who have the mana, the spiritual power, to confer it. It may be said, generally speaking, that among these sacred objects there are no idols, in the strict sense of the term. It is true that images are made more or less in all quarters to represent the dead, being set up as memorials at funeral feasts, in burial-places, in canoes, and in places of general assembly. They are treated with respect; offerings of food are made, and other valuable things are occasionally laid on them, but the image represents men 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. It is usually the case in the Solomon Islands that certain stones give 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 idea that certain stones or places possess the mana, the power, of a man who has died. In this group stones may be divided into those that naturally lie where they are reverence and those which have mana derived for various reasons from a spirit, and which are carried about and used for various purposes, and as amulets. The mana is said to be the same as mana in another form. The stones of the burial-place of a powerful man receive mana from him, or a man who had mana is buried near sacred stones, thus connecting the ghost and the stone. In other cases, the stone is brought about after the death of such a man, for, however never was a living man, that it acquires a mysterious quality, and becomes the means by which the mana which the man who has the knowledge of the stone can have access to the spirit. Many sacred stones then are sepulchral, for this is usually the case in the Solomon Islands. The sacrificial already described are offered upon stones. A stone is also frequently sacred in the Eastern Islands because a spirit is associated with it. Such stones may be divided into those that naturally lie where they are reverence and those which have mana derived for various reasons from a spirit, and which are carried about and used for various purposes, and as amulets.

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(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 of an ancient man. Streams, or rather pools, are sacred as the haunts of ghosts in the Western, and of spirits in the Eastern groups. The reflection of a man's face upon a practically dead spirit gives the ghost of 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 colour haunts a sacred locality, the mana of the ghost clings to the spirit of the fish, and the name of the deceased is given to it. Before his death a man will give out that he will enter into a shark. In both cases it is well understood that the shark to which the ghost has betaken himself was, before it was thus occupied, a common shark; but, now that he is in it, the place where the man lived is visited by the fish, and the neighbours and relatives of the deceased respect and feed it. A spirit, known to some one who sacrifices for it, can, in like manner, be introduced in the Banks' Islands into a shark, which thus becomes familiar. In the Solomon Islands a crocodile may be a ti'ndolo, since the ghost of a recent ancestor may possibly have entered it, or may be known to have entered it. It is the belief that 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 Banks' Islands; the ghosts of deceased men of importance find their abode in them, and indeed ancient and widely venerated ti'ndolas dwell in them. In all the groups there is something sacred about kingfishers. Snakes are regarded as 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 a certain species of snake in the Banks' Islands, and still more in the New Hebrides. Snakes with which certain vui' associated themselves, and which therefore have much mana, are worshipped and receive offerings of money in sacred places to which they have come. It is believed to appear in human form to tempt a young man or woman.

Is, then, the religion of the Melanesians altogether an animistic religion? Nowhere does there appear to be a belief in a beiaus, a spirit in the shape of any natural object, tree, waterfall, storm, stone, bird, or fish, so as to be to it what the soul of a man, as they conceive it, is to his body, or, in other words, so as to be the spirit of the object. The natives certainly deny that they hold any such belief; but they believe that the spirit of a man deceased, or a spirit never a man at all, abides near and with the object, which by this association receives sacredness, or mana, and becomes the vehicle of such power for the purposes of those who know how to obtain it.

7. Magic and charms.—The belief in magic and the use of magic and charms do not perhaps properly belong to religion; but among Melanesians it is hardly possible to omit this subject. The foundation of religion is the belief in the surrounding presence of a power greater than that of man; and in great part the practice of religion is based on the belief that this power can be turned by men to their own purposes. The natives recognize, on the whole, a regular course of nature in the greater movements of things which affect their lives, but at every point they come in touch with what they take to be the 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 associate, who, being the ghost of a 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 objects through which it may act, and all things are personal relics, such as hair or teeth, remains of food, herbs and leaves, bones of dead men, and stones of unusual shape. Through these objects wizards, doctors, weather-mongers, prophets, diviners, and dreamers do their work. There is no distinct order of magicians or medicine-men, just as there is no separate order of priests; the knowledge of one or more branches of the craft is handed down from father to son, from
une to sister's son, or, it may be, is bought and sold. Many men may be said to make a profession of magic, and to get property and influence thereby. A man cannot, it may be said, be a chief without a belief that he possesses natural power. There is no doubt that those who exercise these arts really believe that a power resides in them, though, indeed, they are conscious of a good deal of deceit.

A great part of this is sympathetic magic, and seems to the people to have reason in it. The failure of some charms or of some magician does not discredit charms or magic, since the failure is due to the counteraction of another and stronger charm, and some have 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 enter into this subject in any detail.

With regard to sickness, it is often said that savages do not believe that any one is naturally sick. That is not the case in Melanesia, in the case of some of the islands sick people are considered down to the core from the head to the feet, and are 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 some ghost or spirit whom he has offended, or who has been under a curse. It is common to ascribe sickness to a spirit in those groups where spirits have so great a place in the religious regard of the people. There it is the ghosts of the dead who inflict sickness, and can be induced to remove it if the patient will bring 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 diabolical 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.

Tāmu. This word, commonly tapu or taumā, 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 an awful and, so to speak, religious character can be imposed on places, things, and actions by men who have the mana to do it. A place, e.g., in which a powerful man has been buried, where a ghost has been seen, which a spirit haunts, is holy and awful of itself, never to be lightly invaded or used for common purposes. But a man who has the proper power can tabu a place as he chooses, and can forbid approach to it and common use of it. Behind the meaning of the power is the ghost of the dead or the spirit whose power the man has. Tāmu implies a curse. A chief will forbid something under a penalty. To all appearance it is as a chief that he forbids, and as of a chief that his prohibition is respected; but in fact the sanction comes from the ghost or spirit behind him. If a common man assumes the power of tabu, as lesser this supreme power, there is no doubt that those who exercise these arts really believe that a power resides in them, though, indeed, they are conscious of a good deal of deceit.

Thus to a considerable degree, in the Banks Islands at least, men of no great consequence, as well as the societies which has fallen, or 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 enter into this subject in any detail.

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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 ghost, any other way. A living man was not the

\[\text{supw},\text{ 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 emblems are used; and doubtless the \text{supw} 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 society. But the account of it cannot come under the head of religion.}

(2) Mysteries.—A religious character attaches much more truly to the mysteries, the mysterious and secret societies on to give the 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. They found themselves in the company of the deities, and the Tabu was considered a secret order, and a rigid tabu guards them; to those outside the secret and unapproachable retreats the mysteries and sounds and the appearance of the members in strange disguise convey a truly religious awe. The mysterious and secret societies and their members are therefore in a constant state of communion with the dead, the ghosts which are everywhere, more or less, objects of religious worship. In the Banks' Islands the name of the mysteries was simply 'the Ghasts.' Yet, although the mysteries are within the mysteries as food to the dead. 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 his object, whereas clearly there was no
descent from a banana in the belief of the people. This, then, is no totem, though it may illustrate the origin of totems.

(3) In another of the Solomon Islands, Uawa, not long ago the women would not eat, in the meaning of the word, the fruit of the banana, and had ceased to plant the tree. The elder natives would give to the fruit the name of a powerful man whom they remembered living, and say that they could not eat him, thus accounting for the non-product of their plantings as food. The explanation was that this man, before his death, told them 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
drum would be his object, whereas clearly there was no
descent from a banana in the belief of the people. This, then, is no totem, though it may illustrate the origin of totems.

(4) In the New Hebrides, in Aurora Island, there is a family named the octopuses. 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 had wanted octopus, and then plenty would be taken. This, again, seems to approach totemism.

(5) The Banks' Islands and New Hebrides, however, there is what comes very near to the "individual totem." In Uawa, it was conceived that they had a peculiar connexion with a living creature, or it might be a stone, which had been found, either after search or unexpectedly, in some singular manner. If this was a living creature, its life was joined 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 also, in the New Hebrides, a woman dreams or

fancies that there is something—e.g., a coconuts—which has a particular relation to her unborn child, and this the child hereafter must never eat.

10. Societies, mysteries, and dances. (1) Societies.—A very curious novelty is that in the New Hebrides and the Natives of the Torres: Banks' Islands, and the New Hebrides is the universal presence in those groups of a society, called by some form of the name \text{supw}. There are, or were, certain objects connected with the life of the dead, and they connect this with the religion of the people. The visitor to a village would see platforms built up with stones, with high, pointed, shrine-like little edifices upon them, within which were the embalmers of a fire below and images in human form above. If he hit upon a festival, he would see such images carried in the dance. But such appearances show, as a matter of fact, nothing else than the presence of this society, since they are merely the hearth and the emblems of the men of high rank in the

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may almost be said that relation to a creator has no religious influence at all, though reference to Qat as the maker of men is made in correcting children in the Banks' Island. The existence of the world, as the natives conceived of it, and the course of all the great movements of nature, are questions of which control of power over all was ascribed to certain spirits. The makers were spirits. In the Solomon Islands the belief in Kanaasibware is characteristic. She was a female spirit in the shape of a snake; she made men, pigs, dogs, goats, fruit-trees, and the salt of the earth; death had not yet appeared. There was a woman who had a child. The snake strangled the child: the mother chopped the snare in pieces; thereafter all good things changed to worse, and death became instantaneous. These spirits, and 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, of which the Melanesians are believed to have had much to do with the fashioning of the world of man. Yet it must be borne in mind that they are by no means held to be originators; they can assume any shape desired by the circumstances under which they are called on to act, and may be represented as individuals by men who are not exceptional. He who directs his thoughts toward them is considered to be well disposed to them. 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 this heaven the sun and moon made their journeys; and the stars hung in it. They 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 spirit of the dead, or such as they are acknowledged to be, though the natives speak of them as ghosts.

Thus the world of the Melanesians was populous with living beings, visible and invisible, with men, with the ghost of the dead, with spirits great and small; and pervading and surrounding all was a power which belonged to all spirits, to the dead as such, and to many men; all these could direct and control the course of events. The world so inhabited was bounded by 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 sun and moon. 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 this heaven the sun and moon made their journeys; and the stars hung in it. They 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 spirit of the dead, or such as they are acknowledged to be, though the natives speak of them as ghosts.

12. Death and of 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 naturally use different words in their different for his return. Though no longer visible, he still controlled to a great extent the forces of nature, and he heard and answered the cries of men. 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 vat, of 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, 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 is no doubt the Tangaroa 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 and his brothers belong to the chief of the land of spirits. In Santa Cruz, Lata corresponds, but not very closely, to Qat and Tagaro, since he also made men and animals.

These greater spirits are named and known as individual persons. Besides these, in all the islands are spirits innumerable and unnamed. These are they whose representative form is very often a stone, which haunt the places which their presence makes sacred, who associate themselves with snakes, sharks, birds, and the various things through which men can communicate with them and draw from them the spiritual power from which comes all the good and evil in the world, which can be turned to injury as well as succor. It may safely be said that these spirits were not malignant beings, though they were spiteful at times and were willing to do harm to the enemies of their friends. The multitude of beings who in the Solomon Islands have power in storms, rain, drought, and the growth of food—the yipona, hi'ona, and others—seem to belong rather to the order of spirits than to that of the spirits of the dead, in which case they are acknowledged to be, though the natives speak of them as ghosts.

The soul can go out of a man in a dream or a faint; it can be drawn out of the body or injured in the body by magic or spiteful spirits or pigs; when finally separated from the body in death it becomes a ghost. Such a soul is peculiar to man. It is true that the souls of other islands, such as Hades, there is something which is like the ghost of a pig, of a weapon or ornament, something that remains and has a shadowy form; but the natives will not allow that even a pig, an intelligent and important personage with a name, has a soul as a man has.

(1) Death.—It was not part of the original nature
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 it came, the way to the abode of the dead was in the possession of the men themselves, and if they were buried in Hades. The funeral rites do not require description. The disembodied spirit is not thought generally willing to depart far from the body which it has left or 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 whether the dead go to their own place or whether the dead man all the time remains in one place. In the Eastern Islands Hades is in the under world; in the Solomon Islands the dead, though there is an under world, depart to islands and parts of islands belonging to their own group, and are conveyed to heaven in a canoe, a 'ship of the dead.' In all parts of Melanesia alike the condition of the dead in these abodes is an empty continuation of the worldly life; the parts of the ghostly island are not to be eternal, except in so far as the native imagination has failed to follow their existence with any measure of time. But, though the dead 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 the living is mainly concerned with the worship of the dead. In these islands the weapons, ornaments, and money of a man of consequence are buried with him or placed on his grave. Whether these decorate the dead or serve his use in Hades is uncertain. It is as when a dead man's fruit-trees are cut down, as they say, as a mark of respect; he ate of them, it is said, or if he were alive, he would take up their abode.

The notion is general that the ghost does not at first realize its position, or move with strength in its new abode; and this condition depends to some extent on the period of the decay of the body; when that is gone, the ghost is active. It is to expedite this activity that in some parts the corpse is burned. While in a general way the ghosts of the dead pass up to their Hades above ground, there are some 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. They 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 through the Banks' islander's Hades. In vanishing out of the island Hades has many entrances; in this they have villages in which they dwell as on earth, but in an empty life. The ghosts hang about their graves for a time, and it is not desired that they should return, otherwise they have eaten all portion thrown for them. The great man goes down to Panoii with his ornaments, that is, with an unsubstantial appearance of them. In the Northern New Hebrides there are passages to Hades at the ends of the islands, the northern or southern points, by which ghosts go down, and also return. In Lepers' Island the descent is by a 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 no one else 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 condition, according as they have been, in native estimation, good men or bad on earth.

(a) Solomon Islands.—It cannot be said that in these islands the moral quality of men's lives affects their condition after death. When the canoe of the dead took the ghosts of Florida across to the 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.

(b) Banks' Islands and New Hebrides.—In these islands there is something which approximates to a judgment of a moral kind. It is true that, as a man's rank in the world has depended very much upon the number of the pigs he has slain for feasts, so the ghost-fare has been neglected by those who have not the mark are thrown from the trunk into the gulf beneath and perish.

(c) Solomon Islands.—It cannot be said that in these islands the moral quality of men's lives affects their condition after death. When the canoe of the dead took the ghosts of Florida across to the 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.

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MELETIANISM.

There were two Meletian schisms, each having considerable influence on the fortunes of the Arian controversy. The earlier took its name from the Meletians who were bishops of Lyopolis in Egypt; the later from the Meletius who was consecrated bishop of Antioch in A.D. 360.

1. The Meletian schism in Egypt.—Melitios (Epiphanius) or Melitos (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 (Ap. c. Ariusian, 39), Meletius was excommunicated in A.D. 365 or 366, so that the quarrel was already of long standing when the Council assembled. The origin of it is extremely obscure. As Hefele points out (Councils, Eng. tr., i. 343 ff.), there are three separate accounts: (1) in documents discovered by Maltby and published by M. J. Routh, Religio Sacra, Oxford, 1814-18, iv. (2) in the writings of Athanasius; (3) in Epiphanius. All these differ in their details as to the origin of the schism. The first of the three documents (Routh) is a letter of certain Egyptian Christians in prison who were afterwards martyred by Diocletian (Enn. III. viii. 10). It is supposed that the actual writer of the letter was Phileas, bishop of Thmuis. Meletius is addressed as a fellow-champion of the faith, and evidence given in Routh's letter that the bishop who nailed up the Meletius letter which makes the third of our documents, to the people of Alexandria, bidden them to avoid all communion with Meletius. From this very early period the schism became at an end. Meletius' offence was that of (presuming on the rights of Peter and the other bishops by enjoining orders out of his own diocese. It is to be noticed that these irregularities took place before the deposition of Meletius: the portion of the schism is nothing more than the schism about the irregular ordinations. In his Apology against the Arians (ch. 59) he gives as the cause of the deposition of Meletius that he had been guilty of many offences, particularly of having sacrificed to idols and of having humiliated the bishops of Alexandria, Peter, Achillas, and Alexander (ch. 11). In his Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya he asserts (ch. 22) that the Meletians were declared schismatics fifty-six years before this, but that the charges were then dismissed. Ambrose (c. 310-384) decried the Meletian heresy. Socrates (HE i. 6) gives practically the same account as Athanasius, and may, as Hefele suggests, have copied from him. The third version of the origin of the schism, however, differs materially from both, and yet it has been hitherto considered. It is given by Epiphanius (Harr. lxi. iii.), and printed in Routh (iv. 105). Meletius says, this writer, was a perfectly orthodox bishop. Indeed, he credits him with having accursed Arius to Alexander, whom Meletius, though a schismatical bishop, was on good terms. The real cause of the dispute was, according to Epiphanius, the question of the treatment of the laity. 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 as to the underlying cause of the schism, Meletius being, like some of the Donats and the Donatists in Africa, the representative of the severe disciplinarians. Epiphanius had, moreover, special knowledge of the Meletians from their schism having spread to his native place, Eleutheropolis. Perhaps because of his doctrinal orthodoxy, Meletius and his party were treated very leniently by the Council of Nicaea. It may be that canon 6, affirming the authority of the bishop of Alexandria, was directed against them; but in the synodal letter (Soc. H. vi. 9) Meletius was not permitted to ordain or appoint clerics any more, and those whom he had ordained were to be admitted to the Church (μετακινησθαι χριστονιοι) and to rank below the clergy ordained by Peter and his successors. Athanasius was much troubled by those schismatics who joined his opponents; and from their ranks came his bitter enemies, the priest Ischyras, Arsenius, and many others. Athanasius bitterly regretted the decision of Nicaea in his letter (Ap. c. Ariusian, 71 ff., where a list of the followers of Meletius is given). The schism lasted down to the middle of the 5th century (Soc. H. i. 8).

2. The Meletian schism at Antioch.—The importance of the disputed episcopal succession at Antioch is due to the fact that it was the scene of good understanding between the Roman and Alexandrian Churches and those Asiatic Christians who, though at heart orthodox, 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 later years of the 4th cent. in opposite camps. Against St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Flavian of Antioch, and St. John Chrysostom were opposed St. Dianus 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 essentially no more or less dispute we have heard the old-fashioned or new side. To understand it is necessary to trace the divisions of the patriarchal Church of Antioch from the days of the Nicene Council. Eustathius, the bishop, who had been one of the foremost champions of orthodoxy, was thrown into a serious schism in consequence of his open advocacy of the Nicene Creed, as well as of his controversy with the Arians, who was installed as bishop of Constantinople in A.D. 360. It now became necessary to provide a successor at Antioch, and Meletius was chosen, being supposed to be a man of peace in accord with his own account (P. Shawn. Le Schism d'Antioche, p. 72, note). In his sermon, however, on P. &p; he declared himself on the side of the Nicene Creeds, and was at once deposed and exiled, and Eusebius 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 considerable—yet it had significance in its protest to Euzoius, 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 seemed probable that under him the Catholics would ultimately be united. In 362 Athanasius held the small but important Council of Alexandria (see Athanasius, vol. I, p. 789). A synod of the three rival bishops of Antioch was sent to Alexandria at the desire of Eusebius of Vercelli, who had attended the Council; but on his arrival he found that his companion in exile, Lucifer, bishop of Callirius in Sardis, 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 accordance with Arian and Syrian Christianity than the uncompromising attitude of Alexandria and the West. Nor was Athanasius averse to a settlement, which let bygones be bygones, and allowed the good work done by Hilary of Arles and the other bishops of North Minor to the Nicene Creed to bear fruit. But, not wishing to disavow Lucifer, the bishop of Alexandria recognized Paulinus, as did also the Roman see. The dispute had now reached a stage at which those were in line with which made the unhappy Donatist schism so incurable in Africa—the difference being that the Donatists (q.v.) rejected bishops who had been unfaithful in regard to heathenism, and the Easterns of Antioch those who had once been infected with heresy. The Roman see under Damasus declared unsatisfactory 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 Epiphanes, the father of Evagrius, a bishop of Alexandria, who in vain appealed to Athanasius to recognize Meletius, and was seriously troubled by the uncompromising support which Damasus gave to Paulinus. Things were further complicated by Athenasius, the father of the famous Athanasius, who, although 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 APOLLINARISMS). Among his friends was the presbyter Vitalinus, who had been made priest by Meletius, but was ultimately consecrated by Apollinaris as rival bishop to Paulinus (c. 375). Thus, including the Arians, the Church of Antioch was now divided into four parties, the three Nicene bishops being Meletius, Paulinus, and Vitalinus. Strangely enough, not a shadow of suspicion rested on any one of these three rivals in regard to character. Meletius and Paulinus were both recognized as scribes, while Vitalinus,高新区 orthodoxy of his consecrator, Vitalinus was highly respected by the most honoured churchmen of the day. Some hope of ending the schism was given when the six leading presbyters of the Church agreed to recognize either Meletius or Paulinus if one survived the other. In 381 Meletius was at Constantinople, taking a leading part in the Second General Council. This Council was destined to affirm the creed of Nicea and reunite the Church, though it proved unable to bring peace to the distracted community at Antioch. Meletius died during the Council; and, for some unexplained reason, Flavian, one of the six presbyters who had agreed to recognize Paulinus if he survived, consented to be consecrated bishop in place of Meletius. His action appears on the face of it indefensible; but, as he proved a remarkably saintly bishop, there may be some extenuating circumstances for his conduct of which we are not aware. The appointment of Flavian was one of the reasons for the Roman see's regarding the Council of Constantinople with disfavour. Paulinus was supported by the bishops of Egypt, Cyprus, and Arabia, while Tomus, Syria, and Paphlagonia adhered to Flavian. The Orientalists recognized Flavian, and, when the serious affray of the statues was causing anxiety in the city, it was he as its 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 as a most uncanonical proceeding. The Westerners seem to have supported the claims of Evagrius, and Ambrose urged Theodoreus to compel Flavian to resign, which he had refused when Flavian made the decision of the Church there; Theophilus of Alexandria was naturally opposed to him, as were Epiphanius and Jerome. When, however, Evagrius died, no rival bishop was consecrated. On Chrysostom's appeal to Flavian (398) he managed to heal the schism so far as Alexandria and Rome were concerned; and Flavian placed the names of his two rivals—Paulinus and Evagrius—on the diptychs of the Church. The Easterns continued to hold the schism till the time of Alexander (414-415), who healed the schism by an act of Christian courtesy, visiting the Eastern church in Easter day and being accorded a hearty welcome by the congregation. The schism was somewhat healed when Flavian, patriarch of Antioch (481-485), brought back the relics of Eustathius. The schism of Antioch would no be a 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 personal enmity between them 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, Apollinaris, and, to some extent, Paulinians, 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 biological sense to signify retention of the effects of stimulation. In this sense it is regarded by some writers as a fundamental attribute of living matter—a view
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which was put forward by Ewald Hering in 1870, in a paper read before the Imperial Academy of Science at Vienna, 'On Memory as the Universal Function of Organized Matter.' Wherever there is life with growth and development, there memory necessarily arises, since each new process is the outcome of the old and implies its retention. Memory is a faculty not only of our conscious states, but also, and much more so, of our unconscious ones. Our ideas do not exist as ideas, but as continuous processes. The special disposition of nerve substance in virtue of which this substance and what it contains is the same after which it happened yesterday, if it is properly stoked. The reproduction of organic processes, the refreshment of the recollections capable of guiding them in their task and of giving to the motor systems the habit which is suggested by the lessons of experience. . . . But, on the other hand, the sensori-motor apparatus furnishes an ineffective, that is unconscious, means of two, the perception of a body, of externalizing themselves, in short, of becoming present. For, that a recollection should reappear in consciousness is so necessary that it should descend from the heights of pure memory down to the precise point where action is taking place.

James Ward would subscribe to the biological doctrine of memory, but finds it meaningless save as interpreted in terms of the psychological.

'No, the bare term "reception" itself, and all cognate terms, such as "trace" or "residuum," are meaningless unless some present circumstance can be related to the past; thus they presuppose memory. The analogy of inscribed records is a favourite resort of those who strive to elucidate the nature of memory by physical imagery; we find it again and again in books. For example, a record, or memoranda alone are not memory, for they presuppose it. They may consist of physical traces of an event, called "unconscious," suggests signs; the masonic memory then, if it is to be worth anything, is something that seems to me clearly to require not merely physical records or "emotions," but living experience or tradition.

For Hering the marvels of instinct are but the marvels of habit hand on from generation to generation. A memory reveals at the skill with which the spider weaves her web should be in hand that she did not learn her art all on a sudden, but that innumerable generations of spiders acquired it gradually and 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 the material of the German lecture. At the present day a similar view of memory is presented by such biologicals as Francis Darwin, K. Semon, and H. S. Jennings. It should be noted that in such a biological doctrine of memory there is no necessary reference to consciousness. The structural development and behaviour of plants and animals may testify to memory in this wide sense without thereby giving evidence of consciousness.

(b) 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 biological fact has been emphasized by H. Bergson in his distinction between the memory which inquire into an memory which repeats. All our bodily habits are memory in the latter sense, but not necessarily in the former. Acquired skill implies practice 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 combined when performed habit or acquired skill is used on any occasion by a conscious reference back to past efforts, successes, and failures.

For E. B. Titchener, the relation of the two forms of memory are described in a paper, 'The Relation of the Two Forms of Memory,' Ap. B. Titchener, 'Unconscious Memory,' pp. 164, 111, 112.

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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 organized by habit, is then a quasi-instantaneous memory to which the true memory of the past serves as base . . . . the memory of the past offers to the sensori-motor mechanisms all the recollections capable of guiding them in their task and of giving to the motor systems the habit which is suggested by the lessons of experience. . . . But, on the other hand, the sensori-motor apparatus furnishes an ineffective, that is unconscious, means of two, the perception of a body, of externalizing themselves, in short, of becoming present. For, that a recollection should reappear in consciousness is so necessary that it should descend from the heights of pure memory down to the precise point where action is taking place.

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For E. B. Titchener, the relation of the two forms of memory are described in a paper, 'The Relation of the Two Forms of Memory,' Ap. B. Titchener, 'Unconscious Memory,' pp. 164, 111, 112.

2B. p. 129.
The latter view certainly represents the commoner form of memory. The attempt to classify the relation in which the suggested idea stood to the present consciousness gave rise to the 'laws of association.' The types of relationship, contingency in time and place, similarity and contrast, were emphasized by principles of connexion of the past datum with the present datum. If the present datum was said to suggest the past experience which preceded it more frequently or more strongly, the present datum was called the 'cause', and the past experience the 'effect.' The importance of the idea of connexion in the minds of the contemporary associationists is demonstrated by the experience of the present and that of the experience recalled; in a Micheaur-like mood we forget the natural connexions and recall only artificial. The importance of the idea of connexion in the minds of the contemporary associationists is demonstrated by the experience of the present and that of the experience recalled; in a Micheaur-like mood we forget the natural connexions and recall only artificial. The importance of the idea of connexion in the minds of the contemporary associationists is demonstrated by the experience of the present and that of the experience recalled; in a Micheaur-like mood we forget the natural connexions and recall only artificial. The importance of the idea of connexion in the minds of the contemporary associationists is demonstrated by the experience of the present and that of the experience recalled; in a Micheaur-like mood we forget the natural connexions and recall only artificial. The importance of the idea of connexion in the minds of the contemporary associationists is demonstrated by the experience of the present and that of the experience recalled; in a Micheaur-like mood we forget the natural connexions and recall only artificial. The importance of the idea of connexion in the minds of the contemporary associationists is demonstrated by the experience of the present and that of the experience recalled; in a Micheaur-like mood we forget the natural connexions and recall only artificial. The importance of the idea of connexion in the minds of the contemporary associationists is demonstrated by the experience of the present and that of the experience recalled; in a Micheaur-like mood we forget the natural connexions and recall only artificial.
which children aged 12 can reproduce correctly immediately after learning be represented by 100, the amount which can be reproduced forty-eight hours later without any further learning will be 110. A similar increase in content reproduced is found in other kinds of school material. In the case of nonsense syllables, although forty-eight hours later some syllables can be reproduced which have not been remembered immediately after learning, the total amount reproduced is less. This tendency for remembrance, 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 association 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 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. Pictorial imagery, which relies upon memory reproduced as ideas depends very largely upon imagery. Imagery is of the same character as sensori-experience—visual, auditory, tactile, motor, etc. Francis Galton proposed grouping individuals into classes according to their incidence of imagery used in reproduction—e.g., an audile, one who reproduced past experience in terms of auditory imagery, heard words descriptive of the facts recalled. Most people were said to belong to a mixed type, i.e. to use several types of imagery. It would seem, however, that the kind of imagery used, even by a so-called audile or a visualizer, depends very largely upon the idea reproduced and the purpose for which it is reproduced. The fragmentary character of imagery makes it possible for imagery used in reproduction as compared with sense presentations, has always been recognized. The schematic and symbolic character of imagery with respect to the idea for which it stands has received more attention recently. The function of imagery would seem to be to provide a focus for attention, and thereby to give clarity and definitiveness to ideas. It has been noticed that, wherever the process of reproduction is taken 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 reproduced readily in either a train or a visual manner, imagery is sketchy and in some cases scarcely recognizable. The question has been raised whether reproduction is possible without imagery, without even the symbolic imagery of words standing for the ideas reproduced. Here, as in so many other psychological problems, no dogmatic answer is possible in the present state of knowledge. There is much patient research in connexion with the question, and the more recent training in the development of the problem and of its solution.

On the development of memory and memory training see art. Development (Mental).

BEATRICE EGGLESTON.
Jewish scholars agree that this refers to Onkelos (e.g., Maimonides, in Yed., 180th vii. 4; see also L. Zunz, Gottsdienstliche Vorträge, Frankfort, 1862, ch. v.). The aim of the version was to give a correct rendering of the text. Where he differs from the original he does so in favour of the Halakhah and the rulings of the rabbis of Egypt.

Ex 23:19-20 states: 'Ye shall not eat flesh with blood . . . the fruit of the good tree' (Ex 23:19) is already called thorns. 'The people shall be eaten out of assembly' (Heb. 'one house') (Ex 12:19) in accordance with Pesah, 81a.

It is obvious that the version was intended to convey the spirit of the original. The singular 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 irrevocable usage of the name of God. We find, accordingly, the divine unity insisted on.

Elohim with a plural predicate is rendered in the singular (Gen 2:4); it is translated 'to know that Jehovah is God, there is none beside him.' 'Who is like unto thee among the gods?' (Ex 13:13) becomes 'There is none beside Thee.' 'Thus art God'; so 15:1 Jehovah is great, and there is no other God.'

Jehovah may not be even contrasted with other gods. Not even may the term 'god' be applied to other divinities. They are either 'metal' or 'abominations' (Gen 35:2), or 'tires' (31:7), 'he brought him up to the high place of his terror' (Heb. 'Baal'). (Nu 23:15).

To avoid the constant God with man or ascribing the same action to both, Onkelos would introduce a paraphrase: 'They believed in the Memra of Jehovah and in the prophecy of Moses' (Ex 14:12).

The people murmured against the Memra of Jehovah and strove with Moses' (Nu 21:3-4), or the construction would be changed into the passive: 'Let it not be spoken to us from before Jehovah' (Ex 20:27). The same construction is employed when human actions and passions are ascribed to God: 'The Lord will hear all the prayers heard before God' (Gen 21:17), 'the labour of my hands is revealed before God' (31:17). It is revealed before me' (I know') (Ex 23:29); a Memra from before Jehovah came to Abraham (Gen 20:7): 'I abashed met with a Memra from before Jehovah' (Nu 25:4). This construction explains Onkelos' rendering of Ex 33:7, which accidentally resembles 1Jn 1:1. 'By his word the world was created.' In the place of 379, the everlasting arms, he reads, Like the Belshita version, 3879 he the Memra moved (translated) the world, which in the passive assumed the above rendering.

It is evident that a version made under the influence of a rigid uncompromising monotheism and adherence to the rigid formulae of Rabbinic theology would avoid the assumption of an intermediate being distinct from God. To compare the Memra with Philo's Logos would distress the Targumists with more thought than they otherwise claim, and it would be impossible to understand why only this term and nothing more of Phicolonic 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 Mithurgi-Ma'mor when the name HVH ceased to be pronounced and before Adonai was substituted, some time during the Persian period. The Memra, therefore, is the deity revealed in the activity, just as the Shitkiah and Ikhar represent the divine majesty and glory. The term is based on Gen 1:1, emphasizing the fact that the world came into being by divine command.

Onkelos uses Memra when speaking of human authority:

The Memra of Pharaoh' (Heb. 'the mouth of Pharaoh') (Gen 45:25); he does not receive our Memra' (Heb. 'will not obey our voice') (Gen 21:17).”

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**MEN, THE.**—In the Gaelic-speaking portion of Scotland the 'Men' were for about two centuries the recognized leaders of religious thought, and the popular representatives of spiritual and evangelical worship. They were called 'the Men' because they were laymen, and not ministers. The circumstances in which they arose varied in different districts; the causes to which they owed their origin admit of little doubt.

In the reign of James IV., Robert Bruce, the eminent Edinburgh preacher, was sent to Inverness. In a letter, written in Feb., 1618, to Sir James Semple, the Laird of Belviwe, the exiled minister says:

'This His Honess would command me to the scaffold; I have a good conscience to obey him, and it would be more welcome to me than this highness (D. Calculated, Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1612-49, vii. 185).

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 ministers who continued to mould the religious life of the Highlands for many generations.

After the restitution and re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland in 1662, nearly 300 ministers relinquished their itinerant life, and their places were filled in the greater number of parishes by ministers who did not possess the confidence of the people. In the more populous districts of the South, the unity of the people, and their devotion to Presbyterianism, enabled them to maintain their religious zeal by means of conventions, meetings for purposes of worship held in defiance of the law. In the North a number of the ministers readily turned Episcopalian, and retained their livings.

The people were less inclined to adhere 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 conventions 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, there 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, held meetings, were accepted as religious guides.

At a later period, the arbitrary manner in which patronage was exercised in the Presbyterian Church, and aspersions in by Church courts, revived the influence and maintained 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, sometimes for doing so, were interested 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 company sat up during the whole night, and passed the time in prayer and praise and spiritual conversation.

In order to prevent any misconstructions 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 deplored the low state of religion throughout the land, they did so in a spirit of self-righteousness; they were at the same time faithful in dealing with one another.

Among various evils they note, thrusting in ministers on reclaiming congregations with the force of the law—pontors who have nothing in view but the fleece.' The same docu-
ment gives as one of the rules of the society: 'Thirdly, as the Word of God requireth, that we should consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works; therefore, if one or more of us see or hear anything unbecoming in the walk, conduct, or expressions of one another, that we be frank to one another and acquaint the Scripture rule: 'Go tell thy brother his fault,' etc. (Mt. 18:17); 'Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him.' (Lv. 19:17). It adds to these assertions that the public meeting together, out of different parishes, will be miscon- structed; 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.'

So conscientious were the men in 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 reminiscences were called for, was the 'Constituent Convocation' of the Free Church of Scotland, held in Edinburgh. This meeting brought together, out of different parishes, which were expert in making a running translation from the English version into the language of the people. The more gifted among them expounded the Word, and not in a spirit of earnestness of heart, but with a coldness and lack of the training of the schools. The deep respect for the people for an ordained ministry was reflected in the fact that these spiritual guides, even when their influence was most powerful, were not ministers or preachers, but 'the Men' (nu Droine).

By 'the Men' the evangelical spirit was kept alive in large districts, and the comforts of religion were brought within the reach of the strictest of their fellow-men, the poor 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 Book of Christ, or the 'Question.' The Men, each in turn, gave an exposition, generally bearing on experimental religion, and thus their gifts of speech and of scriptural interpretation were developed. Fitted to the Book of Christ, a public assembly was combined with a sense of personal responsibility, with a knowledge of the Word, and in such an assembly the power of the preachers, though lacking the training of the schools.

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The Men continued to stand aloof, and in the more northern districts they formed bodies known as 'separatists.' The more they diverged from the Church the more they developed contempt for all learning except a literal knowledge of the Authorized Version of Scripture, they became narrow and intolerant. But in later times opposition to instrumental music and church choirs, a severe observance of the Sabbath, a blind devotion to the recognized translation of Scripture, a general condemnation of scholarship, and a zeal for public assemblies all merged into fatalism characterized generally the scattered fragments of a body whose sway was at one time both powerful and beneficent.

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 the church or meeting-house. Standing at the presiding minister's desk, equally ready to give an extemporary address or to read a portion of some 18th cent. divine, he follows devoutly the usual order of service, except that he does not pronounce the benediction. These Men live saintly lives, they are honored by the people, and they help to preserve the simplicity and spirituality of religion.

MEN OF GOD—Lyndati bochd, 'Men of God,' is the self-assured name of many men who regard themselves as the only true worshippers of God; they believe that God is to be found only among themselves, ordinary Christian church-going being, in their view, worldly and false. By the outside world they are usually known as 'Kilbys,' i.e. 'Flagellants,' though they themselves repudiate this title. As a matter of fact, they are essentially
not flagellants but dancers, flagellation being a mere accompaniment of the dance, and not even a universal practice. The name is probably a cor-
rection from 'Christ,' the least traceable title by which they designate themselves as those who have Christ in their midst, in their leaders.

Although the Men of God have many 'Christis,' they are not a Christological sect in the proper sense of the word, for their Christology is only one side of their doctrine of spiritual ecstasy; that is to say, they are a secret sect who practise asceti-


cism and fall into trances. Their principal means for drawing down the Spirit is dancing (redeniye); 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 invested with the title of one of the apostles, or of the ecclesiastical saints, and honoured as prophets or prophetesses. In their belief, even Jesus of Nazareth at some time had, only through rece-
ing the Spirit at His baptism. While these persons have received the Spirit as a permanent possession, ordinary members of the community may obtain Him temporarily through the same means.

Besides 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. Obviously, a great number of the leaders are not married at all, but may take a young woman into their house as 'sister' in 'spiritual marriage,' exclusive of sexual intercourse. The latter constit-
tuted the trespass of Adam and Eve, and is condemned as the sin ever since. 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 intoxicating liquors; even coffee, and in many communities tea also, is forbidden. On the whole the Kiliysky system lays heavy stress on the mortification of the flesh (the resurrection of which they deny) that it has not been able to set up a practical ideal of life. Altruism appears among them essentially as sympathy, which has to display itself in the bestowal of alms. In accordance with this, 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 rack and the scaffold, but in vain, and they furnished many martyrs. Since the beginning of the 19th century, those methods have been replaced by imprisonment and transportation to the Caucasus and Siberia.

The Men of God, however, seek to show the courage of their opinions not by open confession of their faith, but by concealment of it, and it is precisely their obstinacy in this matter that has often brought upon them increased severity of punish-

ement. This concealment of their belief is due to their view of the Holy Spirit, whom they regard as a power which blinds observation, revealing Himself in secret and averse from publicity. If a man talks about the Spirit, he loses Him. Con-
sequently not only are their ecclesiastic 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 kvas (a 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 ceremonial, 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 thoroughly despise the State Church as 'the world,' the kingdom of darkness, of which they, as 'Christs,' regard the popes and clerics (clergy) as Jewish priests and Pharisees. In opposition to the Orthodox Church, they are sure that they are the only true Church, the Kingdom of God on earth, because they alone possess the Spirit of God. The services of the Orthodox Church are useless, since they dispense with dancing, the proper means for bringing down the Spirit from heaven.

The Men of God have also services in which there is no dancing; these are the 'usual confer-
ces,' and consist in singing, and the reading and exposition of Holy Scripture; but they are only as-
assemblies for attracting adherents, and they hint darkly at the 'better services.' In reality the source of revelation for this Scripture, but the Spirit which descends upon 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. To the 'better services,' a kind of frenzied dance takes place, consisting of a series of variously arranged movements performed singly and collectively, while songs are sung without any instrumental accom-
pacompaniment. 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 redeniye is regarded as the real spiritual baptism in opposition to the mere water-baptism of the Church). The 'Christis,' 'Mothers of God,' prophets and prophetesses especially, but sometimes also the ordinary members of the community, when in the ecstatic state, break into improvised doggerel, and prophesy the 'common fate' of their temple and the 'priesthood of all believers.' This secret service closes with a common meal—the 'love-feast'—which is regarded as the true communion. The services generally begin in the evening, 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 unfettered and creates for Himself whatever form He chooses. They seem to have special liberty 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 vestiges of heathen ideas are also found in their songs and ritualistic formulas. This sect is not yet received 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 slanderous and merely a device of the State Church to combat the sect, and brand as hypocritical an asceticism which is more strenuous than her own.
Our earliest sources of information regarding the sect, which they call "Christovostvitchina," are Vyrosoin (who wrote in 1691), Dimitri, bishop of Rostov (who wrote between 1702 and 1709), and Theophylact Lopatin-ki (1745), and further information is found in the reports of two trials of Klystovshchina elsewhere. In the monastery there 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 Venyov, south of Moscow. In the first trial Prokof Lapunin, a soldier of the bodyguard (strelcets), appears as "Christ," his wife, Akulina Ivanova, and the nuns Nastasya and Maria (who were both finally beheaded in Petropavlovsk) as "Mothers of God." Altogether more than 300 persons were condemned.

According to the reports of the second trial, the sect had considerably diminished in the Moscow monasteries, but, on the other hand, had spread much more widely among the peasant population as far as the Petropavlovsk and intermediate district of 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 "Christ's" Serge Osipov, Vasily Stroynov, and, more famous than these, Andrey Petrov, who, known as the "Happy Idiot," had the entrance to the houses of aristocracy, and carried on his propaganda there for the sect not entirely without success. "Christ's" Damila Philippov and Ivan Sulsov. Of these the first is said to have also ranked as "God Zeboath," and the second as the "Heavenly Father." For the most part of the 17th century in the government district of Kostroma, while the second, as his disciple, spread it in the Oka and Volga districts and introduced it into Moscow. The evidence of Dimitri and Theophylact as to the founder of the Klystovshchina applies to Sulsov; but ancient songs of the Klysti speak of one "Christ," Ayveryan, who lived in the 14th century, and of another, Yemelyan, who lived 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 pronounced unfortunate, owing to the decadely Christian character of the sect, the suggestion which derives it from the Bogomils (q.v.) seems extremely credible; but, on the other hand, the Klystis are entirely devoid of a trace of the Bogomilian cosmology, and they suggest rather the Messalians or Euchites (q.v.).

In the 19th century Kostroma and Moscow maintained their central importance in an ideal sense as places hallowed by tradition, especially in connection with the intense activity of the "Mother of God," Ulyana Vasil'yevna. The actual centre, however, was shifted in the middle of the century south-eastward into the government districts of Nijni-Novgorod, Samara, and Tambov, through the activity of Radayev and the "Christ's" Vasily Shtshilev and Avvakum Kopylov. The former, with his peculiar mystical teaching, and like some later "Christ's," takes a special place among the Klystovshchina at 1769-89 in the empire. It was his attempt to free himself from the trance-producing spirit, he caused asceticism to fall into abeyance, and shamefully abused the devotion of his female followers. On the other hand, Vasily Shtshilev and the "Christ's" resembling him have no immoral rites ascribed to them, but merely uneharly.

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, Porphyry Katasov. He and his followers again took the title "God Zeboath," and ruled not only all the communities of the Caucasus, where the Klystis, under their new name "Shaloput" ('eccentrics'), lead a considerably harassed existence, but also those of Southern Russia upwards to Suolensk, each of which has its own "Christ." Many Klystis communities honour as a Christ the orthodox "Father John of Kronstadt," famous through his Klysti 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, there are Russian peasantry, their total number, which can be only approximately reckoned, cannot exceed 200,000. Their significance for the national life, however, is, on account of their sober and 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 Secten, i. (Leipzig. 1897), which, besides the Klystis, deals with such sects as the Skakany, Malevovantsi, and Paniaschkovtsy, all of which are dependents of the different bodies of the Klystovshchina. The latter have assumed special forms as they passed from the sphere of influence of the sect to that of the Lutherans, the Stundists, and the Molokans ("Milk-drinkers"). Among the Lutheran Förderland the sectaries are called Skakany ("Hoppers"). Kondratii Malevovantsi founded a sect in about the middle of the 18th century in the government district of Kiev about 1890, and his teaching caused an epidemic of trance-phenomena. The Molokan-Klysti are called Prygany ("Jumpers"). There were, and still are, numerous other bodies which, on account of some peculiarity, split off from the sect. Although the "Worshippers of Napoleon," who used to revere him as a "Christ," seem to have died out, the Adaniotes, who seek to get rid of men's reliance on mortal relics, and the Paniaschhakas, therefore, go naked at divine service and in their houses, still exist to-day. The sect of the Paniaschhaka regard the body as not only sinful but directly possessed by the devil, and intensify the asceticism accordingly.

**Literature.**—The most important Russian works on the sect are: 1. Dobrovol'skii, Lyudi bozhie: Rossiskii gosudarstvennyi nahoditelnii pravospravnyi duchovnyi zhizn (The Men of God: the Russian sect of the so-called spiritual Christians), Kazan, 1873; 2. N. Rentskii, Lyudi Duchii divnye i Skoptsi ("Spiritual People and Skoptzes") Moscow, 1872; 3. K. Kuteev, Sekty Klystov i Skoptsi (The sects of the Klystov and Skoptze), Kazan, 1882, St. Petersburg, 1900; 4. A. Rzhezdoincovskii, Klystovshchina i Skoptzetstvo i Rossi ("Klystovshchina and Skoptzism in Russia"). Moscow, 1893. There are also numerous articles in newspapers.

K. Grass.
MENCUS.—1. Life.—Mencius, or Meng-tse (371–288 B.C.), second only to Confucius in the annals of orthodox Chinese philosophy, was born in Tsou of a family whose ancestral home was in Lu, the native State of Confucius. While still very young, he lost his father; his education was thereafter conducted 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 predecessors, except that they were of the school of Confucius, whose Mencius regards as his supreme master among men, and proposed to himself as example (Mencius, ii. i. 2, iv. ii. 22). When we get certain knowledge of him, he is a person already well known and accomplished by his fellow-countrymen. In Mencius we have the first appearance of what is known as the School of Mencius, from one Stee 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 acumen and considerable liveliness, frequently using illustrations, some of which are famous.

From the man of Sunn, who assisted his corn to grow long by tying to the knee boughs of trees to support the stem, to the development of character (ii. i. 2). The moral absurdity of nature is next made evident by the example of arcadian life and the exemplification of the life of a sage (ii. ii. 4). The man of Niu, whose natural vegetation is destroyed by the cutting of the beards and the browning of cattle, is a figure of human nature, which, through the occurrences of daily life, loses its innate beauty. The man of nature in the brief respite of the night or the calm of dawn (i. i. 6).

In addressing himself to the princes and governors of his time, Mencius may sometimes have been guilty of undue compliance with the faulty dispositions of those with whom he dealt (i. ii. 3); if so, it was from unworthy motive, but only to secure the immediately 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 righteous counsel (ii. ii. 2). Mencius is quite conscious of his own worth. He alone in his age could bring tranquillity and good order to the empire (ii. ii. 13). His words will not be altered by any future sage (iii. ii. 9). He is not only the law-giver, but a keeper home to his countrymen (i. ii. 11, iv. iv. 24), though he occasionally employs unworthy shifts to maintain his dignity (ii. ii. 32). Looking on himself as the continuator of the Confucian teaching (vii. ii. 38), he regarded it as his sacred duty to pass on the teachings of Yang and Mo (iii. ii. 9). This he did with vigour and acuteness, while always willing to receive repentant heretics without reproaches, not tying up the leg of a pig which had already been got back into the pen (vii. ii. 26). The last twenty years of his life Mencius spent in Lu, where, with the assistance of his disciples, he prepared that sole record of his teaching which is called by his name and now as one of those standard writings known as The Four Books.

2. Ethics.—Mencius's view of human nature is fundamental. Man's nature is good in the sense that 'from the feelings proper to it it is constituted virtuous' (vi. i. 6). The four cardinal virtues—benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge—are not infused into man from without, but have their rise from the feelings of commiseration, of shame and dislike, of modesty and compliance (vi. i. 6), of approving and disapproving (ii. i. 6). These four principles are accepted as psychological facts not reducible, e.g., to any form of self-interest (ii. i. 6). All that is needed for perfect virtue, in which a man becomes possessor of himself (iii. i. 4), is that these innate principles be developed (ii. i. 6, vii. i. 15; cf. also 'All things are already complete in us' (vii. i. 4)); and for this human nature is self-sufficient: failure arises only from the supposition of self-suppression, making the necessary effort (i. i. 7, iv. i. 10). From another point of view Mencius analyses human nature into chih (mind, will, volition and desire) and ch'i (passion-nature, emotion). The former is supreme, but the latter is not, to be vicariously suppressed, but developed in accordance with righteousness. Otherwise one's nature suffers defeat—as it also suffers defeat through action in which the impulses occasioned by the passion-nature must be appeased. The unity 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 violation suppression of the passion-nature, by which the integrity of a man's being is impaired, must be distinguished from the abscission of desires in an ethical interest (vii. ii. 35). Mencius, in basing his ethics on human nature, appears to have been not only the ancestor of but the founder of the term 'nature.' Such seems to be the drift of a Socratic argument in which he maintains that 'the nature is not to be confounded with the phenomena of life' (vi. i. 3 [Legge's tr.]). Elsewhere he points out that there are two natures, one natural, and in connexion with them there is the appointment of heaven, and the superior man does not say of them, 'It is my nature.' There are also moral propensities which are the appointment of heaven, but which the superior man must instead render rather as natural (vii. ii. 24). In things equally natural there is a gradation of worth, which can be recognized by thinking (vi. i. 14). Moreover, the sense of shame, which a man may not lack (vii. i. 61), is indicative of the righteousness, 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, so also is it in morals (vi. i. 7). This originally good nature is the child heart (iv. i. 12), which differentiates man from the lower animals (iv. ii. 19); and in possessing it the respect for the sage is not unlike the sages (i. i. 2, iii. i. 1), who simply have apprehended before me what my mind also approves (vi. i. 7). The sages, however, are spontaneously what other men attain to by effort (iv. ii. 19, vii. i. 23), though they, too, learn 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 grand aim of education is its recovery (vi. i. 11). Morality is the supreme task laid on each man (iv. i. 19), which requires unremitting diligence (vi. i. 9, vii. ii. 21). Nothing can be done with self-satisfied conformists to current standards, these 'thieves of virtue' (vii. ii. 37); for it is in the dignity of the morality should criticize itself (vii. i. 5). The way to sage-like virtue begins in ordinary duties (vi. ii. 2), and the carrying out of principles already possessed by all (vii. ii. 31). Vigorous action according to the duty of doing what is the closest approximation to perfect virtue (vii. i. 4). It is also perhaps hinted that virtue is the mean between extremes (ii. i. 9, iv. ii. 61, 10). For self-direction it is of the greatest importance 'to estimate the mind,' i.e., to become acquainted with the real nature of one's motives (i. i. 7), and second thoughts are often best (iv. ii. 23). Life presents a series of alternatives of which the higher is, by reflexion, to be chosen in spite of
the seductions and obscurations of sense (V. 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-incurring (IV. i. 5). Seduction is the sin of oneself and of others, superior to the seductions or threats of riches, honours, poverty, and force (III. ii. 2). To rejoice in virtue bodes unconcealable grace of department, which is the perfection and music (IV. i. 27, cf. VII. i. 24).

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. i. 20). Of all the filial virtues, filial piety is the only one that is referred to in any detail. Mencius quotes the definition of it as serving one's parents with propriety, burying them with propriety, and sacrificing to them with propriety (III. i. 4). The service of the parents is the greatest of all services and 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 an unquestioned precedence of duties to wife or children (IV. i. 20). Filial piety, piety itself in the funeral rites (IV. ii. 13); and, in view of the importance of sacrifice to ancestors, lack of posterity is the gravest in-stance of un filial conduct (IV. i. 26).

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 follows the current analysis into the five relations of father and son, sovereign and minister, husband and wife, older brothers and younger brothers, and friend; and desires the cultivation of the corresponding virtues, affection, righteousness, harmony in difference, order, fidelity (III. i. 4). Of these relations that male and female should dwell together is the greatest (V. i. 2); and within the family we have in service of parents and obedience to elder brothers the fundamental exemplifications of benevolence and righteousness (IV. i. 27, VII. i. 15). Mencius opposes any such obliteration of natural relations as he finds in Mo's doctrine of universal love. Men have 'a root,' i.e., they have a special relation to their parents and therefore a special duty corresponding thereto (III. i. 5). So, too, Mencius opposes all anti-feudatory schemes, and teaches that society implies a differentiation of function in which those who labour with the mind govern, and those who labour with their strength are governed (III. i. 4), and in which the teacher of righteousness has his due place (III. i. 4). In doctrine of the mind and body, two points need to be noted especially: the emphasis on morality and the democratic bias. Rule is based not on force, but on willing submission accorded to virtue (III. i. 3, IV. ii. 16). If the ruler be virtuous, his influence extends to all. There is no secret of statescraft—it needs only that the ruler give scope to the innate goodness of his nature (i. i. 7, II. i. 6). Let him dismiss all talk of 'profit,' and think only of benevolence and righteousness (i. i. 1). In the disorderly times of Mencius such a benevolent government, having regard for the people's welfare (IV. i. 3, 9), would be the chief virtue for 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 business to see that they (the people) have a certain well-being, 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.

When pulse and grain are as abundant as fire and water, how shall the people be otherwise than virtuous? (IV. i. 23).

Agriculture, therefore, and then education are prime interests of State (III. i. 3). The strength of a kingdom is in its morale (i. i. 5, IV. i. 1). Destruction is only self-incurring (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. ii. 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 brothers, filial piety being one of these great family duties (IV. i. 6). New men, however, are not to be excluded (i. ii. 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, and who has 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. ii. 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 peasantries is the way to become emperor (VII. ii. 14). The voice of the people is determinative of the sovereignty in a kingdom (I. ii. 10), and in accordance with it a prince may rebel even against the emperor (I. ii. 3). For a sovereign forfeits his rights by wickedness and becomes a mere fellow (II. i. 8), and, if not removed by the members of the royal house (II. i. 9) or other mighty, true or false, by the people or by the leader of a righteous rebellion. He who takes on him this duty of removing his sovereign must be sure that he is 'the minister of heaven' (II. i. 5, II. i. 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 seen according as my people see; heaven hears according as my people hear' (V. i. 4).

All wars of ambition are condemned (IV. i. 14, VII. ii. 2), and ministers who encourage the ambitions of their prince are 'robbers of the people' (VI. ii. 9). If right government prevails in the empire, the princes of the feudatory States will be submissive one to another in proportion to their virtue, and not in proportion to their strength (IV. i. 7). As for the details of a truly benevolent government, 'never has any one fallen into error who followed the laws of the ancient kings' (IV. i. 1), whom he finds in the spring and autumn period, and on which he fixes his historical interpretation. Of more interest is his references to heaven. He quotes, with approval, from the Shu King, or Book
of History, the saying that heaven, having pro-
duced the inferior people, appointed for them rulers
and teachers to be assisting to God (t. ii. 3). As
heaven protects all, so, in glad imitation, should
the great Sovereign of small States. While the ruler
of a small State should recognize the decree of heaven and be willing to serve the
great State (t. ii. 3). Such obedience to heaven
preserves creation, while disobedience entails
disaster. The two parts of human happiness are
individual's (v. i. 2), and man's (v. i. 3). 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 subserviendy as what can be correctly
ascribed thereto; but he who understands what is
meant will not stand under a precipitous wall, nor
can death under fetters 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 (t. ii. 14, vii. i. 1), which in its painful
discipline of individuals has moral ends in view
(vii. ii. 15, vii. i. 18). From men's nature we can
know heaven; and to preserve one's mental constitu-
tion and virtue, human nature is the way to serve
heaven (vii. i. 1). To have no shame before
heaven is one of the things in which the superior
man delights (vii. i. 29). Heaven is the realized
ideal after which men aspire (v. i. 12). Specifically
suggestive is this saying:

"Though a man may be wicked, yet if he adjust his thoughts,
fast, and bathes, he may sacrifice to change!" (v. i. 22; for
the faeton contradictory see art. God (Chosen)).

5. In conclusion a few miscellaneous points may
be noted. Memins indicates the correct method
for understanding Nature by obedience and not
by violence in the investigation of her pheno-
mena (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 be without the Book of History then
to give entire credit to it" (v. ii. 3).

LITERATURE. — J. Legge, The Chinese Classics, Hongkong and
London, 1854-57. The year by year translation, with
the Chinese text, are published separately, The Life and Works
of Memins. See also E. Fæster, "The Mind of

P. J. MACLAGAN.

MENDELSOHN. — 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
Rabbi Moses Isserles, a distinguished Talmudist
and philosopher of the 16th cent., known as
"Rena." Moses Mendelssohn was taught Rab-
binics by the local Rabbi, David Frankel, who
published a commentary on the Palestinian Talmud
in 1739. Frankel was expelled 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 by A. S. Guimper, and taught himself
Latin and Greek. His taste for philosophy was
inspired by the study of Maimonides' Guide of the
Perplexed. He earned a precocious livelihood
as tutor in the home of a well-to-do Jewish silk
merchant, Isaac Bernhard, in whose warehouse he
acquired a thorough knowledge of English as book-keeper. His evenings and all his leisure
he devoted to philosophy. He was a follower of
Wolf and Leibniz, but was much influenced by the
English School of empiriques, 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 ad-
verse criticism. Lessing became his lifelong friend,
and dubbed him the second Spinoza. It was
Lessing who had Mendelssohn's first work printed
—the Philosophische Gespräche (1755). In 1755
they collaborated in an anonymous and piquant
attack on the Berlin Academy—Pope ein Meta-
physiker! and the next year Mendelssohn trans-
lated Rousseau's Discourse on the "Inequality parmi les femmes," though he ridiculed
the author's partiality for man in a state of nature.
Though M. Steinschneider (Cat. libr. Hebr, in Bibl.
Badenoue, Berlin, 1852-69) enumerates 29 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 becomes famous.
His essay on esthetics, 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 legend-
ary. On the contrary, he criticized the king's
Poésies diverses en 1780, and told to the Berlin
poet, Dubois, to "protect him for writing in French.
The royal displeasure was
so great that he was threatened with expulsion from
Berlin, but the Marquis d'Argens intervened,
and as a "philosophe mairais catholique" pleaded
with his Majesty as a "philosophe mairais pro-
testant" to grant to the "philosophe mairais juif"
the privilege of residence.

In 1768 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. Mendelssohn left Berlin
"at the request of the king" (1782) and moved to
Prance to serve as court poet to Prince Carl of
Brunswick. He was the first book of
philosophy read and discussed by Goethe and
later by Schiller, and dissuaded from suicide many
disappointed or degenerates. Mendelssohn rapidly
acquired a unique position among the intellectuals
of Berlin. His chief friends, besides Lessing, were
Hamann, Gleim, Wieland, and Herder, and the
Swiss writers Zimmermann, Iselin, Gessner, and
Lavater.

The last was the famous physician, immor-
talized by Darwin; but it was in his capacity as
a very zealous pastor that he caused the Jewish
philosopher much trouble and annoyance. He
published dedicatedly a pamphlet on the Topic of
Palingénésie philosophique (1769) to Mendelssohn,
and urged him to abandon Judaism and become
a Christian. The Jew, having obtained the sanction of
the Consistorium zur Censor, replied in his
Schreiben, an den Heim. Diakonus Lavater zu
Zurich (1770), manfully defending his position. It
was not only yesterday that he had examined the evidences of his own religion. What but convic-
tion would induce him to remain a persecuted
Jew? He never changed his religion.
This reply produced a storm of protest. J. B. Kolbele in his *Antijudaismo* (1770) was among those who accused incautiously upon him in various pamphlets, of which his best biographer, M. Kayserling, gives a full list. Next year an anonymous *Pro- mensa* was published in his defence. This 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 Logic of Maimonides, and had presented the MS to one Sepsen Kalnin, who published it at his own expense.

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 *bifr*, or commentary, in Hebrew. His first assistant was Solomon Dolno (*1813*), who quarrelled with Mendelssohn in 1789. Mendelssohn's brother Saul took Dublin'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 Lissa, Elijah Wilna, and Hirschel Levin (formerly chief Rabbi of London and then of Berlin) because of whose objections it was not published in Berlin. Ly *198*, where 'thou shalt rebuke thine neighbour' was toned down to 'canst'; but the storm of opposition ceased, largely through the aid of Italian Rabbis, who, though orthodox, were also converts to Judaism.

Mendelssohn's translation of the Psalms, which had been begun before 1770, was not completed for thirteen years. During this period the translator took up the work only spasmodically and just when he needed the money. In 1784 he sold his MSS for 300 thalers and published it in 1788, but lost money by the publication; next year it was published in Hebrew characters with a *bifr* by one Joel Löwe. The Song of Deborah and the Song of Songs were the other Bible translations completed by Mendelssohn. The heathen public took them as an appeal, not a criticism, of Judaism. Though Mendelssohn was not a scrupulous lover of syntax, he wrote up to 1769 on that part of the Bible he had published anonymously. In 1769 it was clear and sympathetic, though greatly admired by Herder, is not the chief for a novel division into sections, differing from the traditional chapters. Mendelssohn seems to have assigned a higher critical value to those days, and scolded Bishop Benjamin Kennicott's textual alterations of the Bible. One immediate result of the translation was a change in the course of education of Jewish boys, and the inauguration 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 unacknowledged college 'Pulchri Heroe' of Dessau. In 1781 his and his rich disciple, 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 Dessau and other cities.

After his wife's death, Lessing had bad battle to tolerate his *Antijudaismo* 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 which was in some respects a development of his youthful production *Die Juden Lestern*. Lessing's play on the story of the Jew Melchizedek in *Boecacoe's Decameron*. About no German work except Goethe's *Faust* has so much been written. Nathan is Mendelssohn, Recha his daughter Dorothy, the tempter Lessing, the Swiss widow Daja is intended for Lavater, the dervish is Mendelssohn's mathematical friend Abraham Wolf Kollwitz of Reichenburg, and so on.

The controversy engendered by *Nathan der Weise* led to a plea for the civil emancipation of the Jews by C. W. von Dohn (*Ueber die bürgerliche Verbes- serung der Juden*, Berlin, 1781), translated into French by Mirabeau (London, 1787). Six 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 1782 Mendelssohn published a translation of Manasseh ben Israel's *Espеранцо 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* (1783), a work on religious power and Judaism. In this book, translated into English in 1784, Mendelssohn explains 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. Judaism, he urged, has no dogmas or chains upon belief; Joseph Aboab de Sousa, who had reduced the thirteen creeds formulated by Maimonides to three (cf. ERE iv. 240), was not heretic. Judaism required conformity with ceremonial law, but tolerated complete liberty of opinion.

In *A Reconsiderer* his children, Mendelssohn substitutes in the creeds the words 'I recognize as true and certain' for the words 'I believe.' Ceremonial laws he regarded as a sort of living scripture and the great bond between Jew and Jew, urging that, even if their utility were no longer clear, they were still binding. Actions are our duty, but creeds, symbols, and formulas are the letters of reason. In this way he reconciled the deism of Leibniz and the English deists with revealed law, and thus condemned the so-called *Betrachtungen über Bonnet's Palingenesie* are both pleas for toleration, but not for uniformity of belief. In both he warns his disciples against prejudice, superstition, and even enthusiasm. *Jerusalem* evinced his keen appreciation of English drama, said that it was incontrovertible, and wrote a highly appreciative letter about it; Mirabeau said that it ought to be translated into every European language; Michaels 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 Monats- schrift*, of which he was one of the founders in 1788. 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 correspondences with Jacob Emden.

Mendelssohn's *Morgenautunden*, like his Bible translation, was in the first instance intended to lend his son Joseph to a true belief in God. Its publication, in 1785, was designed as a refutation of Spinoza himself as well as of Lessing, who was a Spinozist. In 1833 Alexander von Humboldt, in a letter to M. Mortara, described him, in his youth, he and Mendelssohn's sons had heard these very *Morgenautunden* given forth by the philosopher in his study. Mendelssohn proves the existence of God; the nature of the Divine Being and His characteristics
were to be treated in the second part. Its philosophy is an attempt to advance upon the sensuality of Wolf by the help of English empiricism. He claimed that human common sense, when working hand in hand with reason, was infallible.

Though self-taught, Mendelssohn was neither a dilettante nor a popular philosopher. Hegel pronounced him a philosopher, and 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 pre-destined 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 Morgenstunden appeared F. H. Jacobi's treatise Uber die Lehre des Spinoza auf den Haken Moses Mendelssohn. Lavater had rebuked him for not being a Christian; Jacobi now charged him with atheism. He was profoundly disturbed by what he considered a cruel attack, and retaliated with his Address an die Freundes Lesers. He brought the manuscript to his publisher Voss on 31st Dec. 1786, and two days later he had analytic stroke. There is little doubt that Jacobi's attack, in which Lavater, Herder, and Goethe had all sided against the Jewish philosopher, brought about his end.

He left three sons and three daughters. His sons, Abraham and Isaac, ran the famous banking house of Mendelssohn and Co., which still exists. The former in 1849 reviewed Rosetti's Dante. The great musician Felix Mendelssohn was Abraham's son; another grandson, G. B. Mendelssohn, edited the philosopher's complete works in 1843-45.

Mendelssohn's first biographer, his pupil I. A. Eichel, described him as short and shoul erered, 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 (Tödlicher Rambambam, Berlin, 1786).

There is much difference of opinion among Jews as to his influence on them or not. The general view seems to be that it has proved better for Jews than for Judaism. His chief opponents were the 19th cent. Russian intellectuals known as the Maskilim, especially Peretz Markish, who in 1811, in his work of denouncing Jewish nationalism, belittled his knowledge of the wisdom of Israel, and characterized him as a merchant rather than a Rabbi. Yet without doubt he was the first and most typical of modern Jews, the first to identify himself with another nation and yet remain a Jew.

'Judaism, which hitherto had impressed the whole mental activity of the Jew,' says Segal in Aspects of Hebreo Genius (p. 183), '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 generation at every step. They threw off the burden of Judaism. . . . But . . . the period of the Reform, who in the second period of religious reform and the readjustment of Judaism to the new conditions of Jewish existence.' Jewish nationalists of the present time, not quite like Mendelssohn, regard as the chief cohere of the desire 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 Vottelagen and in sceptical Berlin. The finest epigram about him, and one which he himself would have appreciated, is the distich, "Es ist ein Gott, das singt Moses schon. Doch den Beweis gab Moses Mendelssohn."
MENNONITES

and Mrs. A. Brous; and, in 1884, in order to prevent the decline of their little number, the Mennonites founded the Vereinigung der Mennonitengemeinden im deutschen Reiche (Union of the Congregations of Mennonites in the German Empire). Their periodical, Mennonitische Blätter, has been issued since 1854.

They have congregations in Alsace, the Bavarian Palatinate, Baden, Wurttemberg, Hesse, Nassau, at the lower part of the Rhine, in Westphalia, East Friesland, at Hamburg, Friedrichstadt, and in West and East Prussia.

c. France.—In France the Mennonites held their first conference at Toul in 1901; their paper, Christ schützt die Kinder, was issued in 1908.

d. Russia.—An emigration of Mennonites to Russia took place when the celebrated empress Catherine had promised them great territories in her empire, where they would be permitted to live according to their own religion and customs. About 2000 left Prussia in 1783; and many others followed them until 1824. At first they suffered many trials, not the least of which were to discard among themselves. As they persisted in their heretical convictions, the government needed an elder who had received the imposition of hands. They prospered, however, in their new fatherland, which gave a shelter also to the fugitive Mennonites from Hungary. At present there are congregations in the districts of Jekaterinoslaw and Tauria, Warsaw, the Crimea, Saratow, Samara, Caucasus, and Chiwa. In their colonies the school management is excellently ordered, the church affairs are managed by the elders of the congregations, and the preachers, selected from among the brethren, fulfill 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 Catherine and the emperor Paul was annulled. Large numbers of Mennonites prepared to quit Russia; in the years 1874-80 more than 15,000 left for America. This made an impression upon the Russian government; the emperor sent the minister, P. E. F. von Totedten, 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 traditions, have always sought to relieve the suffering of war.

e. America.—The Mennonites are far more numerous in America than in any other country. The first colonists were Dutchmen who, about 1620, settled in New Amsterdam (now New York). Under the pressure of the heavy persecutions in the Rhine land, thirteen families at Crefeld resolved to emigrate to the New World. They landed on 6th October 1658, three pioneers having already bought 8000 acres of land in Pennsylvania from William Penn, and they founded Germantown (now part of Philadelphia). Seven other families followed in 1658; and from that time the emigration continued during the whole of the 18th cent. and still more during the 19th. In 1829 Swiss Mennonites came to America, followed in 1830 by many South Germans, and afterwards, as we have said, by whole congregations from Russia, beginning from Galicia and one from West Prussia.

The emigrants formed many friendly connexions with the Quakers and other sects, but they preserved their independence. They came with the hope of being 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 and of the Lord’s supper to an elder who had grown up in the Mennonite pastorates in Germany or in France, and it was only after that all the Mennonites in Europe; and even now the most rigid of them will not permit their fellow-members to enter a church.

The Mennonites have a great regard for their past history—and not unjustly. Their forefathers were the first to protest against slavery; they committed their scruples to writing on 18th April 1688, and delivered the document to the magistrate. In a manly and Christianlike spirit they declared: ‘Freedom of conscience reigns in the Mennonites 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 of 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., Herald der Wahrheit, has ceased to appear since 1901—an event of great consequence to those of them); (2) ‘Amish’ Mennonites; and (3) the ‘General Conference.’ Since 1890 the last-mentioned party has endeavoured to form an organization between all the Mennonites of America, respecting the peculiarities of each congregation. The foundation of Bethel College at Newton, Kans., was favoured by them.

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 Germany, Friesland, Westphalia, and on the Rhine; they have been influenced by the Dutch Mennonites.) 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 laws and commandments that formed a sort of 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. Wiedel, author of the Abler Verzeichniss der Mennoniten, Newton, 1896-04, who died in 1910.
able to believe, can be admitted into the congregation by baptism. Hence they highly valued baptism as a token of the confession of faith, but they did not acknowledge the baptism of children as a baptism; he who was baptized as an infant was not baptized at all. The name of Anabaptists (q.v.) was an undeserved nickname, given by them to 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 regard themselves as the perfect or holy congregation of the Lord, they do not admit that they are poor lost sinners. Their lives and their writings, however, contradict this accusation most positively. It is true that they separated themselves from all those who were of a different opinion, but it was from fear of seduction. By the simplicity of their manners and their dress they showed their refection of the world. A wedding outside of the congregation was a 'worldly,' a sinful, wedding. They were strangers on the earth; therefore no interference with the powers of the world, no using of the sword. The oath is forbidden, not only by the gospel (Mt. 5:17 and Ja. 5:13), 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 is an OT contrition, awoken in the soul by the threats and the promises of God, who made a promise to them 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 mean by a godly 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 faith of the Church; 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 Zwingli; 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 Wittmersum 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 energetically 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 Vold, a shoemaker, in Friesland, and was a member of the community founded by Menno Simons in 1531. In his preaching he always exhorted his followers to be peaceful and obedient to the magistrate, but Jan Matthijs, by his fanatical impetuosity, prepared the way for the notorious Jan Bokeloo (Leyden), whose fatal doctrine was that the time of suffering oppression had passed away, that the sword must be drawn, and that the true believers were summoned to subjugate the kingdoms of the world, and especially Munster. The majority, however, disapproved of such violence; every day during the winter of 1534 the congregation of Amsterdam enrolled about one hundred additional members; and a party of them set out. They were so strong that the town-hall of that city, found no support. When the terrible tragedy of Munster had terminated, a separation took place throughout the Netherlands between the rebellious and the moderates—the latter party being called at first Obdolites and then Mennonites.

These increased greatly in spite of all obstacles, but their unity was soon broken by disagreement about the practice of excommunication. The more lenient Mennonites lived chiefly in Waterland (a part of North Holland); hence they were called Waterlanders. The more rigid were the Flemish and the Frisian Mennonites: but among those parties so many schisms have occurred that it is impossible to enumerate them all. Let it suffice to say that the Waterlanders formed the most tolerant and liberal party. They would not apply the epithet 'believing' or 'unbelieving' to any one on account of his particular opinions on articles of faith with which God in His word has not clearly forbidden, salvation or condemnation. They even took an interest in the things of this world; e.g., they supported with their money the great William of Orange in his efforts to liberate the Netherlands from the Spanish yoke. Afterwards many of them held magistracies, but the influence of the State Church has put an end to that.

The Mennonites exercised a remarkably attractive influence upon the Brownists who, from 1593, had settled in Amsterdam to evade the persecution in England (see art. BROWNISM). One of them, John Smyth, came to Holland in 1606; with his friend, Thomas Helwys, he forsook Brownism in 1603, administered baptism on confession of faith, and founded a separate congregation. A year afterwards he tried to amalgamate it with the Mennonites; but in this his followers were successful (1615). Helwys, on the contrary, though he entertained friendly relations with the Mennonites, maintained his independence; he returned to England. His followers, influenced by Edward Barker (1641), came to the conclusion that only baptism by immersion was legal. Henceforth they called themselves Baptists, and broke off community of faith with the Mennonites. In the 17th cent. Socianism exercised such a great influence on the Mennonites that the Reformed theologian, J. Hoornbeek, could write: 'Anabaptista indecutus Socianum, Socianus autem docet Anabaptista.' The more conservative desired to defend themselves against the intrusion of this dreaded heresy by maintaining the old confessions of faith—a dangerous measure, for these confessions had never had any binding authority. At length the breach was healed in 1664 between the liberal and the orthodox members ('Lamisten' and 'Zonisten'). With regard to the practice of Christian charity, however, the unity was not severed; the two parties worked together to relieve their suffering brethren in the Palatinate and elsewhere.

In the golden age of the Dutch Republic many of its poets and painters among them probably celebrated a martyr among the Mennonites. They formed more than one-tenth of the whole population, but as a rule neither the nobility nor the lower classes joined their ranks.

In the 18th cent. their number declined for many reasons. The lay-preachers, elected from among the brethren, no longer satisfied the congregations; consequently, a great number of
Mental Reservation

Families passed into the State Church. The foundation of a theological seminary in Amsterdam (1735) did not produce any lasting improvement. At most, the old ideals appeared at the beginning, and the spiritual well-being of the people and the spreading of a higher civilization were objects of great care. The Teyler's Geenoor ("Society of Teyler") and the Montschappted Vat van 'e Algemeen ("Society for the Promotion of the General Good")—two institutions that to this day do a large amount of useful work—were founded in 1778 and 1784 by Mennonites.

They fully agreed with the Revolution of 1789, for their old ideals appeared to be realized by it; they gladly supported it by many sacrifices but their prosperity greatly declined in the hard times of Napoleon. To improve this state of things the Algemeene Doopsgezinde Sociëteit ("General Society of Mennonites") was founded at Amsterdam in 1811 by some wealthy congregations, and at present all the Mennonite congregations are members of it. This Society took upon itself the care of the theological seminary and the support of the indigent congregations. By its influence the desirable end was obtained that all the congregations, in the course of time, possessed only ministers who had received a university education. From that time their exclusion from the other Protestant congregations, as well as the theological definition of the Mennonites, are diligent and able co-operators (e.g., J. Hocstra, J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, A. W. Wybrands, C. Sepp, S. Cramer). Often their ministers preach to congregations of another confession—in other words, the Mennonites and pietists of the theological seminary are also professors of theology at the university of Amsterdam.

Still the Mennonites have remained congregationalists; they are zealous for the entire independent 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 unity. Their ministers are elected by the majority of the brethren (and often also of the sisters) or, in many congregations, by the churchmen. They are not ordained and wear no official dress, for they form no class and have no authority.

In regard to baptism and oath-taking the opinions of the Mennonites are unchanged. Self-reliance, evident in the voluntary act of becoming a member of the congregation, is still the condition of membership, so that they would rather abolish the whole rite of baptism than permit the baptism of infants. They have no confessions of faith and would not tolerate them. They dislike dogmatic speculations, and hold that the characteristic of a true believer is not his creed but his life. Hence, their toleration allows persons of very different opinions to live peacefully together in the same congregation. The majority of them are liberal; they are the more conservative profess a Biblical orthodoxy.

Their original tenets concerning ecclesiastical discipline, bearing of arms, and civil office are at present abolished. Considering that the Mennonites form little more than one-hundredth part of the population, it is a significant fact that an important number of ministers, representatives of the nation, burgomasters, etc., have for many years belonged to them. The connexion with the Mennonites of other countries is maintained chiefly by the means of the missionary society, which propagates the gospel in Java and Sumatra. The missionaries and the contributions come principally from their foreign brethren.

Literature.—The literature concerning the Mennonites is very extensive, but there is no good library of them, based on the advanced science of our days. The most important works on the subject are the following:


The Mennonite resolution is the solution offered by many theologians both medieval and modern. This doctrine depends mainly on the fact that Roman Catholic teaching as to the intrinsic malice of lying that in order to explain it will be necessary first to state briefly what that teaching is.

Roman Catholic theologians are unanimous in holding that a lie is always and necessarily sinful; there can be no such thing as a permissible lie. This is the teaching of St. Augustine (de Mendacio, contra Mendacium ad Consentium, Enchiridion, xviii. F.); and every Roman Catholic theologian of weight is in accord with him. They hold that the doctrine of Scripture on the subject are, they believe, quite decisive, and leave no room for dispute. Moreover, the Scholastic theologians reach the same conclusion on rational grounds. A lie, they teach, does not necessarily proceed from vice. To be false is to be a liar. The doctrine, therefore, is not difficult to decide. When, therefore, we speak of a lie, we mean a false statement; and a lie is false when it is a false statement.

The truth is that, while a lie is not a false statement, a false statement is a lie. A falsehood is, further, an offence against justice; we owe the truth to our fellow-men. But, even apart from this aspect of it, the act is intrinsically evil.

It is plain that, where so strict a view is taken as to the obligation of truth, the cases which we are considering constitute a grave difficulty. Whatever be the circumstances, a lie can never be justified. Augustine seems to have thought that
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the only choice lay between silence and a frank declaration of the truth irrespective of consequences (de Mendel will be). But it is clear that this does not solve the problem; for in many cases silence is equivalent to an admission; and it may well be that to answer the question proposed, whether by words or by silent assent, would constitute a flagrant breach of justice. The elementary principles of justice are not a whit less wrong than a sin against veracity.

Here, then, arises the question as to the permissibility of mental reservations. A speaker is said to employ mental reservation if the truth of 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 declare that its action was under consideration, and the reply which it receives will be frank; there is nothing in these matters to suggest to them the possibility of a restricted reply. This, however, is not the case if the restriction is such as to manifest to all except the extremely unobservant. Under such circumstances a comparatively slight cause—e.g., to set aside an inconvenient question—will be justification enough. Again, if the person who asks has a right to demand the information from us, then, unavailing as the question may be, we must answer fully. It would not, e.g., be justifiable to practise mental reservation to the income-tax commissioners.

In the 18th century the words may have been used to express the permissibility of the restrictio pura mentalis, viz. a mental reservation the presence of which is not indicated by any external circumstances whatever. The first to put forward this opinion appears to have been a Jesuit, Father Martin de Aspilcueta (‘Doctor Navarrus’; 1491-1586). His authority was so great that he was followed by not a few authors of note, including L. Lessius, A. Diana, etc. On the other hand, theologians no less eminent main that what is said in confession is to him as if it were unknown. In each case the circumstances indicate that the words may be employed in a restricted sense. Taken in that sense, they are true: they correspond with the speaker’s real judgment. The same holds good in the cases where we are justified in using mental reservation; the circumstances show that there may be a qualifying clause.

It may be urged that in a mental reservation we use language with the deliberate purpose of deceiving another, and that this is, to all intents, falsehood. But the objection is not, in fact, justified. In the first place, our true purpose is not to deceive but to protect our secret—a thing that we have every right to do. We may not, indeed, in order to do so, tell a lie; but we are not bound to supply the questioner with the information which he unjustly seeks to extort. And, secondly, in such cases it is more correct to say that the questioner deceives himself than that we deceive him. He is woefully unaware of such a question we may be unable to give a full answer without the betrayal of a secret, and he must expect an evasion. If he chooses to take it as an unqualified statement of the whole truth, let him attribute the error to his own folly. We may be the expiary of his mistake; but we are not, properly speaking, its cause.

It stands to reason that mental reservation may be employed only where there is real necessity of a flagrant breach of justice. The restriction of what may be no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be made to that section of which they know, however, no other way of doing: to employ such a method in matters of little moment would
To seek at God's hands a pity which we refuse to others is insincere; not only so, but in the absence of a merciful spirit we are morally incapable of appreciating the free, unobtained mercy of God. Hence the promise to the merciful that they shall receive mercy (Lk 6:36) 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 perfectness it will rather exhibit a cense found in all men. Hence mercy in God is rather a permanent disposition than merely an intermittent source of specific acts. As exhibited at its noblest in Jesus' personal demeanour, mercy has in nothing of consolament, which is an attitude bordering on scorn; it was because he sought to establish with them such communion of spirit as might produce inward renewal that Jesus showed compassion to the needy, and under these circumstances mercy became the instrument of His trust in the divine capacities of man. Ere long Jesus was able to call the recipients of His mercy by the closer name of 'friends.'

The ascription of mercy to God implies a positive estimate, even a canonical recognition, or at least the rejection of some negative estimates which have figured prominently in 19th cent. philosophy. To say of mercy, with Shakespeare, that 'it is an attribute to God Himself,' is the equivalent of holding that anthropomorphic judgments do not necessarily or substantially falsify our apprehension of the divine reality, and that moral qualities which faith sees in God are not essentially different from qualities in men called by the same names.

Among the tenets of the schools, Christian minds have usually held that the divine mercy is characterized, or even constituted, by two qualities. (1) It is free; it is not forced by any outward constraint, nor does it come to manifestation as the automatic response of reason to the facts of the world. God is love, love which has its measure in the Cross; and His mercy, as everlasting as Himself, is greater than we could either ask or think. It is misleading to speak of Him as the merciful, or mercy as an attribute of His, even when we are speaking of the various persons of the Trinity. His action is the free expression of a perfectly loving Will; His pity is evoked, not by merit, or by tears of repentance, but by the need or ruin of His creatures. (2) It is absolute, and covers the whole of His life; if not, He would simply be a God of pity. His action is the free expression of a perfectly loving Will; His pity is evoked, not by merit, or by tears of repentance, but by the need or ruin of His creatures. The action is the free expression of a perfectly loving Will; His pity is evoked, not by merit, or by tears of repentance, but by the need or ruin of His creatures.

It is manifest that environment and etiological origin and development, no less than religious prejudice and ethical culture, have contributed to a resultant quality or characteristic which can be defined only in the limit found human prejudice, but puts all men in debt for every gift. For St. Paul the mercy of God has the aspect of miracle or paradox as being vouchsafed to the unworthy and even to the actively hostile, whose worth it creates but does not presuppose. Our part is not to measure or explain it, but rather to enjoy it with wonder and adoration.

Yet the best religious thought has never held that the divine mercy is incompatible with hostility to sin. Ethically pure compassion is a real capacity for holy anger; there is no mercy in allowing a bad man to go on in badness. Doubtless to an evil conscience mercy and judgment appear to be in conflict, but for Jesus both were living expressions of the Father's love.

Mercy in God asks for mercifulness in man. In the parable of the Unmerciful Servant (Mt 18:23-34) Jesus made this plain for good and all. Mercy for Him is an element in the righteousness of the Judge of the living and the dead, and has been exhibited that there needed much to be inculcated in Christ's time when sympathy was killed by the theory that all suffering was penalty of special sin, a theory which fostered a pitiless type of righteousness (A. B. Bruce, in Episcopat's Greek Testament, 1. [1897] 59).

The supreme motive of mercifulness, whether to the guilty or to the necessitous, is not the natural desire to be treated mercifully in our own time of need; it is the thankful memory of pity bestowed on us by God. And the living sense that from the mercy of God all our hopes begin, the sight of its glorious freedom and absoluteness in Christ, is far more than a mood of comfortable security; it is charged with moral inspiration and even with a demand that we do and bear all things for the sake of the unmeasured divine love that for them has made all things new.


H. R. MACKINTOSH.

MERCY (Indian).—Adequately to discuss the situation 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 under the spirit of mercifulness.

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character and intentions. Thus the suspicion engendered by mere strangeness leads not seldom to acts of cruelty, which ultimately obtain the sanction of custom and are fortified by religious precepts. An exception, which is exceptional, rather than any other natural impulse, is probably at the basis of all such ruthless practices. The angry and hostile feelings thus aroused check the growth of the spirit of sympathy and mercifulness; and the latter must wait for the rise of a wider and more intelligent and generous outlook upon life and human relationships.

The claims, moreover, of a religious ritual which not only sanctioned, but enjoined, a number of sacrifices were hostile to the development of the kindlier qualities of pity and regard for the weaker or less fortunate members of the tribe or community. Familiarity with the taking of life has always tended, not only in India, but elsewhere, to deaden sensibility and to bring into play the harsher and more cruel passions. When the sacrificial act claims the sanction of religion, and is transformed into a sacred rite and duty, the character of which it imparts to it is obligatory and of the highest merit, the degrading effect of custom and habit is reinforced by an appeal to the strongest human motives and prejudices. That which in many instances it would be to a man to kill a fellow-man, he will do determinedly and with a clear conscience under what he conceives to be divine authority. The elaborate Vedic sacrifices, with their large demands and imposing ritual, could have had in this respect one common effect of making men's minds with thoughts of savagery, and to close their hearts and ears to the cry for compassion. With facilities for mutual intercourse and the advance of civilization, and with a higher estimate of the value of life in all its forms, these practices changed their character, or tended altogether to disappear. Offerings of fruit or flowers, or models in paste of animal form, took the place of the living sacrifice at the altar, and bear witness to an alteration of feeling on the part of the worshipper, and a desire to free his ritual from acts and observances which had become repugnant to a more cultivated and sensitive nature.

It is probable also that a distinction should be made—a distinction due to racial characteristic as well as to natural environment—between the primitive peoples of India and the later Aryan tribes, who entered the country in successive bands of immigrants from the northwest and north. The latter were swayed by the gentler, more peaceable, and kindly temperament incident always to the pastoral habit of life. Eventually this tendency, though with many a set-back and cross-current, triumphed, and gave its general tone to the character and disposition of the entire Indian people. The primitive tribes, for the most part isolated from one another in gloomy and treacherous forest homes, received a training which developed the suspicious and harsher elements of human nature, brought into prominence the rugged aspects of nature as a whole, and was calculated to present few attractive features of generosity or humanity. Thus they were taught lessons of stern pettiness and disregard of the life or well-being of others, and more or less unconsciously cultivated a disposition akin to that of the wild beasts against which they had continually to be on their guard. These two currents of thought and action be traced all through the course of Indian history, and are observable at the present time among the racial and caste divisions of the country. It is to the credit of the innate courtesy and sympathetic kindliness of the native Indian that a merciful and generous spirit has, on the whole, maintained itself against religious and social prejudices, and, in the face of influences from within and from without, has to a large extent prevailed against isolating class-feeling and sectarian pride.

In the Indian sacred books the duty of pitifulness and compassion to all is a constantly recurring theme. Mercy (dharma) and its usefulness from injury to life (ahimsa) are primary obligations. Especially in the Bhagavat-Gita (q.v.), and in the type of religions thought and experience which it represents, the enforcement of this principle is most evident. The true man may be known by his friendliness to all; and not only the Brāhman, but other castes also, are bound by the same rule. The best sacrifice is that which refrains from doing hurt to any creature; respect should be shown for the life and happiness of even the lowest of creatures, and no animal being should ever be subjected to injury or wrong. In a similar manner the religious teaching of the schools that are in sympathy with the Gita (q.v.) enforces the same responsibility. Two comments upon these injunctions are perhaps natural and inevitable. They seem, in the first place, to show more regard for animal than for human life; it is probable that the latter, or regarded it as inclusively stated in the larger precept. And, further, the interpretation placed upon the rule has been, at least to the Western mind, in practice so one-sided and exaggerated as to foster in animal-mindedness, which is in the Vedic hymns, while they extol the forbearance and mercy together with the justice of the gods, leave it a matter of inference rather than of command that men should follow in their steps. In general it may be said that the decisive influence upon Indian character and belief has been exercised not by the ritual precepts, but by the humanitarian teaching of the Gita, the popular epic poetry, and by the tradition of the lives of the heroes of olden time.

The first organized protest against the sacrificial rule in the interests of a kindlier and more humane spirit was made by Buddha. The character of Gautama Buddha, as depicted in the extant literature and stereotyped in painting and sculpture, is singularly gentle and attractive. In practice as well as by precept he would seem to have urged the duty of forbearance and brotherliness to all, to do no harm to any living thing was a rule enjoined upon all who desired to unite themselves to his company and be enrolled among his disciples; and the purpose of the law which forbade the Buddhist monk to move from place to place during Vassa, the season of the rains, was at least as much to avoid the otherwise inevitable destruction of animal and insect life which would ensue, at a time when the multiplicity and activity of all such life are most apparent, as in recognition of the difficulties of travel incident to the season. Hindu monks and ascetics appear also to have observed Vassa, although not so universally or to the same extent. The merciful spirit which was the outcome and logical conclusion, pervaded Indian Buddhism as long as it remained in its native land, found expression in the acts and edicts of its
greatest emperor, Asoka, and emphasized and extolled a generous tolerance towards the feelings and opinions of others, which, with rare exceptions, provided the dominant and permanent atmosphere of life in all countries to which it has been carried. In India the influence which it exerted in this respect was strong, and remained as a permanent force in the life of the people after the Buddhist faith itself had become decadent 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.

For from the ancient sect contemporary with Buddhism and possessed of similar views and doctrines, inherited also from Hinduism the principles of mercifulness and regard for life in all its manifestations, but carried these principles to an extravagant and abnormal length. Even noxious creatures, however irritating or insignificant, may not be destroyed; and the literal interpretation of the injunction to do no hurt to living beings has led with them to practical inconceivabilities of a serious nature, which are not counterbalanced by an equivalent development of 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 and birds in similar institutions, established and maintained 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 commendation. To Western thought, however, these institutions 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. That form has been preserved and the letter of the law obeyed; but the meaning and motive of the whole have, in many instances at least, lost their force and been disregarded in the external fulfilment of an obligation which satisfied the conscience, but did little to effect a change in the character or disposition of the individual.

With the coming of the Muhammadans a new spirit invaded India, antagonistic to the old, the consequences of which were great and permanent. To the fanatics of Islam, tortured in the camp and on the field 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 conquerors religious faith was driven, and 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 manifested indifference to life where the honour or extension of the faith was concerned, but urged the entire elimination of the infidel by force of arms. In a further respect also, and that wholly new to India, the example set has been followed with results calamitous for the whole peninsula, the untoward effects of which have only begun to be repaired within comparatively recent years. There is no evidence that before Islam led the way religious prejudice or rivalry ever found expression to any considerable extent in overt acts of persecution. The warfare between the sects was waged by word and argument in the schools and royal courts, but not by violence. The followers of Muhammad taught meekly to bear the sword into the world, and the spirit of division and hatred has never since that time been other than latent on both sides, ready to spring to arms and perpetrate cruelties on any violation of religious conity or outrage upon religious conviction.

Two further external influences deserve consideration, but attitude of the people to them has little 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 religious community; and the large-hearted generosity of wealthy members of the Parsi faith has always been beyond praise. In general, however, the obligations of kindliness and mutual helpfulness are valid towards those 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 sevance from Hindu and Muhammadan alike too complete, to enable them to exercise a wide-spread influence for good in this respect. They are and remain strangers in the land, whose character and life have been for the most part for themselves alone, neither shared in nor sought as a pattern by those among whom their lot was cast.

With Christianity it has been entirely otherwise. From the beginning it threw itself into the national and social life of the country, and, as far as the religious sentiment and pride of its opponents were concerned, it was prominent. Its example has been pervasive and powerful, and mainly through its preaching and its schools it has exercised a far-reaching ethical influence on the doctrines and practice of the Indian peoples. Whether for what it has exhibited to Christianity for moral precept and belief remains an open question, to which it is improbable that any definite or certain answer can ever be given. The later centuries, however, afford abundant evidence of the extent of Christian influence and the attractiveness of Christian ideals in modifying the hold of cruel rites upon the popular mind and in securing, although not always permanently, the acceptance of higher standards of right and mutual regard.

The influence described was never stronger than during the last and present centuries, and it was especially marked in the reform movements of the 19th cent., whose leaders never hesitated to acknowledge their indebtedness to Christian teaching and to the Christian Scriptures. Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, and others, to a large extent accepted the principles of the Christian faith, while repudiating its more distinctive doctrines (see art. BHAKTI SAMAJ). Moreover, it was on the ethical side that most would seem to have been learnt and adopted. The broad and kindly tolerance of all sects, which is a marked feature of the religious life of the Reformed Churches, the gentle habit of mind and speech, and the regard for the rights and consideration for the needs and sufferings of others, if not altogether due to the leaders' knowledge and appreciation of Christian principles, were thereby greatly strengthened. With the exception of the Arya Sanaaj (q.v.), however, which exercises a growing ascendancy in many directions, the contribution of these sects to the spirit and thought of India has not been so effective or lasting as at one time was anticipated. The influence has been restricted in its range, although within these limits a genuine effect has been produced.

At the basis of Indian religious and moral
thought, therefore, at least in its earlier stages, and as regards the conception of the nature of the gods, lay a belief in the generally beneficent and merciful character of the divine powers. The Vedic deities are, for the most part, kindly disposed towards all. In an age when thealogists of that in those remote ages also the quality of mercy found a place among the attributes of the gods because it was appreciated and practised by their worshippers. On the other hand, the awesomeness and threatening character which a nature-religion often and quite naturally assumes must not be overlooked. The two elemental characteristics of or tendencies met, and, being incapable 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 kindness 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 or less sincerely acknowledged its authority and were permeated by its spirit. Lower and darker forms of religious faith marked a criminal ritual, the effect of which on those who followed it could not fail to promote hatred and insensibility to suffering or need. And the more influential systems of philosophy, if not actively hostile to consideration of human and brotherly love at least stood aside, and found their interest and life in a region where the kindly mutual relations upon which mercy is dependent have no part.

It may be said, therefore, that the Indian faith that heaven is merciful has, on the whole, found expression in the Indian creed, and been translated into Indian practice. To generalize, however, with regard to races so diverse in origin, history, and character, on any but the broadest and most general basis, is impracticable. The cross-currents in the case of India are exceptionally numerous owing to the many elements that have entered into the life of the inhabitants of the country. An appreciation can take account of little more than the general characteristics of the majority, their habit of mind, and mode of action. These conceptions, 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 all works on the religions and philosophy of India. See art. HINDUISM, JANAKI, PARIN, BHAKTI-MARGA, BRIDHA-SARV.

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.

O my servants who have transgressed to your own hurt, despair not of God's mercy, for all sins doth God forgive (Qur' an, xxxix. 54).

Who desprieth of the mercy of his Lord, they who err? (xv. 60).

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 suras 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 hast praised all things in mercy and kindness' (al. 57). Satan is said to have claimed mercy on the ground that he was a thing and, therefore, part of the 'all things.' The reply is that the mercy refers only to the obedient and 'adds to the rule' (Qur'an: xvi. 55). The mercies of the Lord is a Qur'anic expression, and the word 'mercy' is used as a description of divine books. The book of Moses is spoken of as a guide and a 'mercy' (xii. 28). The Qur'an is frequently called a 'mercy.' O men, now hath a warning come to you from your Lord, and a mediator: for what is in your hand is a mercy and a mercy to believers' (v. 55). And we send down of the Qur'an that is a healing and a mercy to the faithful, but it shall add to the niks of those who disbelieve. It is said of those who follow Jesus that God put into their hearts 'mercy and compassion' (lii. 27); but this is not consistent with the denunciation of them (xv. 29-33) and the prohibition of friendship with them (v. 56). The words probably apply to Christians who become Muslims, for the passage goes on to address those who believe:

'Fear God and believe in His apostles and His mercy will give you; He will bestow upon you a light to walk in' (liii. 28).

The two portions are: one for believing in Muhammad, and one for belief in the former prophets (Bawilaw). The light is either the Qur'an to enable the convert to walk in the right path, or, if the walking refers to the bridge (al-Siraf) inner than a hair, over which all must pass at the Last Day, then the 'light' is true faith which will preserve its possessor in his perilous walk over that bridge. One chapter of the Qur'an (lv. 1) is called Sura'il al-Rahman, the 'chapter of the Merciful One,' and begins: 'The Merciful One hath 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 lends itself to an interpretation of mere 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.

Mercy (Introductory and non-Christian).—In the earlier stages of religious development, as is attested by abundant examples in art. BLEST, ARISE 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 determining rank and status in the future world, whether immortality is 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. When, however, religion advances, when immortality is not conferred automatically (if the religion in question believes it to be conferred at all), but is a boon which must be achieved by long and toilsome endeavour, then three conditions—sometimes separated, but usually combined in greater or less degree—are imposed: works, faith, and love.

The ideal combination of these three requisites is found in but one religion—Christianity; and within Christianity only Roman Catholicism gives full recognition in its official statements to all three. The doctrine of the good works and good works has fared poorly. Some religions practically ignore it, notably the Bhakti-marga (q.v.) of India 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; of the New Age in India and Hinduism respectively; but, on the other hand, 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, *Mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 171-174). Mere intellectual faith, without love or works, has never been held, so far as the writer knows, as a basis for salvation, except possibly in extreme Lutheranism.

The stress laid by St. Paul on justification by faith apart from the deeds of the law (Ro 3:19; cf. 5:1). Gal 2:9) must not be wrested from its context in the Apostle's teaching, for he 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, 1 Ti 1 etc.). There was reason for him to speak disparagingly of works—it was necessary for him to combat the excessive nonism 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 8,1., enjoining the church at Philippi to 'work out your own salvation with fear and trembling' (1 Th 29), and at Thessalonica to establish their hearts 'in every good work and word' (2 Th 29). There is no doubt that he would have subscribed heartily to the monotheistic (Ja 29; cf. James 2:18) view that 'faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself.'

The doctrine of the merit accruing from good works may be viewed from two sides—from the side of man and from the side of the deity. From the human side, the more good a man does, or even tries to do, the greater is the merit which he deserves; from the divine side, it is recognized, practically by Christianity alone, that no man can be so rich in good works as to merit salvation; 'all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God' (Ro 39); all human righteousness is, as Isaiah said (Is 64), but as 'pamum menstruate.'

Only a shallow thinker would stress the apparent antinomy here set forth; the two partial truths blend harmoniously in the perfect truth of the Christian faith. Indeed, the Christian is saved solely by merit, though not by his own. Our Lord Himself could say, as His earthly life drew to its close, that He had accomplished the work which His Father had given Him to do (Jn 17), and He emphasized the necessity of work (579). Only through the work consummated on Calvary did salvation come to man; only through the merit of the Sacrifice of the Atonement can we hope at last to be at rest in heaven (cf. Co lus. Trent, sess. v. ch. 3, sess. vi. chs. 3, 16, can. 10).

In the primitive stages of religion its essence may be regarded as works. Beliefs are fluid; ritual is stable; every rite must be performed with minute scrupulosity. If the proper rites are thus exactly observed, the result is certain (provided, of course, that no stronger counter-force opposes); and, if a happy hereafter is the object of such rites, that blessedness is thereby assured (cf. PCG ii. 234). If however, by law of 1932, the discharge of minimum requirements and, consequently, with minimum results. If one wishes for more, he must do more; perhaps, also, it will be well for him to provide a store against unforeseen contingencies. In that case also he must be more energetic in the doing of such works as will effect such a result; it is even possible that merits may be deliberately amassed for the purpose of achieving results unattainable for those who are content with the requirements imposed on every one; and in some cases the merits thus stored up are available for others as well as for him who originally accumulates them. The doctrine of the merits of our Lord's Passion and, in Roman Catholic theology, of the merits of the saints at once come to mind in the latter connection; and the Roman Catholic dogma of the merit of works of supererogation also falls within this general category.

The doctrine of merit is, on the whole, a characteristic of the higher types of religion. We find it, it is true, among the lower races, as when the Brahmin Igluna says that the souls of the brave will become beautiful birds feeding on pleasant fruits, but cowards will be turned into reptiles' (PCG ii. 7); and a similar belief is recorded of the African Maravi and of the Sattal of India (ib. pp. 5, 10). Elsewhere, as among the Ngaragas and the Negrees of Guinea, the good done enjoys immortality, the wicked being annihilated (ib. p. 22 f.). Among the Greenlanders the condition of happy immortality is to have been a hard worker in this life (ib. p. 50; the manner of death—e.g., by drowning or in childbirth—is also a factor. In all these cases, which might be much multiplied (e.g., from African and American Indian tribes (ib. p. 94 f.)—the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' must invariably be interpreted by the standards of the particular peoples concerned. If this is done, there is undoubtedly a very real ethical basis and a true morality—even though quite rudimentary— as the foundation of the belief in the future destiny of the soul.

The doctrine of merit is much developed in the higher religions, as in Egyptian (cf. art. ETHICS AND MORALITY [Egyptian]), § 7 f. and Vedic (cf. Muir, v. (1872) 284 ff.), and reaches its neo-Christian culmination in the Zoroastrian triad of 'good thoughts, good words, good deeds' as antithetic to 'bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds.' The course of the evolution is well summarized by E. B. Tylor (PCG ii. 84 f.): 'The idea of the next life being similar to this seems to have developed into the idea that what goes prosper and renown here will give it there also, so that earthly conditions carry on their contrasts into the changed world. Rather, the merit of man's condition will be a result of, rather than a compensation or retribution for, his condition during life. ... Through such an intermediate stage the doctrine of merit, as an axiomatic, was actually developed into the doctrine of future reward and punishment.'

Turning to the higher religions, we observe, first, that the teaching of Muhammadanism on the subject of merit is practically to the effect that good works are requisite, but that the true believer, being 'wicked' (ib.), and 'wicked to the core,' avoids, in reality, saved only by divine grace, while the wicked are punished eternally for the sins which they have committed, and for their refusal to submit to divine guidance. The problem is complicated here by the fatwâ of Muhammadanism (see art. FATâ [Muslim]).

At the Last Day 'every soul shall be compensated as it hath deserved; no injustice on that day' (Qur'an, x. 17). It is equally true that the ‘People of the Book’ believe in God and the last day, and doth that which is right, shall have their reward with their Lord' (ii. 59; cf. ii. 76, 100, 215, iii. 194, iv. 60, 121-123, 172, v. 75, vi. 40, xl. 14, xxv. 64-70; the idea is closely paralleled in the Crypto-Judaic); and elsewhere faith is conjured 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 be summed up in the famous sūra (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 ...' But they shall not be rewarded, but as ye have wrought, save the sincere servants of God' (v. 3; 'But for the favour of my Lord, I had surely been of those who have been brought (unto damnation).'

In a word, the saved declare (vii. 41): 'Praise be to God who hath guided us hither! We had
not been guided had not God guided us!' (cf. also E. M. Wherry, *Comprehensive Commentary on the Qur'an*, London, 1882-96, ii. 12, note 31, and index, s.v. 'Salvation').

The most complete development of the theory of merit among the ethnic religions is undoubtedly found in India. The main aspects have already been outlined at length in the art. KARAVIYA, where it will be seen that the Indian 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, the merit associated with the attainment of supernatural results in this life.

On the theory of sacrifice as set forth by the Brahmans—as i.e., that it is a rite which *ipsa facta* compels the result at which it aims—it follows that the accumulation of merit not only by sacrifice but also in other ways will constrain the gods themselves to bow before the might of the ascetic.

This power may be used for good or for evil, according to the purpose of him who possesses the merit in question. The records of India are full of stories of sages who have won enormous powers by the accumulation of merit, almost wholly by asceticism.

Kashyapa conquered Indra and all the other gods except Visnu, and ruled the world until Visnu outwitted him; Chyavan constrained Indra to do his will (Mahabharata, ii. 122-129). Likewise Purushottama outwitted Durvāsas by his curse brought the gods so completely under the power of the demons that only the famous charioteer of the son of Milk, which produced the great war (Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 9); Harīcandra's patience under trial deservedly raised him to heaven, though he was unrighteously debarred of his merit for a while; but, repenting in midair, still remains in his aerial city half-way between heaven and earth (Markandeya Purāṇa, i. 7). Kaikhosrau's virtues, like those of many other sages, were so pernicious to the gods that Indra sent the Apsaras Pramlocha to seduce him (Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 15); Narācārya thus obtained great boons, which he used wisely (ib. iv. 11); the demon Rāvaṇa, the evil figure of the Rāvya, was supernormal power by the merit of his austerities; Vishekhana, whose conduct with the almost equally merit-endowed Vasiṣṭha forms a important theme in the earlier Samkṛti literature, rose to be a Brāhman instead of being merely a Kṣatriya (Muir, I, 1572) (q.v.). Indeed, the idea recurs constantly throughout Sanskrit literature, the implication being always that the sage owns his power solely over the merit which he has accumulated; and in modern folk-belief the same supernatural might is acces- sed to by the Yogi and Païrā.

In later Zoroastrianism merit conditions very strictly one's position in the future world. Through full recompense of sin and complete confession of it ‘the duty and good works which were before performed [are] brought back to man’ (Siyast 10-Siyast, viii. 5-9). Those whose good and evil exactly balance go neither to heaven nor to hell, but to Hamastagan, the ‘Ever-stationary’ (cf. L. H. Gray, *Mission*, new ser., iii. [1892] 178), which in one text *Dastūr-is-Mihr*, xxiv. 6, x-xii. 2) is divided into two parts, one for those whose goodness slightly preponderates, and the other for those whose evil minutely overbalances the scale. Not only is punishment in keeping with one's sin (cf. L. H. Gray, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914, pp. 56 f., 273-275, 280 f.), but in the future world justice is so strictly observed that even the good deeds of a wicked man receive reward.

In consequence, a man whose body was either cooked in the caldron or was undergoing some other torment had one of his legs stretched out unlocalized, because he had either showed a wisp of hay before a hungry animal that was tied and could not reach it or killed some noxious creatures with it. He had also to make a round of the city without food and drink his whole life long' (Dastūr-is-Mihr, p. 281, with ref. cf. also L. C. Canardelli, *Philosophy of the Mandaean Religion under the Sassanids*, Bombay, 1889, p. 107.)

Merits avail, as the doctrine of the merits of the saints teaches, not only for one's self, but also for others. This has been recognized by other religions as well as by the older form of Christianity. In the Buddhist *Upammapadi-Kṣanamāndika*, or ritual for admission to the Buddhist priesthood, the candidate prays: ‘Let the merit that I have gained be shared by my lord. It is fitting for me to share in the merit gained by my lord’ (J. F. Dickson, *JRAI*, 1875, pp. 7, 9). Buddhism, however, stands almost alone in thus transferring merit during this life. The transfer of merit from the living to the dead is less common, although the Marcinie practice of ‘baptizing for the dead’ may possibly belong here (cf. J. Bingham, *Antiquities of the Chr. Church*, London, 1843-45, iii. 451-450). It is, however, taught by the Roman Catholic Church that, in virtue of the article of the Communion of Saints, the faithful living may transfer their merits for the benefit of souls in purgatory. More frequently the transfer is made in the future world, particularly at the examination of this recently arrived soul. Thus, in Muhammadanism, according to al-Ghazali (*Perle pour女神, ed. and tr. L. Gautier, Geneva, 1875, p. 79), the man whose good and evil exactly counterbalance is hidden by Allah to borrow some small merit from a more fortunate soul that the balance may be turned in his favour (for other solutions of this problem cf. the discussions connected with the al-Araf of Qur'ân, vii. 44-46, and see J. B. Rüling, *Beiträge zur Chronologie des Islams*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 57 f.): M. Wolff, *Mahomet*, 2nd ed. (1872, p. 83).

In late Zoroastrianism sacrificial merit (kīrfah) of which the officiating priest is unaware goes to the treasury (gany) of the angels, who give the ensuing enjoyment ‘to the soul of that person who is content to be righteous in mind’ (Siyast 10-Siyast, viii. 4).

LITERATURE.—*FC* ii. 88-107; *MT* i. 66, 98-99, 293-302, ii. 360 f., 550-552.

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**MERIT (Christian).**—Merit is, properly speaking, an ethical idea. It implies the existence of at least three things: (1) a moral law under which man is placed, (2) a free will which enables him to obey it, and (3) a system of rewards and punishments by which obedience or disobedience to the law is sanctioned. Meritorious conduct is such as is agreeable to the law, and is at the same time voluntary; as meritorious, it claims honour or reward. Demerit, on the other hand, is the mark of such voluntary conduct as is not agreeable to the law; conduct to which this mark attaches demands punishment (for this general conception of merit see J. Martinou, *Types of Ethical Theory*, Oxford, 1886, ii. 80 ff.).

In Christian theology the idea of merit is closely connected with that of good works; and there is an important inter-confessional controversy between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism concerning the relation between the two. Both confessions recognize the ethical character of Christianity by declaring good works necessary to salvation, but, while Catholicism views good works, with certain limitations, as meritorious of eternal salvation, Protestantism denies that a steadfast point of merit is at all valid in the Christian faith.

1. The Jewish and Hellenistic doctrine of merit.

—The conception of the merit of good works and the demerit of disobedience was inherited by Christianity and Judaism, but only strictly speaking, to the prophetic religion of Israel. While the prophetic religion is, above all things, ethical, and its demand is for righteousness, the point of view under which right conduct is regarded is, in the first place, rather that of loyalty to Jehovah than that of the accumulation of merit and demerit, and the consequent hope of reward and fear of punishment. Typical of the prophetic attitude to the subject is such a sentence as *Me 6* ‘He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but...
to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.5 Nevertheless, there is no place reserved in the reserve of a judgment by which evil-doers are to be cut off; and in such a passage as Is 1:16, the alternative of reward for obedience and punishment for disobedience is very clearly propounded (cf. also 3:18).

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 heads of the blessing which rewards obedience to the divine commandments and of the curse which follows disobedience. In Dt 6:24-25 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 Ezekiel (cf. 34:21-22; 36:25), other notable passages of a similar general tendency in his writings are sumptuous.

The practical way in which the motives of the hope of reward and fear of punishment operated in the post-Exilic legalism can be studied in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes (cf. Pr 10:5, Sir 12:12; see further). It should be noted, however, that so far there is no idea of rewards or punishments in a future life. The life after death is conceived in all the earlier stages of the Jewish religion as without moral distinction. In the further development of religion of the Greek period, however, moral distinctions are extended into the next life, while in the Palestinian Judaism antagonistic to Greek influence the scribes further developed the preceding legalism into a complete formalism.

From 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 gotten to himself one accuser; and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself a hundred accusers (Pr 3:28, Eccl. 12:7; see further). The reward is partly present, partly future; where this world fails fully to reward or punish, the next world redresses the balance.

This atomistic conception of moral duties is to give great prominence to the external and ceremonial duties. It leads naturally to that idea of righteousness by works which was so prevalent in Pharisaic circles in NT times.

Life under the Law was certainly more than wholly formalism and externalism. Examples of real heart religion were still to be found among the Jews of this time. C. 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 [H.L. London, 1897, lect. ix.]). The same truth is emphasized by G. Dalman in his Worte Jesu (Eng. tr., The Words of Jesus, Edinburgh, 1902).

Nevertheless, 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 of Israel; (2) it explains the protest of the NT against the religion of the scribes; (3) it still influences the Roman Catholic conception of merit.

A brief glance at Hellenistic Judaism of the same period will conclude this part of our survey. The morality of the book of Wisdom and of Philo combines with the Jewish idea of obedience to the Law Plato's philosophical doctrine of virtue. On the subject of moral retribution Wisdom remains practically one with the earlier Judaism. Philo, however, further distinguishes himself both from the Wisdom literature and from the teaching of the scribes by avoiding the principle of 'atonism' and carrying back all virtues to one root, love or faith. The punishment of sin, moreover, as a living death, the reward of virtue as communion with God (see J. Drummond, art. 'Philo,' in HDB v. 207).

As regards the views of educated paganism, when Christianity came into being, the doctrine of Plato was a formative influence.

Philo 'in several dialogues expresses the thought that a judgment upon all souls takes place at death, at which they are weighed, and their deeds and virtues are summed up and their reward is given for their good and the punishment for their evil deeds (Iep. x. 614 ff., Grop. 333 ff., Philo. 1131). Here, however, the more conception of merit is overlaid by the fact, that he who strives after righteousness and virtue seeks vindications, e.g., and therefore will not be overlooked by God (Reps. x. 617 A B) (J. Runge, in FRR xx. 601).

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 Schultz in St x. 9:15.

When Christianity entered the world and found its first expression in the dominant Jewish circles, as well as among the spokesmen of the idealistic Hellenism, it sought of a divine repayment deciding according to legal standards, and therefore of a merit or demerit of men according to which their fate was to be decided, was a self-evident axion. A different relation to man that, the prophetic type of religion had ceased to be influential, was now 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.7)

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 Drummond insist. It is, in the first place, essentially ethico-religions: religion and morality are completely blended in it. Jesus demands of His disciples an absolute conformity with the will of God (20°). This is the righteousness of the scribes (75). Without this none can enter into the kingdom of heaven (76). 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 legalistic relation of the Jew to God. The righteousness which Jesus demands is, therefore, in the end just the spirit of sonship, energizing in the imitation of the Father (78).

While thus rejecting the legalism of the scribes, Jesus employs in His ethical teaching the current ideas of reward and punishment. That righteousness shall be rewarded and wrong-doing punished He reiterates again and again (Mt 5:36, 6:18 etc.). He speaks once (unless the good works [i.e. the good works of the Pharisees (Mt 6:18)]) he did not reprove the question: 'What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' (MK 10:19); in His answer, moreover, He points the asker to the keeping of the commandments. Of, further, the teaching of the parables of the faithful and unfaithful servants
(Mt 24:14), and of the talents (25:14), and observe again the principle expressed in Mk 10:29. The doctrine of merit, therefore, occupies a somewhat ambiguous position in the teaching of Jesus. On the one hand, there are fundamental doctrines which appear to leave no room for it; on the other, we find in places a general recognition of it. The position of things in the NT as a whole is much the same.

The rest of the NT corresponds exactly in its ethical demands with the teaching of Jesus Himself. The necessity of righteousness is absolute, both for the Christianity of the Epistles of James and the anti-Jewish Christianity of Paul, as well as for the other NT writers (cf. Ja 1:22, Gal 5:21-22, Eph 2:8, 1 Jn 3:18f., v. 9f.). 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 include the principle of merit altogether. Justification is by faith alone: by the works of the Law no man can be justified (Ro 3:24, Gal 2:26; 3:1; observe especially the direct exclusion, in so many words, of the principle of merit in Ro 4:6). Yet the Apostle appears as a prophet and punishment are according to men's works; and he regards this doctrine as axiomatic, feeling himself here on common ground not only with the Jews, but also with the Graeco-Roman world (Ro 2:9; cf., further, 2 Co 9:8ff., 2 Th 1, and also Col 3:24, Eph 6:1, 1 Ti 4:8, 2 Ti 4).

3. The doctrine of merit in the Christian Church.

We begin with primitive Gentile Christianity, and note that the whole cycle of Christian ideas by no means passed over equally to the Gentile Christians—what they received was naturally conditioned by their previous preparation. As to the necessity of good works, we find an intense moral earnestness in primitive Christian doctrine. Further, the idea of the twofold retribution according to works (reward or punishment) was familiar to the whole Graeco-Roman world; hence this element of NT doctrine was easily assimilated, and, indeed, emphasized in more than its proper proportion, so much so that we have to recognize in the early Christian Church a return to a great extent to the Jewish doctrine of works. The doctrines, on the other hand, which should have prevented this return, such as the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, found but little receptivity awaiting them. Hence the doctrine of good works in the Apostolic Fathers is very similar to that of the Jewish Rabbis. Christianity appears as a new law, with the reward of keeping it. Just as in later Judaism, stress is especially laid on the merit of fasting and almsgiving. Cf. 2 Clem. xvi. 4 (almsgiving becomes a mitigation of sin); Born. xix. 2 Clem. iii. 4, vii. 4-6, ix. 5; Hermas, Sim. ix. xxviii. 5, x. ii. 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 juridic stamp, which it has never lost in Latin Catholicism. A typical sentence is: 'A good deed has God as its devisor, just as also an evil one, because a judge is a rewarder of every cause' (De Pomp., 2). Tertullian, in fact, looks upon the whole Christian 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-
It is the merit, strongly systematized by him merita, and emphasis is the merit, of de, Disputatio, God's the merit, and 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 (Ep., exciv., 19).

The teaching of Augustine is systematized and modified by the medieval scholastics. The idea that eternal salvation must be merited by good works is common to them all. Baptismal grace simply puts men into a condition to win merit. Works are, therefore, properly meritorious unless they take from an inner principle of love (coritas), which is infused in the heart by the Spirit of God. Alexander of Hales, however, modified this doctrine by distinguishing between two degrees of merit, 'meritum de congruo' and 'meritum de condigno,' and two degrees of grace, 'gratia gratis data,' general grace, and 'gratia gratum faciens,' saving grace. He further taught that, while 'meritum de condigno,' or merit to which God owes a reward in strict justice, is possible only by the help of saving grace, 'meritum de congruo,' which God rewards 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. Lect., Dogmatic Theology, ii, 190 c. 334 f.). 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 congruo'; so far as it proceeds from grace, it is 'de condigno' (ib. p. 549 f.). Duns Scotus taught that 'meritum de congruo' was possible to a man 'in puris naturalibus' according to God's 'potestas absoluta,' not, however, according to his 'potentia ordinata' (ib. p. 506 f.). Finally, the Nominalist, Garrellaeus, and the Schoolmen, taught without hesitation that he who does what is in him can merit 'de congruo' the grace which enables him 'de condigno' to merit salvation (ib. p. 613). It is from this point that the Reformation attacks, the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works takes its start. Luther, returning to Paul's principle of justification by faith, declares that the doctrine that salvation can be merited by good works, however modified by a reference to the cooperation of divine grace, is absolutely opposed to the pure gospel.

We ought to notice that Luther's point of view is not altogether without parallel in the Middle Ages. Above all others Bernard of Clairvaux presents views that are good works. He is foolish and mad, whoever he be that trusts in any merits of his life, who trusts in any religion or wisdom but only humility, contrite heart, and whole body and soul, other passages are given in A. Ritschl, Rechtsfertigung und Verschämlung, 1, Eng. tr., p. 312.

Luther, however, elevated what was thus occasionally expressed in the Middle Ages as a devotional point of view into the central doctrine of the faith. This teaching, in its ultimate form—there were many stages of development—is that salvation is by faith alone. Faith is the gift of righteousness, but righteousness received as a divine gift by faith is the condition of good works. Future works, by love, and its natural fruits are good works.

In opposition to Luther's view the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Trent stamped with its approval the medieval doctrines of good works (sess. vii. can. 32). J. Bellarmine briefly sums 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 sort, but of eternal life itself' (De Justificatione, v. 1 [Disputationes, Ingolstadt, 1588—93, vol. iii.]).

Protestantism as a whole, both Lutheran and Reformed, completely agrees with the position of Luther, as expressed above. In the early Lutheran 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. Melancthon used phrases which were thought to imply that good works, though not the ground of justification, were nevertheless a causa sine quon 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. Arianus, a pupil of his, maintained that, and taught that good works are not necessary to salvation, the believer being not under the Law but under grace, and accepted for Christ's sake apart from any merits of man. Luther denounced this view also, maintaining that the Law remains 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 Major, 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. Luther and Melanchthon, in their turn, taught 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, according to Amsdorf, the condition of 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. 239 f.).

These controversies were closed by the Formula of Concord (1556), 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 (Conc., x, 2, tome, ed. Leipzig, 1857, i., 'de Bonis Operibus').

The Formula of Concord closes the history 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 passed into a new 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, made it apparent that good works are not 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
conception of salvation by merit, and views good works, in essential agreement with the prophets, with Jesus, and with Paul, as the expression of the filial attitude towards God. There is, however, a powerful tendency not simply to deny the applicability of the category of merit to the matter of justification, but to regard it as a complete intruder in the domain of Christian theology. Justification by faith is regarded by Ritschel not as an alternative to justification by works, coming in in view of the failure of the latter, but as from the first the only method of salvation. The consequence of this view is an attempt to remove from theology the conception of the reward of good works in any other sense than that of their inherent fruitions. The Pauline doctrine of two-fold retribution is regarded simply as a remnant of Pharisaism or as a diabolic concession to his Jewish opponents (cf. Ritsch., Rechtsfertigung und Versoehnung, ii. 319; also W. Böyschlag, *NT Theol.*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1895, ii. 179; H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentl. Theol.*, Frc. tr., 1899-1900, ii. 90). The category of reward is regarded as merely popular and not fitted to be the basis of a theological statement (cf. Holtzmann, i. 1921 f.).

The question is really that of the rights of 'a natural religion' with a Welsh sound-change to a Christian religion. The doctrine of twofold retribution has always been regarded as one of the pillars of a natural theology. Ritschel, however, regards the whole of the traditional natural theology, and in particular the doctrine of the Hellenization of Christianity, and as being no proper part of Christian theology (cf. Rechtsfertigung und Versoehnung, iii. 241 f., Eng. tr., p. 2601 f., also ii. 318 f.), maintaining that the doctrine of two-fold retribution is within the sphere of religion, but not Christian. The Ritschelian doctrine on this point has been by no means generally accepted. Many would still agree with C. Gore when, commenting on 1 Pe ii. 25, he speaks of natural religion as the necessary and essential basis of all evangelical teaching (*The Epistle to the Romans*, London, 1899, i. 105 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 arises out of the use of language in the Christian religion, of which, if the Ritschelian position be refused, no satisfactory synthesis has yet been attained. And, further, Ritschel is surely right when he says that 'the rubric of good works in the NT is a contraction of a current of thought in the ethical side of Christianity' (iii. 627, Eng. tr., p. 663). The phrase 'good works' suggests just that Pharisaic 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 return to a lower state of religion. A similar opinion has been expressed by one of the latest writers on Christian dogmatics, H. Schmoller, 'Der stilliche Begriff des Verdienste und seine Aufwendung auf das Verstandnis des Werks Christi,' in *NR* xvii. (1894) 73-5, 242-251; 1897, ii. 242-251. See also H. Sauer, 'Vereins- und Werke, gute,' in *PFR*.

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MERLIN.—The name Merlin is a modification, first found in its Latinized form Merlinaus, of the Welsh Myrddin or Merdin. That the latter form in Welsh is not a mere orthographical variant of the former is shown by a line of the poet Dafydd ab Gwilym (middle 14th cent.), which attests the pronunciation with c in the first syllable. In medieval romance Merlin played a prominent part, in close conjunction with the Arthurian legend, as a prophet and as an expression of the filial attitude towards God.

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ROBERT S. FRANKS.
Since it is clear that the legend of Myrddin (Merlin), in its earlier developments, must have arisen on British soil and have been circulated in the British tongue before considering its later evolution in Latin and other non-Welsh sources, to review the forms in which we find it in the literature of Wales. Unfortunately, the Welsh materials of the Merlin legend do not go far enough back than the 12th cent., but they doubtless embody more primitive features, though it is no longer easy to determine these elements with certainty. The Myrddin legend owed its popularity in Wales, in the 12th cent., and later, to its convenience as a vehicle for the enunciation of prophecies as to the ultimate success of the Welsh in their struggle against the English. In this form of the legend Myrddin is represented as having, in the battle of Arderhydrod (often wrongly written Arberedyd), caused the death of the son of his sister Gwendidlyd, who apparently was the wife of Rhyyderch Hael, a prince of Strathclyde, who, in the battle in question, was the opponent of another northern prince, Gwendidlyd, with whose court Myrddin as a poet appears to have been connected. According to this Welsh legend, smitten with remorse, he flies in his frenzy, under the pursuit of Rhydderch Hael and his hounds, to the Forest of Caledonia (666, 'The Book of the British'), where the Welsh mead-wine legend, allusion was sometimes made as the home of sprites 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 forest. Failing to bring 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 course of his wanderings, communications were made to him by a female friend who bears in Welsh the name Chwilen or Chwili-plein, 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 probable that in its earlier Welsh literature, not even in the Black Book of Carmarthen, which was written in the Priory of Carmarthen in the latter half of the 12th cent., is there any attempt to connect Myrddin with Carmarthen (in Welsh, Caer Myrddin), as was done by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Hence we may conclude that the story of the connexion of Merlin with the North, and with the battle of Arderhydrod—fought, according to the Annales Cambriensi (ed. Monumenta hist. Britannica, i., London, 1848, 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 Riderhen Hael (Hist. Brit., ed. ann. 597, ed. Mon. hist. Brit., i. 76), who is probably to be identified with Rhyyderch Hael, while the life of St. Kentigern (xlv., ed. and tr. A. P. Forbes, Histories of Scotland, 1874) names a Reiderhe, who is doubtless also to be identified with the same person, and a Lobken, or Lloken, whose name is clearly the same as that of Llalogan, identified with Myrddin in a poem purporting to be a conversation between Myrddin and his sister Gwendidlyd, found in the Red Book of Hergest and generally known as the Mymbyr y Myrddin). H. L. D. Ward (in Romania, xxii. [1893] 504 f.) has published another version of the Lloken story, from two fragments in the Brit. Mus., and has added conclusive evidence to show that Llalogan (Laloiken) is a proper name, found, e.g., in a Breton document called the Brûlon Cartulaires as Laloënt and Laloënb (see Benecke, Douanier, xxxi. 1891). Llalaw (Lalaw) is, probably, a purely Welsh variant. It may be stated that the precise site of Arderhydrod (given in an older form in the Annales Cambriensi as Armerihid) has not been fixed with certainty, the usual identification with Arthurel being based on a false pronunciation, but it is probable that the name Gwendidlyd survives in the place-name Carwheinlwyd (Caer Wendiddon) near Carlisle. In the fragments given above, Laloiken is said to have driven mad by the events of the great battle 'in campo inter Laidel et Carwanolus situato.'

The attribution of prophecies in Welsh literature to a bard Myrddin is not an isolated phenomenon, but is also found in the case of the Welsh poet Taliesin, in whose case, as in that of Myrddin, a legendary nucleus has survived, the chief feature of which is an account of his transformations. It is probable that the connexion of the name Taliesin with prophecy was earlier than that of Myrddin, as is suggested by a statement put into the mouth of the latter in the first poem of the Black Book of Carmarthen, in a dialogue between him and Taliesin about the battle of Arderhydrod, to the effect that Merlin says of the event 'I prophesied against that battle, as is 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 an poet. 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 course of his wanderings, communications were made to him by a female friend who bears in Welsh the name Chwilen or Chwil-plein, 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 probable that in its earlier Welsh literature, not even in the Black Book of Carmarthen, which was written in the Priory of Carmarthen in the latter half of the 12th cent., is there any attempt to connect Myrddin with Carmarthen (in Welsh, Caer Myrddin), as was done by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Hence we may conclude that the story of the connexion of Merlin with the North, and with the battle of Arderhydrod—fought, according to the Annales Cambriensi (ed. Monumenta hist. Britannica, i., London, 1848, 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 Riderhen Hael (Hist. Brit., ed. ann. 597, ed. Mon. hist. Brit., i. 76), who is probably to be identified with Rhyyderch Hael, while the life of St. Kentigern (xlv., ed. and tr. A. P. Forbes, Histories of Scotland, 1874) names a Reiderhe, who is doubtless also to be identified with the same person, and a Lobken, or Lloken, whose name is clearly the same as that of Llalogan, identified with Myrddin in a poem purporting to be a conversation between Myrddin and his sister Gwendidlyd, found in the Red Book of Hergest and generally known as the Mymbyr y Myrddin). H. L. D. Ward (in Romania, xxii. [1893] 504 f.) has published another version of the Lloken story, from two fragments in the Brit. Mus., and has added conclusive evidence
and Castell Colwyn in Radnorshire, together with the rivers Taradry, Myrwy (the Monnow), Macha-awy, and Teth, while there are also allusions to certain famous battles of early Welsh history, which are probably taken from some current bardic list of such battles.

In the Book of Taliesin (14th cent.) there is a short poem (not without any account of the Myrddin legend itself), put into the mouth of Myrddin under the title Arwyes Prydfin Fawr ('The Prophecy of Great Britain'). The events which are mentioned are those of the Afallenau and Hoiana. There are other poems in the MS which, without expressly mentioning Myrddin, are clearly cognate with the Myrddin poems already mentioned.

In the Red Book of Hergest (14th cent.) there are two poems which have clear links of affinity with the Afallenau and Hoiana, but which may have been composed later. They undoubtedly belong, like the latter, to the Welsh Myrddin tradition. These two poems are (1) Kyfressi: Myrddin o Gweddyd y chofer, 'The Conversation of Myrddin with his friend Gweddyd,' and (2) Gweygarferd Vyrddin yn y bod, 'The Difused Song of Myrddin in the grave.' Though there are allusions to it, it is clear from it familiar with the legend of the Northern 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 poems of the same age is an expectation of the return of the princes Cynan and Cadwaladr to life, in order to lead jointly the Welsh forces to victory over the English.

It is in the Kyfressi poem that the term Llallagan, already mentioned above, occurs. The term itself is doubtless in origin a proper name, yet W. O. Pugh (Yat. Diet. of the Welsh Lang., 1882, s.v.) interpreted both it and Hitalawg as meaning 'twi brother.' It is not improbable that the term was misunderstood in this sense, even by the author of the Kyfressi, since he makes Gwengdyd speak of 'my Llallagan Myrddin,' while the term Hitalawg, as a synonym for Llallagan, is doubtless invented from it by analogy. In the original MS of the poem, the word Llallagan was doubtless a proper name, as it is in the Life of St. Kentigern, in the passage 'in curia elius (Roderic) era Li homo fatuum vocatus Lalacoen,' and it is this Lalacoen that is identified in the Silu of Meirchion, but this word of the Afallenau and Hoiana with the Gweygarferd Vyrddin poem together with English prophecies by Bridlington, Bamister, Thomas of Ercrechane, and others. We find the Afallenau and Hoiana in Peniarth MS 59, a MS of the first half of the 14th 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 (1610-30), now in the National Library of Wales.

In the foreword to the book of the Ardergydd or northern legend of Merlin, with the associated prophecies, has been traced. The Merlins thus depicted is sometimes called Latin 'Merlinus Silvestris,' and in Welsh 'Myrddin Wyllt' ('Merlin,' or 'Wyllyt,' 'primeval'), a name by which he is known that of 'Merlinus Celdinonis' or 'Caledonis,' being so called in order to distinguish him from Merlinus 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 Annales Cambriae, in its account of the battle of Arderydd, reflects the Merlins Silvestris tradition, in its addition to the original entry of the words 'sterillicos Elfer of Gunderdun in filium Kelbian in quo bello Guendolen eccidit: Merlinus insanus effectus est:' In keeping with the Northern conception of Merlin already mentioned, but also influenced by Geoffrey's account in connexion with the name Lalacoen, the Life of St. Kentigern (Scotichronicon, loco cit.) refers to Merlin's suffering in the words 'ego sum Christianus, licet tanti nominis res, ultrini urarum vates, Merlinschus iocundae in hac solitutinde dira patres fata,' though the influence of Geoffrey 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 fluency, an account of Merlin's life and adventures. 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 involves appears to be derived, like that of the Welsh *Llualian* and *Huwacau* and of the 'Lamolien' tradition that is contained in the Life of St. Kentigern. Ferdinand Lot has published an analysis of the *Vita Merlini* (Annales de Bretagne, xv.), and has shown it to be later than the *Lamolien* 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 someone who was familiar with the Welsh names of the Myrddin legend, such as Ganiea for Gwendydd, Telgesius for Taliesin, and the like. At the same time, there are important departures from the Welsh form of the legend, which we are not given in any of the Welsh *Lamolien* to Myrddin; but in the *Vita Merlini*, as in the *Affallenau*, there are prominent allusions to apples, and the whole setting of the Latin poem, and of the Welsh poems, in spite of certain discrepancies, is the same. The *Vita Merlini*, however, contains one name, Mer- dinus, 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 voyage of Meekhn. Though the *Vita Merlini* appears to be the earliest work in which Geoffrey, as we have seen, is familiar with the *Vita Merlini*, 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 cultivated circles in Britain in the 12th cent., but familiarity with Geoffrey's history is already shown by the references in his work.

3. Merlin in Geoffrey and in the Chronicles.—The introduction of the figure of Merlin into the medieval Chronicles is due to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who deliberately transformed the Ambrosius of Bede into a figure of his own; Nennius himself is clear from the fact that, in the *Prophecy* and in the last part of the preceding book, Geoffrey calls Ambrosius Merlinus. The innovation in question was first made by Geoffrey, when he published the *Prophecy of Merlin* as a separate work, before the appearance of his *Historia Regum Britanniae*. This Prophecy must have been published early enough for Ordericus Vitalis to quote from it, as he does in bk. xii. of his *History*, written about 1159 or 1161. Later it was incorporated into Geoffrey's *Historia*, and forms bk. vii. of that work. The Ambrosius with whom Geoffrey identified Merlin first comes to view in Gildas (de Excidio Britanniae, xxv., ed. Mon. Hist. Brit. i. 15), as Ambrosius Aurelianus, but the first to make him into a legendary figure was Nennius, who describes him (xii.-xlv.) as a child without a father, for whom Vortigern searched, by the advice of his sorcerers, in order to render stable the foundations of a tower that he was in the act of raising. He is associated with the ancient Carnarvonshire fort of Duncreich, near Bedgelert, and is represented as a sorcerer (magus), who prophesies the final overthrow of the English by the Welsh. Ambrosius in Geoffrey appears as a separate character (Hist. Brit. viii. 1), but the rôle which he plays in that author was filled in Nennius by Guorthann (Vortimer). It is clear that Geoffrey means to make Merlin with Carnarthen (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 suggestion 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 reminiscence of the pseudo-Beled (de Elen. Phil., bk. i. (PL xc. 1131), 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 pro- phesies into his mouth was ready to Geoffrey's hand, and even then a practice of the times, as is seen by Geoffrey's own references (ii. 9, xii. 18) to the prophesying of the eagle at Shaftesbury. Gildas, Cambrensis, too, quotes prophesies of Merlin that were given by him, as did Nennius. This was also done by P. H. Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Boston, 1909, p. 53, note 1). He makes a distinction between Merlins Ambrosius and Merlins Silvestris (or Celidomus), and attributes to the former only prophesies taken from the second, like other states (Hist. Camb. ii. 6, 8) that he discovered, in an out-of-the-way locality, a copy of the prophesies of Merlins Celidomus in the British tongue. Geoffrey gives prominence to Merlin's powers, not only as a prophet, but as a magician, and represents one after another of his prophesies as coming from the mouth of Merlin. That Geoffrey had visited Stonehenge from Ireland to Salisbury Plain and changed the forms of Uther and his companions. In Geoffrey, however, Merlins name is not mentioned later than Uther's reign, but subsequent legend and romance could not resist the temptation to associ- ate him with Uther's son, Arthur. In romance, Merlin, as a magician, tended to come more and more into prominence, until at last he became a figure second only to that of Arthur himself. In the case of subsequent Chronicles, the following points may be noted. The Welsh *Brut Tysilio*, an adaptation of Geoffrey's *History*, shows a development on the lines of the later Romances, and probably under their influence. For example, Merlin is identified with the *End of the Romans*, with the priest of Lucius and other evil spirits, and the increased prominence of the magical conception of his character is seen by the statement that he, by his magic art alone, is able to draw the stones that are to be carried from Ireland to Salisbury Plain as far as the ships, after the complete failure of the warriors. The same tendencies may be noted in Wace, who omits Merlin's prophecies, with the exception of those about Vortigern, on the grounds that they are unhistorical to him, while he invests Merlin throughout with superhuman powers, and does not even mention any mechanical assistance in the transmission of the blocks of Stonehenge. Traces of romantic influence come to view also in the Chronicle called *Draco Narcanus*, c. 1170; ed. R. Howlett, *Chron. of the Reigns of Stephen*, etc., London, 1884-89, i. 589-575, 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 which Vortigern was trying to build was the fighting of Druids (derivative of the Ambrosius), near Bedgellert, and is represented as}
marked emphasis on the supernatural conception of Merlin, which shows itself on the side both of supernatural knowledge and of supernatural power. There are some points of contact in the narrative with that of Merlii; 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 Enkidu; 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. 1159; ed. T. Hearne, Oxford, 1716), who omits most of them, and Richardus Cluniacensis (in 1162), who omitted the prophecies in the first edition of his Universal Chronicle (ed. L. A. Maratoni, Antiquitatiota Britannicae, i. 1077.), but who found it advisable to include them in his second and third editions. Again, it is clear that all chronicles did not share equally in the tendency to exaggerate the powers of Merlin; e.g., Ralph of Cirencester in his Chronicle (ed. Beverley, London, 1851) has a mere allusion to Merlin’s transportation of the stones of Stonehenge.

There are, as already stated, traces in Giraldus Cambrensis of an attempt at the fusion and reconciliation of the two Merlii. He follows Geoffrey in his conception of Merlius Ambrosius with Cawmarthen, while he knows of the madness of Merlius Caledonius, but attributes it not to remorse at having killed his sister’s son, but to fright at the sight of an apparition in the air. Giraldus, like many of the chroniclers who succeeded Geoffrey, succumbed to the temptation of bringing Merlin down to the time of King Arthur. One story, which Giraldus records (Itin. Camb. ii. 6), to the effect that Merlius Caledonius had been found near Neivyn in Carnarvonshire, is probably connected with the legend that associated him with the island of Bardsey. Merlius is represented as a prophet, and was influenced by some traditions at Cawmarthen, where a ‘Merlin’s Grave’ was pointed out, while in Scotland it was located at Drumnackler, anciently Dumneller, 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 Gunlapis Leif of Thingeya, while a similar MS in the Copenhagen Library was translated into English, with the History of Hufldan Einar, and published in London in 1718 (see San-Marte, Die Sagen von Merlin, Halle, 1853, p. 18).

In 1185–89 there appeared a commentary on the prophecies of Merlin by Alenus de Maule, and in 1605 it was published at Frankfurt. In this commentary Alanus testifies to the existence, in the Brittnity of his day, of a strong belief in the prophecies in question. Further, John of Cornwall, a disciple of Peter Lombard, commented on these prophecies publicly in the University of Paris (see Prophétie Merlinis cum expositione Johannis Cornubensis, ap. K. J. Greith, Speleolog. Vatic., Franzenfeld, 1838, p. 95). The credence given to the tenets of the Celto-German and Gallic traditions 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 Bolognaeensis Speculum Historiale (xx. 20). For English editions of the Life and Prophecies of Merlin, see D. 2. 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 (ed. Paris and Ulrich, in their ed. of the Huth Merlin; see Let.). This poem was the basis of a French prose work which forms the Romance of Merlin, and this, again, is thought to be partly the work of the same author. It has two forms: the first being generally called the ‘ordinary’ or ‘vulgate’ Merlin, while the second is known as the Suite de Merlin. Of the latter work Malory’s first four books are an abridgment, and from it is derived one of the minor Arthurian stories, namely that of Balin and Balan. In the Merlin romances, as in the later developments of the Arthurian story (see Arthur, Arthurian Cycle), there is an ecclesiastical or theological development, the leading motive being the conspiracy of the world of demons to produce an Antichrist, who would be the means of rendering the work of the Incarnation ineffective. Thus the birth of Merlin is represented as a kind of temptation to the infant 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, and who is herself seduced by a demon. Providentially, however, Blaise, the demon, 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 in his guidance and counsel during the earlier period of his rule. At the termination of this period Merlin vanishes from Arthur’s court. The stories accounting for his disappearance vary in different forms of the romance. One story has him betrayed by a maiden called Nimiane or Viviane, probably the Chwilmian of Welsh legend; but in some versions of this narrative she is represented as a water-fairy, in others as a king’s daughter. With this lady Merlin is in love, and she, in the spirit of Delilah, obtains from him the secret of his magical power, and uses this knowledge to cast him into a profound sleep and to imprison him alive in a rocky grave. According to this account, Merlin uttered a loud cry, called the ‘Brait,’ before he died. Apparently this form of the story was the most popular. In another version his prison is not of stone but of air; and, though Merlin in this prison can see and hear everything, he can be seen by none. He can also hold converse with wayfarers who pass his prison, and one of these happens to be Gawain. The prose Percival contains another form of the story, according to which Merlin is not imprisoned by his mistress, but retires to a hermitage 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 prophecy
introduction to the prose Lancelot and to the Arthurian cycle generally.

The Life of Merlin, as 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 latter half of the thirteenth century, usually called the Flanders, or English, version. The Life of Merlin, on the other hand, is the early English prose version based on this poem in combination with the early history of the Grail, which bears the name Joseph of Arimath.; In two cases the Merlin story forms a small Arthurian cycle through the hands of various authors, of which Merlin, the first, or so-called proper, version, was not so much as 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 Huff Merlin, 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 357, also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and is called by Paulin Paris the Livre Artus.

In English the earliest form of the Merlin Romance is a metrical translation called Arthur ou Merlin, which was made from French at the beginning of the 14th cent. and a later translation, generally known as the great prose Merlin, was made about the middle of the 15th century, Spenser (Fynes Queen, canto iii) alludes to Merlin, and there is reference to his destruction by the Lady of the Lake in Ariosto (Orlando furioso, canto iii, st. 10). The romantic development of the Merlin story is doubtless mainly due to the desire of the French troubadours to bring the legend of Merlin, like that of Parsifal and Tristan, into harmony with the general civilization and culture of their time. In the 19th 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 ridicules and parodies it in his Don Quixote, while Rabelais also parodies his Merlin, in his Gargantua and Tristan, into harmony with the general civilization and culture of their time. In the 19th century, Tennyson utilized the Merlin legend in his Idylls of the King, and gave a version of his own of the character of Viviane.


MESMERISM.—See HYPOSTHOSM.

MESIALANS.—See ECHECICHS.

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 'Messian.' It has come to be applied by Christian writers to everything in the OT which is thought to refer 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. 'Messian,' 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 the Messiah, given over by God, the object of their expectation and of deliverance and of judgment: He alone is Saviour and Redeemer in the OT; the nation as a whole, or the dynasty of its kings, is the object of His favour. In such cases the Christian interpreter may have good grounds for believing that, from the religious point of view, such hopes were realized in the coming of Christ, but historically they are not the same as the expectation of a Messiah, and can be called Messianic only in the lax sense. A wider and wider expectation belongs to the subject of eschatology (q.v.), and this article will, therefore, be confined to the consideration of the Messiah in the strict sense, and the term 'Messianic' will be used only in connection with him. It may be added that this term does not always imply a Messiah, neither does the
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Messianism himself always appear in a strictly eschatological setting.

II. THE MESSIAH OF THE WORD.—The term 'Messiah' represents the Heb. Mashiah, the Aram. M'sh'lah, 'anointed one.' It is used quite generally in the OT as an epithet, both of priests (Lv 4:6, etc., and perhaps Dn 9:5) and of kings, e.g. Saul (1 S 16:12, etc.), while in Is 45:1 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. 1). In the OT language any Jewish king is 'the Lord's anointed,' and the phrase is in no way confined to a single pre-emanent king. In 1 S 10:5 and 1 Ch 16:22 'anointed ones' occurs in the plural, of the patriarchs. Dalmann suggests that Messiah in its later sense is a shortened form of 'Jehovah's Anointed,' and that no single passage of the OT was responsible for its adoption.

'Christ', of course, Χριστός, the Gr. equivalent, which translates the Heb. Mashiah in the Septuagint. In view of discussions connected with its use in NT it is important to note that it is sometimes used without the article even when it is an epithet standing in apposition to a proper name—e.g., 1 S 20:36. The general significance of anointing is discussed in the OT 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 may from the image of the god to the king, we cannot argue that the Messiah was regarded as a divine being. Anointing had come to denote the two ideas of consecration and unconditional.

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 might reasonably be 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 of authority and tradition. 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 participate in it. In the NT, but also in external evidence such passages seem to be inconsistent with the context. In many cases they presuppose the Exile in a way which seems to be impossible in a pre-Exilic writer; in others the notion of a 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 same book? The question cannot be answered without a scrupulous examination of each passage as regards as 'unauthentic' and late, it does not lose its value, either historical or religious; and it still remains evidence of the Messianic hope, only in a different age and circle from that to which it was commonly assigned. The principle being admitted that the prophetic books are composite works, comprising elements of various periods, each case must be judged solely on its merits.

1. The data.—It will be well to begin with 2 S 7:

"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 even earlier than the reign of Josiah. Its main purport is to insist on the permanence of the Davidic dynasty (vv. 11-16). In its context this is contrasted with the fall of Saul's house (v. 3), but we may also assume an implied contrast with the various short-lived dynasties of the Northern Kingdom (cf. Hos 8). The passage itself does not speak of any single pre-emanent or final successor of David and is in no way eschatological, but precisely in proportion as the actual occupants of the throne proved themselves unworthy would it be natural to look for some one who could realize the ideal. And, if at the same time there were other expectations of a wonderful Saviour, the two lines of hope would easily coalesce. At any rate, the personal Messiah in the OT is nearly always associated with the Davidic dynasty, and the references in the early prophets which have any claim to be regarded as Messianic are all connected with it. They may, indeed, be older than 2 S 7, and in any case this passage will hardly be the origin of the hope; it rather embodies and gives literary form to something which already existed.

In Am 9:11-12 there is a promise of the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, with a personal Messiah, but the passage is almost certainly an Exilic addition (so J. Wellhausen, K. 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 is 3:8. 'Afterward the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king.' Here, again, the stress is laid on the Davidic dynasty; but either the whole verse or at least the words 'David their king' are of doubtful authenticity.

The crux of the question with regard to early Messianic prophecy is reached when we come to Isaiah.

(a) Is 7:14-16. — 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 of the Saviour, or child, or of a Saviour-child or king at all. As Gray points out, the promised sign is not necessarily a miracle or a prophetic (cf. Ex 3:2, 1 S 2:11), but is to be looked for in 'a chain of events predicted.' By the time a child seven years old 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 Ichabod (1 S 4). H. Graetz, however, and others argue that the passage is intelligible only if we suppose an already existing belief in the advent of a divine Saviour-child, who is to be born mysteriously. On this view the virgin is 'the virgin of prophecy,' the mother spoken of in the tradition; 'butter and honey' are the food of the gods, as in Iranian and Greek myth; and the whole passage

Cambridge Bible, 'Joes and Amos,' Cambridge, 1897, p. 119ff.

* Reference should be made to the very full and excellent discussion of this and the other Isianic passages in B. Gray, ICC, 'Isaiah,' Edinburgh, 1912.

has a mythological background. The theory has an undeniable fascination, but its main hypothesis cannot be regarded as established. In this case it rests on the probably false assumption that the sign must be of a miraculous nature. Further, neither the article nor the noun in הָדוֹלָנָה requires the meaning 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 3:12, while it is now generally agreed that הָדוֹלָנָה does not necessarily denote virginity, and is certainly not the word which would have been chosen if the supernatural character of the birth without a human father had been the point to be emphasized.

'Bitter and honey' may be merely a symbol of plenty, a variant of the common 'milk and honey.' But perhaps the chief objection to the mythological view is to be found in the fact, to which attention has already been called, that Immanuel does not play any part in the deliverance, nor does he afterwards appear as a factor in this or any other prophet's hopes for the future. The apparent reference to Immanuel in § 5 is quite meaningless; there has been nothing to suggest that the child is the king to whom the land belongs, and we should probably read with LXX 'of the virgin's son' (cf. v. 16).

(b) Is 9:21 is a passage of a very different character. We have here a true Davidean Messiah, but it is important to note that the restoration is the work of Jahweh Himself; the child is not himself the Virgin's Son, but is in the hand of the Virgin. The fourfold name is remarkable, and, as Gray points out, 'mighty God' must not be toned down to 'mighty hero'; it is unique in the OT. Clemens admits that all four titles are 'perhaps mythological,' and the passage itself of the Hokstil (see below). The child apparently ascends the throne at once—a suggestion that it is empty at the time of his birth; this may perhaps imply an Exilic date, though there is nothing else in the passage itself which necessitates its being placed later than Isaiah. It is, in fact, the clearest and best passage to establish an early expectation of a Messiah. It is, however, very remarkable that the passage seems to have had no influence on later thought, and lies behind the picture of the Messiah as drawn in many apocalyptic passages; in a later term 'Baal' is used. Here, again, the Messiah is Davideic, 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 Davideic Messiah in a clearly eschatological setting; v. 2 seems to imply a date after 386 B.C., 6 the metaphor is that of a tree cut down to the stump and sending out fresh shoots, which would describe exactly the revival of the kingdom after its ruin at the fall of Jerusalem see below, 2 (10).

Mic 5:5 is peculiarly difficult.* Omitting minor questions of reading and exegesis, the main points are as follows. (a) The passage follows, though it may not be originally connected with, an eschatological passage in ch. 4 (cf. Is 13:2) where there is no mention of a Messiah. (b) It speaks of a Messianic king born at Bethlehem Ephrathah, and, therefore, Davideic; in spite of his humble origin (so G. A. Smith, The Twelve Prophets, London, 1898, i. 413 ff.), he is to be between the supernatural character of the birth without a human father had been the point to be emphasized. And what is the meaning of 'she which travaileth' ? 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. 5 and v. 4 is very awkward, and so is the contradiction between Jahweh's abandonment of His people and the previous verse. But, even if a mysterious birth is hinted at, there is no suggestion that the mother is a virgin or that the child is in any way connected with Immanuel. Whatever the date of the verses, they do not follow any of the other commentators (Calvin, Orelli, etc.) and see in the phrase a reference to the birth-plays of Zion in 304, where exactly the same word is used for 'travail,' while in both cases the Passion is the main matter referred to (as Hos 13:4, Is 29:19, where the same figure of travail is used). 'She which travaileth' is, therefore, Zion personified. (c) Verse 5 certainly implies that there is no reigning king and, therefore, suggests an Exilic date. But it implies that the child was born under 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. 7

In Jeremiah the main stress is laid on the continuance of the Davideic line, and this figure prominently in the book as we have it—a feature which is significant in view of the Deutero-nomic origin of the fundamental passage 18 7. In 29:6-20 we have the reference to one man or to a single descendant, or to a belief in the actual return of David himself. Finally, we note that Jahweh Himself is consistently the agent of deliverance, the Davideic king appearing only after the salvation is completed.

* The general presentation in Ezekiel agrees with that of Jeremiah. We have references to 'David my servant,' as the ruler of the future (34:22, 27), with pictures of the Golden Age and a strong
stress on the presence of Jahweh Himself. In 17:26 the cedar twig planted on the mountain of the height of Israel may be a reference to the prophecies of Isaiah (5) and Jeremiah, while 'until he come whose right it is' (21?) suggests the Psalms prophet 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 priest-prophecy himself had little real interest in them.

In Hag 2:28 Zerubbabel is to be the ruler in the Messianic Age. So in Zec 3:6 ff he is the 'Branch and the servant of Jehovah. The importance of the passages is twofold; (a) we have the first undoubted example of the identification of a personal history with the Messiah; (b) the reference to the Branch shows, even more decisively than in Ezekiel, that earlier prophecies were being studied and interpreted in accordance with contemporary conditions.

This reference to another and a later prophecy, though the ass may originally 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 sustaining character of his rule. He is not explicitly David.

In the Psalms we are concerned with a group of royal Psalms, especially 2, 45, 72, 89, 110, 119. Here we are met with almost insoluble problems as to the dating. There is a general presumption which we have in the case of passages which stand in the writings of a particular prophet. Further, we must allow for the possibility of glosses in the course of the many editings, through which the various Psalters passed; such glosses may have emphasized a supposed Messianic reference—e.g., Ps 2:12:7. In all these Psalms we find startling language used of kings, the extent of their dominion, and their power, usually with stress on the Davidic covenant. It is common ground that such language was never strictly true of any Israelite king in either kingdom. Are these Psalms, then, addressed to the expected Deliverer of the future, i.e., to the Messiah? The objection to this is strong in many cases that a definite living king is addressed; e.g., Ps 45 is clearly an actual marriage song and is accepted as such, e.g., by Kirpatrick and Briggs. And, if some of these Psalms are to be understood historically, the general similarity of language suggests that the same principle is to be applied to all. A. F. Kirpatrick, in fact, argues that all have a primary historical reference, of course without relevance to their spiritual application. In interpreting the language we are helped by the existence of the Hophid, or 'Court style,' to which Gressmann and others call attention. Exaggerated language of this kind was a regular feature of the Assyrian and Persian emperors, and poets in honor of Oriental monarchs; cf. the language of Ps 21:9-11.

As showing that earlier prophecies were by this time definitely studied, see 38:9, where there is a re-editing of Jer 2:6, 7, 8:17.

The text is in disorder; Zerubbabel must have been originally mentioned in 6:1; cf. 'crown' in the plural and 'thou hast' here. When we put the Psalms in the order preserved in the Masoretic Text, then this prent the text was deliberately altered, giving us perhaps the first example of the Levitical Messiah (see Driver, Cambridge Bible, ad loc).


Certainly addressed to an actual king. It is possible that this Hophid is in Israel, and perhaps elsewhere (see below, 2 c d), included elements derived from the Messianic expectation. If we believed that some one member of the Davidic dynasty to be the greatest of all, it was natural for the admirers of any king to suggest continuance before that he and no other was the long-desired. In this case the Psalms may be called quasi-Messianic, and at least illustrate the nature of the Messianic hope.

A warning against the use of God's name an interpretation of this Hophid is to be found in the passages presented by the Babylonian hymns. We find Nannar addressed as 'begetter of gods and men,' 'King of kings who has no judge superior to him'; but the original he is the same, but there is no title to avoid too much part.

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 individual. But a month of an Oriental its application is less strict or exclusive.

The following points are further to be noted. (i) As in the Prophets, the stress is on the Davidic covenant; 2 S 7 seems to be concerned continually before the poets' eyes. This is especially marked in Ps 89, which refers to the nation and the dynasty, the nation itself being personified in v. 8:6 (cf. Is 5, Ps 80:7). So 'firstborn in v. 13 seems to refer to the description of Isaiah 11:1, 2, while 'servant' in v. 8 suggests a parallel with 2 Isaiah. The Psalm as a whole is a prayer for the restoration of the dynasty and the nation, rather than for the coming of any particular king who is to mark a new epoch. The same applies to Ps 112, though 'horn of David to bud' (v. 15) may refer to 'the Branch.' Ps 45, however, is not Davidic (Briggs and Sellin ascribe it to N. Israel), nor is Ps 110 except in the title.

(ii.) The language of the Psalter had great influence on later Messianic ideas, terms being used which afterwards became titles of the Messiah. As they occur in the Psalter they are, however, hardly technical; they are not used of one definite figure to the exclusion of all others. We have 'anointed' (Ps 21 sqq. 110, 118) used in its general sense (see above, § II.), 'son' (2, probably not in 29), 'firstborn' (89), while 'thy throne, O God' (45), may imply deification.

(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 embodied in the historical books, which require brief notice.

Gn 49:8,9—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. 96b), and was 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—'until he come whose right it is' (Ezk 21:8; see above) may be a reference.

The question then arises whether the Messiah, who is to be set up in the Temple, is to be an actual king or a priest-king. This interpretation, however, which is that of LXX and He 13:15, is open to grave objection, esp. that in v. 7 we have 'Jahweh thy God,' Driver suggests an interpolated address to God; Kirpatrick forms many suggestions, 'thy throne is the throne of God,' or else 'thy throne shall be for ever and ever,' Elohah having been substituted for an original Jhvih or Jhwh.

See Commentaries by Driver and Skinner, ICC, ad loc.

1 O. C. Whitehouse, however (DCV II, 173), thinks the Genesis passage is modelled on Ezekiel.
verse is a late addition on the basis of the Isaianic prophecies (Driver), or whether, with Gunkel, Gressmann, and Sellin, we are to regard it as a fragment of pre-prophetic eschatology, not specifically Messianic. But it is the case that Isaiah must be interpreted through a patient study of the whole of the prophetic literature, and in its relation to the rest of the Old Testament. When this is done it becomes clear that the words which we translate as 'Messiah' are at most an echo of the ideas of the older prophets, and that Isaiah is in the main a prophet of a different time and of a different people. The name 'Messiah' is first mentioned by Isaiah in the Vulgate, and its use is confined to the last chapters of the book. In the Greek translation it is replaced by the word 'Christ', and in the Latin it is transliterated as 'Messiah'. In the original Hebrew it is not used at all.

In his study of the name 'Messiah', Gressmann [1] believes that the word has a foreign origin, parallel with the Hebrew word 'Hashem', and that it was used in the Old Testament to denote a particular person or personage, who was to be the saviour of Israel. He points out that the name is used in the Bible both as a proper name and as a title, and that it is often used in a metaphorical sense, as in Isaiah 11:10, where it is applied to the Messiah as a 'branch of Jesse'.

Gressmann's view is supported by the fact that the word 'Messiah' is not found in the Septuagint, and that it is only used in the Vulgate and in the Latin translations of the Bible. It is, therefore, possible that the word 'Messiah' is a late invention, and that it was not used in the original Hebrew text of the Bible.

In his study of the name 'Messiah', Gunkel [2] has pointed out that the word is used in a metaphorical sense in the Old Testament, and that it is only used in a literal sense in the New Testament. He also points out that the word 'Messiah' is used in the New Testament to denote a particular person, who is to be the saviour of the world, and who is to be the successor of Jesus Christ. Gunkel suggests that the word 'Messiah' is a late invention, and that it was not used in the original Hebrew text of the Bible.

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was a common possession of the ancient world, especially in Egypt and Babylonia, and that the OT language is intelligible only when understood as one expression of that hope. Sellin especially argues of the antiquity of W's belief, which he regards as not merely pre-prophetic but as pre-Davidic, while he rejects the hypothesis of its foreign origin, being ready to admit foreign influence only in colouring and details.

We have already had examples of the principles of this school as applied to such passages as Is 7, Mic 5, etc. It is further suggested \(^2\) that the Messiah is the Urnensch, or primal man, the hero of Paradise, who is to return with the Golden Age of Daniel. Gressmann rightly points out that the Messiah is the prince of peace rather than a conqueror; i.e., he is the king of the Golden Age restored by Jahweh. Sellin\(^3\) develops this idea. Job 15\(^7\) suggests a tradition of the first man as precog of the Messiah in Micah is unshakable of Zoph, the idea of a mysterious origin disappears; the Shiho passage is open to so many interpretations that it is very unsafe to build on it. It is quite true that with regard to eschatology in general (and it must be remembered that the Messianic hopes of the Bible are and still are) 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 equally the case with the Messianic passages, but this does not justify us in finding the solution of every obscure passage in hypothetical popular traditions. We have already argued that the way in which the allusions to the Messiah are introduced does suggest that the idea was general and popular, used only occasionally and with some reserve by the prophets, so that it cannot be regarded as the discovery of any one of them. But of its great antiquity it is hard to prove. The passages in which it occurs are in many cases placed late on quite definite grounds, and we could hardly prove that it existed 'before the Exile except in the form of expectations connected with the permanence and glory of the house of David.' We must, in fact, admit that data are wanting whereby we might fix with any certainty the period in which the hope arose. We can only say that the way in which the allusions are introduced does militate against its origin being placed in the Exilic period, in spite of the lack of definite evidence to the contrary, though they do not in any way carry it back to a dim antiquity.

A similar verdict of 'not proven' must be passed on the hypothesis of a foreign origin (with regard to foreign influence on O.T., whereas in the Hiphil and partial parallels, especially at a later period, the case is somewhat different). The preceding discussions have already dealt with many of the points. Sellin\(^4\) discusses the supposed parallels in some detail, and concludes that there is no 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\(^5\) has shown that the Layden Papyrus has been misinterpreted and contains no reference to a 'Messiah,' while the Golenisheff Papyrus refers to a contemporary king Amen-em-net I.

To return to the OT, the hypothesis of the wide-spread exportation of a Messianic hope is clearly unnecessary and is not necessary to explain its language. We have in the earliest Messianic passages expectations connected with the revival and increased glory of the dynasty of David. There are also the eschatological hopes of the return of the Golden Age, which, Sellin concludes, is peculiar to Israel: 'The ancient East knows no eschatological king.'

IV. DEVELOPMENT SUBSEQUENT TO THE OT.

1. The data.—In passing to the period covered by the Apocryphes and the apocalyptic literature, it will be well again to begin by some examination of the actual data.\(^6\)

(a) Books where the Messianic hope is ignored.—In the eschatology of the Apocrypha, with the exception of 2 Esdras, the Messianic hope is practically ignored. It is just possible that there may be a hint of it in the reference to the coming of the 'faithful prophet' in 1 Mac 14\(^7\) (cf. 4\(^8\)), but, if so, the hope appears in a very attenuated form. In the primitive sense, or, in the context, the restoration of the Davidic kingdom is mentioned with no reference to the Messiah. In the rest of the books, though there may be hints of the Messianic kingdom in the wider sense (e.g., 2 Mac 2\(^7\), Bar 4\(^7\), Sir 44-50), nothing is said about a personal Messiah. Wis 2\(^4\) deals with the sufferings of the righteous in a way that recalls Is 53, and with the future life, but is clearly not Messianic.

\(^1\) P. 231 ff.; see also Clemens.
\(^2\) Gressmann, p. 256 ff.
\(^3\) P. 170 ff.
\(^4\) Skinner and Oxford Heb. Lexicon, however, translate 'look at.'
A similar silence is found in some of the apocryphal books, and the silence is all the more significant since the writers are dealing directly with the hopes for the future. The Messiah does not figure in Enoch i, xxxvi., lxxix., lxxx., xxi., except in ev., where 'my Son' is used to describe the Chosen One of God. In Dan. we find Messiah as a title in the context of the Ancient of Days. In the picture of the Golden Age in Job. 1, 29, xxiii. 26 there is no Messiah; in xxxi. 18 he figures, though not prominently, as the descendant of Judah and as ruler in the temporary Messianic kingdom; Charles, however, considers the clause to be an interpolation. In the Assumption of Moses, which comes from a 'Pseudepigraphic' writer, there is again no reference; Taxo (ix. 1) cannot be the Messiah; Jahweh himself is the avenger, and Moses the only mediator. The Messiah is in the same way ignored in 3 and 4 Macc., the Secrets of Enoch, the Letter of Aristeas, and the later parts of the Apocalypse of Baruch.

(6) Books where the Messiah is mentioned.—In Enoch lxxiii.—xxe. (106-116 B.C.) the Messiah appears after the judgment as the 'white bull,' a human figure, with no very active or definite role. In the 'parables,' however (xxxvii.—lxxi. ; 94-94 B.C.) the Messiah richly figures. In lxxvi. vii. he is the central figure, the pre-existent Son of man, judge, ruler, champion, and reactor. Besides Son of man, he is called 'the Elect One' and 'the Righteous,' titles which appear in the NT. 'Messiah' or 'His Anointed' also occurs in lxxvi. 10, lii. 4, and Charles regards these as the first example of the use of the word as a technical title, though Dalman 1 strikes out the passages as interpolations.

In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs the salient point is that the Messiah is descended from Levi, and is a priest (cf. Ps. 110); see Test. Reub. vi. 7—12, Test. Levi. viii. 14, xviii., Test. Jud. xxxiv. ff., etc. In Test. Jud. xxxiv. 51, however, we find the usual Messiah ben Judah; so perhaps Test. Naph. iv. 5. According to Charles, the former conception is the original, and the book dates from 109-106 B.C., the palm days of Hyrcanus, the Maccabean dynasty, which came of a priestly family, being recognized as Messianic. But, after the breach between it and the Pharisees, and the infamies of Hyrcanus' successors, additions were made to the book, reverting to the ordinary view. The conception of the Messiah is that of a prophet and a king, perfidious, with power over evil spirits, and bringing sin to an end; the ethical note is strongly marked.

In the Psalms of Solomon (70—40 B.C.) there is no reference to the Messiah in i., xxvi., though the future deliverance is dealt with. In xvii. and xxiv., however, there is a very important description. He is Davidic in contrast to the non-Davidic dynasty of the Hasmonaees; though himself human, he comes with the power and special endowment of God, to conquer the nations and purge Jerusalem of sin. The whole picture is full of enthusiastic and vigorous touches, and there are no transcendental traits in the conception. The end and the duration of the Messiah's kingdom is 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.

The Dead Sea Scrolls (165—51 B.C.) we read of a 'holy prince' who is to reign over the whole earth for all ages, though, somewhat inconsistently, judgment being also looked for. He speaks of a king from the sunrise sent by God who is to bring peace to every hand. In the later fifth book (before A.D. 130) we have (108) again a king sent from God who apparently destroys Nero redemptive (Antichrist). The Messiah is 'the anointed man' from the plains of heaven, who destroys evil-doers and sets up the new temple.

The Fragment of a Zadokite Work, 2 published first by S. Schechter in 1910, is placed by Charles in 18—2 B.C. and by most scholars before A.D. 70, and seems to have come from a reformation party among the priests. 'A Teacher of righteousness' has already appeared (i. 7, etc.), and a Messiah is expected (ii. 10, viii. 2 f.); i. 10, 29, xx. 4, xviii. 8) who is to arise 'from Aaron and Israel.' Charles interprets this phrase as pointing to the sons of Marianne and Herod. This is not quite certain, but the Messiah is clearly Levitic, as in the Testaments, the book being marked by hostility towards Judaism. The 'Teacher of righteousness' or the 'Lawgiver' (viii. 5) is a forerunner of the Messiah, though at a considerable interval, and is identified with the 'star' of Nu 24i, the 'sceptre' of the same passage being applied to the Messiah.

In the so-called Apocrypha where the Messiah appears in the three earlier Fragments, A', A', A', written before A.D. 70. In xxvi. i. (A) he is revealed mysteriously, apparently from heaven, whether he returns in glory; his role is a passive one, and the whole conception is materialistic. In xxxix. i. (A') and lxxii. 6, (A') he is the warrior slaying enemies and ruling over the Gentiles; the influence of Is 11 is marked. In lxx. 9 the phrase 'my servant Messiah' occurs, but the whole verse is regarded as an interpolation. In the three later Fragments, B', B', B', there is the so-called Messianic Kingdom without a Messiah.

4 (2) Esdras is again composite. In 7. (Ezra Apocrypha) we have the remarkable conception of 'My Son the Messiah,' revealed with his companions and dying after a reign of 400 years (cf. 149). In 12. (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 who, at the end, in order to agree with 72. Of chief importance is the 'Son of man' vision (ch. 13), where the Messiah is 'the man,' as in Daniel. 'My Son,' pre-existent, destroying the ungodly by the fire of his mouth and the breath of his lips, and restoring the ten tribes to the heavenly Zion.

Philo makes only very slight references to the Messiah, who is really foreign to his system. That he is mentioned at all must be regarded as a concession to the popular standpoint. De Exercrat. 8 f. speaks of the restoration of Israel on one day; the dispersed are to return led 'by a divine superhuman appearance, which, though unseen by all others, is visible only to the delivered.' So in de Pneum. et Per. 15—20 the Messiah is a man of war, reference being made to Nu 24.

In the same way the Messiah is recognized by Josephus only very occasionally, and that in a way which shows that he did not take the subject very seriously. In B. J. vi. 4. 4 he practically treats Vespasian as the Messiah in the sense that he is to be the destined 'governor of the habitable earth'; cf. the account of his interview with the same emperor in ii. viii. 8, and see Suet. Vesp. ch. 4, and Euseb. Chron. 130. 3. The New Testament passages which show that the existence of the Messianic hope was a first


2 In xvii. 96 'Anointed Lord' (hypéron eousos) is generally recognized as a mistranslation or misreading of 'the Lord's Anointed.'
recognized feature of Judaism. In Ant. x. x. 4 he renews to explain the 'stone' of Dan 2 26 as 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: Thedmas (Ant. xx. v. 1), the Egyptian (Ant. xx. vii. 6, 7xii. 3), and the unnamed impostor (Ant. viii. 10).

A Samaritan Hymn for the Day of Atonement, dated A.D. 1576, but certainly embodying earlier material, speaks of Messiah under the title Tzuch, which probably means 'the Restorer,' though A. Merx explains it as rezilena, i.e., probably Moses, whose return was expected. This Tzuch 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 110 after years, and his death is followed by the Judgment and the end. In 425 shows the antiquity of some Messianic belief among the Samaritans (cf. Jos. Ant. XVII iv. 1).

2. Survey of the teaching. — (a) We note the sporadic character of the Messianic hope, as in the OT. Certainly the Messiah is mentioned somewhere in nearly all appearances where we have in some cases a few more details, but it is still true that until the fall of Jerusalem he is not an essential element in Jewish religious thought or even in its eschatology. If it were not for the NT, we should never have heard of the Messiah, and there was a period when the expectation of his coming could be taken for granted as accepted in almost all circles and as the centre of the hope for the future. This aspect is sometimes discussed (e.g., W. Baldensperger, 'Die messianischen Anschauungen 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 that the figure of the Davidic king came to seem too small for the larger stage on which Israel now found itself, and that this was one of the reasons why the Messiah left the pious Jew for a time well content, but it is best to recognize that the data are insufficient for anything like a chart of the rise and fall of the Messianic hope. The one thing we can say is that in the 2nd cent., when the whole had become far more universal than ever before, we recognize that then and in the Abs. of Moshe, and is not taken very seriously by Philo or Josephus; but the NT evidence is indisputable, and is confirmed by the fact that the Messiah is an integral part of the creed of later Judaism. The explanation is probably to be sought in the political circumstances of the day and in the dislike of the rule of the Hasmoneans.

(4) The evidence which suggests that, as before, the hope was mainly an element in the popular religion. The Apocalypse in which it figures were largely popular products, and the NT proves that its chief strength lay among the people; 1

1 See A. Cowley, 'Samaritan Doctrine of the Messiah,' in Exp. 5th ser., l. (1895) 161 ff.; Bousset, pp. 298, 305.
2 It is possible that the place of the Messiah was sometimes taken by Michael as a personification of Dan 12 26, and not the Messiah, Is the champion of Israel; so in Abs. Moshe, x. he is the angel who avenges Israel; note his prominence in Rev. 12. Bousset, Die Offenb. Geschichten, 1906, p. 74. Baldensperger suggests that the Christology of Hermas can be understood only if we see the same proper title in Jewish thought by Michael; cf. also Rev 1416, where the Son of man on the cloud seems to be an angel; note the language of Ps 40.
3 Bousset, Rel. des Judenstums, p. 265 ff.

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the popular risings recorded in Josephus show the same thing.

(a) We may see two influences at work which tended to throw into higher relief the person and function of the Messiah. From the religious side there was the growing tendency to remove God from active interference with the affairs of the world and to fill His place with a series of intermediate beings. Hence the role of the Messiah becomes more important, and functions which in the OT are ascribed to Jahweh Himself are now transferred to him. He becomes the Deliverer and Saviour, as in the Sib. Or., Baruch, and Esdra, and the new conception thus neutralizes the Terah. Again, as outward conditions became more hopeless, it was inevitable that he who was to restore the nation should be increasingly conceived of as endowed with supernatural powers, or as himself more than man. His coming is to be a solution of the world, though it is still always regarded from a strictly Jewish and national standpoint. As a keener interest is taken in the fate of the individual, so the conception is linked with beliefs of judgment and resurrection, and receives altogether a more decided and more varied eschatological colouring, though we remind ourselves once more that it is not an essential element in the eschatology of the time.

(5) Attempts to distinguish varying types of the hope at different periods and in different classes of writings are not always very convincing. We can, however, trace a double development, though the two lines overlap, and each includes contradictory elements derived from the other — e.g., in the combination of the conceptions of a Warrior-Conqueror and of a supernatural Avenger and Judge, or of earthly and heavenly bliss. 4 (1) We have the conception, which is essentially that of the OT, of the Messiah as a human figure, however miraculously endowed, a warrior and a conqueror, and the Son of David. This is seen best in the Psalms of Solomon (where the title 'Son of David' occurs for the first time), and is implied in many passages of the Gospels dealing with the popular hope, especially in the attempts to make Christ king, and in the charges brought at His trial, as well as in the Messianic movements mentioned by Josephus. In this Messiah is the typical figure of the Maccabean, and left the pious Jew for a time well content, but it is best to recognize that the data are insufficient for anything like a chart of the rise and fall of the Messianic hope. The one thing we can say is that in the 2nd cent., when the whole had become far more universal than ever before, we recognize that then and in the Abs. of Moshe, and is not taken very seriously by Philo or Josephus; but the NT evidence is indisputable, and is confirmed by the fact that the Messiah is an integral part of the creed of later Judaism. The explanation is probably to be sought in the political circumstances of the day and in the dislike of the rule of the Hasmoneans and the Romans.

(2) We find a belief in a transcendent Messiah, connected chiefly with the title 'Son of man,' in the parables of Enoch and 4 Esdras (cf. also Sib. Or. v. 414). The phrase is derived from Daniel, and, whatever its meaning and origin there, there can be no doubt that in Enoch and Esdras it has a definite Messianic significance. It is possibly even a recognized technical title. 4 The fact is, as Baldensperger 2 points out, that Daniel, though not

1 See Baldensperger, ch. ii.
2 This eschatological colouring, the figure of the coming of the Messiah ('the Messianic woes,' etc.), the duration and nature of the Messiahian kingdom, and its relation to the judgment and resurrection, together with the varying ideas as to the fate of the Gentiles therein, are definitely in art., John of Damascus, which reference should be made. See also Schürer, JHF P ii. 167 ff.; W. V. H. Hague, JThSt xii. (1909) 57.
3 See Hague, p. 72 ff.
4 Baldensperger, p. 111 ff.
5 We have not sufficient material to justify us in regarding this as a specifically Jewish eschatological conception as opposed to a Pharisaic Messiah ben David.

6 For connexion with the Testamenta, etc., see H. Windisch, Hesberteraen, Frankfort, 1916, p. 67.
7 Dalman, p. 243.
8 So Charles, Eschatologia, p. 261.
9 P. 97 ff.
in itself directly Messianic, revived hopes for the future and prepared the way for the apocalyptic Messiah. 1 This transition led 2 Messiah into an ascension of the righteous in Enoch xlii. 2, and still more decidedly in 4 Es 130. 272. The most significant feature, however, is his appearance as judge, not only of men and the nations, but of evil spirits (Enoch iv. 4, etc.); this function is not ascribed to the human king. Except in 4 Es 122, a Christian interpolation, the transcendent Messiah is never represented as a descendant of David—a fact which may throw light on our Lord’s question (Mk 12. 22). 3 He may have been followed by a formalized history of thought which found the Davidic descent too narrow for the great conception. As is well known, He never speaks of Himself as ‘Son of David.’ We may note that, though the Apocalypses apparently reject the Davidean descent, they yet use Davidean passages, such as Is. 11, Is. 72, 89, in their picture of the Messiah, 4 (c) Pre-existence and mysterious origin. — The Son of man is clearly in some sense pre-existent in Enoch (e.g. xlvi. 3, 6, xlv. 1) and in 4 Es 13 and perhaps in 72. 12, though the former passage is doubtful, and G. II. Box regards the latter as interpolated. 5 The question arises how far a personal pre-existence is really implied. In Jewish thought everything of supreme value was regarded as related to the spirit of the age to some extent under the influence of the Platonic doctrine of ideas. This applied to such things as the Law and the Temple, while even Moses is pre-existent in Ass. Moses, i. 14, ii. 12; it is this sort of pre-existence which is verbally granted to Messiah or his ‘Name’ in the Targums. 6 But it must be allowed that in Enoch and Esdras the Messiah seems to be regarded as pre-existent in a personal sense and revealed from heaven, and this was certainly the view of Enoch. 7 Though, however, we be noted that in 4 Es 79 ‘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, where the Son of man of Enoch and Esdras 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 at a later period—e.g., in the mysterious star of Test. Levi, i. 12, and in the apocalyptic Sib. Or. iii. 632 (cf. Bar 291). We have no evidence of the belief in Jn 75, Justin Martyr (Dial. 8, 110), and the Talmud, the general idea being that the Messiah was to be born in secret (at Bethlehem) and hidden on earth, or even in Paradise, until the time of his revelation. Some such tradition seems to underlie Rev 12; on the question of foreign influence see below, (g).

At the same time the passages cited as evidence of a belief in his birth of a virgin or a mother are unreliable. 8 Test. Jos. xix., which seems to speak of a virgin-birth, is with good reason regarded by Charles as corrupt; so in Enoch xlii. 5, ix. 29 he reads for ‘son of a woman’ 9 ‘Son of man,’ while the Midrash Ekhath on Lk 3 is obscure and of very doubtful date. Nor, again, can the ‘travail of the Messiah’ imply anything of the kind; the expression is figurative, and applies to the Messiah, not to his mother. According to

1 Jn 75 is interpreted Messianically by Aquila (c. a. 120), and according to LXX is interpreted as the name for the Messiah, Jn 75, ‘Enoch Man’ (Dahlman, p. 245).
2 As late as 1832.
3 The LXX of Ps 109 [110], εξ γεννηματος του ἀνθρωπον aiiropoy evy- eftwv sa, suggests some kind of pre-existence.
4 While it is, however, argued that there are traces in Biblical Literature of a real pre-existence of the thought
5 Dahlman, p. 351; Hezner, p. 81.
6 See G. ii.
7 Jerome, p. 39; see Clemens, p. 292. Justin, Dial. 49, the Jewish belief that the Messiah is to be born ἀπόρως καὶ ἄνθρωπως.
8 To the circle of ideas connected with pre-existence belongs the notation of the creation of the Messiah with the first or the spiritual man. 1 Something has been said of the theory that this underlies the figure of the Son of man (see above, III. 2 (d)). Philo (Leg. Alleg. i. 51, p. 49, de Op. Mundi, 134, p. 32) knows of an earthly and a spiritual man, the latter, whose creation is recorded in Gn 1, coming first, while the former is the man of Gn 2. St. Paul (I Cor 15:22) represents the spiritual man as coming after the psychic or earthy, evidently opposing the former view, and identifying himself with the Messiah. So in Test. Levi the Messiah brings back Paradise, while the Samaritan title Tsebh seems to mean ‘Restorer’ (cf. ἱερόν ἧς ἀποκατάστασις in Acts 3). The general idea in St. Paul, however, is the identification of Christ with the ideal archetypal man, as opposed to the historical Adam, and not with any first king of Paradise.
9 (f) Forerunners of the Messiah. — The starting-point is Mal 3:1, where Elijah is to return before the Day of Jehovah (cf. xlvi. 49), the Messiah is not mentioned, and possibly Elijah is a kind of substitute for him. 3 In the Gospels, however, he has become a forerunner of the Messiah (Mk 1:6-8; 9:11; Jn 19). There are again traces of a belief in the return of Elijah in such passages as Jer. 3:14; the two are combined in the Transfiguration; these are probably the ‘two witnesses’ of Rev 11. In the later Antichrist legend the two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah, 1 who were translated without death. There is evidence for this interpretation of the Messiah in 4 Es 73-75, 122. Ezra appears as such in 14, Barnach Bar 76, Jeremiah in 2 Mac 2:15; cf. Mt 16:12. We may compare the two predecessors of Sosannith (see below, (g)).
10 Foreign influence. — The turmoil of theories which traced the origin 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 transcendent Messiah that foreign and mythological element comes hack in strong feature, 2 following Gressmann, 3 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 ‘from the sea.’ He also traces 4 the whole idea of a mysterious revelation of the Messiah to Is 43-5, ‘Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour,’ which, he agrees with Gressmann, 5 cannot be of Jewish origin. He traces it to language such as that used by Assurbaniah: 6 ‘I was born in the midst of mountains which no man knoweth . . . thou (Ishtar) . . . hast brought me forth from the mountains, hast called me to shepherd thy people.’ Many critics argue in the same way with regard to the conception of the miraculous birth, comparing the language used by Sargon I. (‘My mother was poor, my father I knew not’), the beliefs connected with Sosannith, and the legends of the birth of Cyrus, Alexander, and others; there is, in fact, a general tendency to regard exegetical and extraordinary

1 See H. Lietzmann, Handbuch zum AT, Tubingen, 1910, on 1 Co 15:24; Clemens, p. 152 ff.
2 This conception seems to occur in Baraddas v. 5, v. 12. For later developments see Bouquet, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis, Gottingen, 1911, p. 172 ff.; Kyrillos Christos, do. 1913, p. 54.
3 Bildeberger, p. 99.
5 P. 390 ff.
6 P. 291.
7 P. 291.
Roman ideas affecting at any rate the periphery of the Messianic hope and its development under Christianity. After Alexander the title savor ("Saviour") became common, with designation of kings and emperors, accompanied by hints of their wonderful origin. We may instance the well-known Priene inscription, where Augustus is called "Saviour." But here, again, it is doubtful whether we really have proof of the existence of a belief in a final world-Saviour who is ushered in a new era, or only the inevitable court flattery which regards each king as greater than any of his predecessors. The single exception is Vergil's famous Messianic Eclogue. Here, whether the child who is to be born be the son of Octavian and Scribonia or not, we have a remarkable and almost unique agreement with OT conceptions—the era of Paradise and its king, the Golden Age following on his conquests, plenty without toil, animals sharing in the regeneration, together with the ethical note. Whether through the Silvianus Books or directly through the LXX, Jewish teaching may have penetrated to Roman literary circles, or we may have an echo of Zoroastrianism. On the other hand, the parallel may point to an independent spread of something like a Messianic hope in pagan circles.

(2) Interpretation of prophecies. A feature of this period is the habit of working on earlier prophecies—a tendency which we have found as early as Ezekiel and Zechariah; for a later example see 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., Bar.), Ps 2, (e.g., Ps. Sol.), Ps 45 (e.g., Test. Juod. xxiv, 1), in which the Messiah is king der Erdezeit, and there is no trace of this transformation in Iranian legend. We may add that there is also no trace in Hebrew legend of the Messiah as originally king of the first Paradise (see above, (i)).

(3) There is undoubtedly a remarkable parallelism between the Messiah and Sassanian, which is originally an epithet rather than a title. The renovation of the world is accomplished by the process of the restoration of the Iranians in the Sassanista. In the Gathas these are simply Zoroasthrus himself and his fellow-workers, whom the Prophet's faith-picture as assuredly leading on to an immediate regeneration. The hope failed, and Zoroastrism was transfigured to the extent of reducing the Sra. hekmat of Shb, Or. iii. 659, and the LXX árævax for 'branch' in Jer 33:15, Zec 6:12 (cf. Lk 19).

We must also allow for the influence of Greco-

1 For foreign influences see Rev 22 see Bouret, Offenbarung, ad loc., and Chyse, pp. 77 ff., with criticism in Cleaera, p. 300 ff.


4 So Moulton, p. 31, interpreting the simile of the fastening the chains as a reference to the story that Zoroaster laughed when he was born.

5 It may be remarked that there are rarely any traces in the LXX of an attempt on the part of the translators to introduce a Messianic meaning. This is evident in the case of Heb. may not Messiah. It is no exception (see above, 3), but the title of Ps 45, "Song of the Beloved," for 'song of Songs,' may be intended to suggest a Messianic interpretation. For árævax for 'branch' see above, (c).

6 But not Is (see above, 3) or 7.

7 This, however, is comparatively rare (Dahmow. 208 ff.).

8 Balfour, p. 104.

9 V. H. St. John, J. H. v. 301, art. 'Messiah'; see, further, Driver and A. D. Neubauer, Jewish Interpreters of Is. litt., London, 1887;
The most decisive proof of this position comes from the NT. It is clear that the death of the Messiah was not regarded in the Gospels, in John, or in the Apocalypse as having been followed by the resurrection, but 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 8:28) seems to be intended to call attention to an interpretation of Is 53 which is evidently not that generally accepted. The admissions of Trypho (Justin, Dial. 68, 80 f.) do not express the Jewish belief, but are put into his mouth under the stress of the argument, while the "pangs of the Messiah" do not refer to his personal sufferings, but to the woes which are to precede his coming.

The Messiah ben Joseph, who does, in fact, die, in contrast to the Messiah ben Judah, appears clearly only after A.D. 135. According to Bonnert, he is the Messiah of the ten tribes, slain in the battle by Gog and Magog: the conception seems to be derived from Dt 33:2, Zec 12:9, and certainly has no connexion with Is 53. It is possible that this figure is connected with the failure and death of Bar Kokhba, explaining them on the lines of the expectation of a preliminary Messiah who was to fall in battle against the enemies of Israel (Rome).

V. DEVELOPMENT UNDER CHRISTIANITY.

The starting-point of the evidence of the NT, and especially of the Gospels, is Is 53, in which the Messianic hope is represented as universal. As we have seen, it is taken for granted in the Apocalypse where it occurs, but it is still sporadic in its appearances, and the future can be painted without reference to it. But in the Gospels the expectation of the Messiah is common to all. It appears, indeed, to be taken more seriously by the common people than by their leaders; but Pharisæes, priests, and Sadducees all accept the hope without questioning its reality, for they alone know 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 transcendent, corresponding closely to what we find in Ps. Sol. The Messiah is to be a king descended from David, and his rule will be opposed to that of the Romans.

A full discussion of our Lord's own attitude to His Messianic claims will be found in art. Jesus Christ. The following is an introductory survey.

(a) As against W. Wrede, it is certain that He did regard Himself as in some sense the Messiah. He did not, indeed, proclaim Himself as such in His public teaching; it was His "secret," discovered by S. C. P. and finally 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 Ezech we should infer that it would not once be recognized as a synonym for "Messiah." Itself. The difficulty is increased by eliminating, on literary grounds, a certain number of the passages in which it occurs (cf. e.g., Mt 5:9 with Lk 6:7, or Mt 16:15 with Mk 8:29), while in others its use is ambiguous, since it might be supposed to refer to some other unnamed person (Mt 8:27). 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. We must, therefore, suppose that the whole did regard as Messianic only in certain circles, and that it could still be used, as in Is 8 and Ezekiel, in a wider sense.

(c) He did not regard Himself as the Messiah merely in the strict sense in which we have used the term, but as gathering up in Himself the various lines of OT hopes and promises. It does not, however, appear that direct argument on the basis of the OT 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 scribal methods of interpretation.

(d) Christ added considerably to the content of the Messianic hope, especially in His teaching as to the necessity of the death of the Messiah. It is not possible to decide with any certainty as to the lines by which He was led to this conviction, though it was, no doubt, helped by a growing recognition of the hostility of the ruling powers to His claims and of the inevitable results of their attitude. Further, He must have meditated on the deeper teaching of the OT as implying, especially in Ps 22, that the Messiah's death was an essential part of the condition of glorification; it was to be found only in suffering, and this quite independently of whether such passages technically applied to the Messiah or not. Though in Acts and Peter the Servant Songs passages are quoted, they are used but little in the Gospels, and hardly at all in Christ's own teaching (see Lk 23:27, Mk 15:28,19). It would seem, then, that as the ultimate source of His conviction we are forced to fall back on an intuition of which the Christian will regard as a revelation from the Father.

In the light of the expectation of the Parousia, the idea of a twofold advent of the Messiah was introduced, assuming that Jesus was not merely 'the Messiah of the future' during His lifetime. There is no trace in earlier literature of any belief in two comings of the Messiah.

(e) It follows, finally, that the title 'Messiah' or 'Christ,' as used in the NT and in Christian literature generally, is a far richer and more complex content than any that we have felt justified in ascribing to it in earlier periods. It gathered itself into the ideas associated with the Wisdom and Logos, and came to include the whole work of redemption from sin accomplished by Jesus. He has become the centre of history and the inaugurator of a new age in a way which both differs from and transcends anything that we find in the OT or Apocalypses as associated with the future Deliverer. He is the mediator of a new covenant and the bearer of a new revelation to a world of which the outward conditions remain unaltered, while with the passing of the Jewish State the nationalist element dropped away once for all. At the same time, the title 'Christ,' with its historical associations, is a reminder, even to those to whom the promises of the OT may seem little in themselves, that the coming of Jesus of Nazareth was not something new and unexpected, but was the true climax of the long preparation of the chosen people. In particular, the fact that functions which in the OT are reserved for Jahweh and not for the Messiah

Dalman, Der leidende und der sterbende Messias, Berlin, 1888; Schurer, ii, 154. Bonnert, Kyrios Christos, p. 27 f. (for a Jewish Messianic interpretation of the dying and raising god may have influenced Jewish Messianic ideas.

2 See P. Wrede, Antenturnu, p. 204, Anticrist Logos, p. 103. But in JB, e.g., 'Messiah,' the connexion with the ten tribes is denied.
MESSIAH (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 locations where, anti-Jewish persecution was prevalent. Most of these Messianic movements were frequently, especially in the latter cases, of a political nature.

Although it is to some extent customary to include a number of Jewish reformers and revolutionists in the category of pseudo-Messiahs, only a proportion of these agitators can with propriety be classed as having claimed to themselves the Messianic semi-divinity. Others, often against their own wish, were hailed by their enfraptured followers as the divine leader, promised salvation for the Jewish people, and they were accepted by bewildered people as their inheritance. Just as there existed a belief in an Eranistic Messiah who was to be the forerunner of the Davideic Messiah, so, among the pseudo-Messiahs, many pretended to be the Messiah, himself, or 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 529) that about A.D. 44 one Theudas, claiming to be the Messiah, set about gathering 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 party were interrupted by Felix and his soldiery (Jos. Ant. xx. viii. 6, BJ ii. xiii. 5; and Ac 12). A third pretender preparing to lead the people into the wilderness was destroyed together with his followers by Herod the Tetrarch (Jos. Ant. xx. viii. 10).

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 his followers, and then attacked Jerusalem. In battle with the soldiers of Agrippa II. Menahem was successful, and as a result captured Antonia, one of the towers of the capital. Emboldened by his success, 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 1st cent., similar personages arose among the Samaritans,
all of whom, after an existence more or less brief, passed away. Prominent among them were Simon *Makpen* (\textit{I Macc} 7:46), a man of distinction who joined to his mission, and who is said to have been slain at the time of his conversion. Simon *Makpen* was a Jewish Christian, who joined to his mission, and who is said to have been slain at the time of his conversion. 

Dositheus, who, instead of restoring the Hebrew State, founded a Messianic sect that survived until the 6th century.

The destruction of the Temple led for a time to a cessation of pseudo-Messianic activity. For sixty years no new Messiah arose until at length, on the accession of Hadrian, the milder government of Trajan gave way to stern rule. The repressive policy of the Romans aroused once more the spirit of the Jewish people still unsatisfied. A rebellion broke out and a leader was immediately in hand in the person of Bar Kokhba, or Bar Kozliiah, of the family (probably from the name of his birthplace). Of the personality of this leader little is known. His original name is even doubtful. It is conjectured that he was one Simeon of Cozeba (I Ch 4:52 or Chzch (Gen 38)). The name 'Bar Kokhba,' or 'son of a star,' was given to him by the famous R. Akiba, who believed that in him was fulfilled the prophecy: 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob . . . and shall shine in the corners of Moab (Mal 4:2). 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 Jews, Samaritans, and pagans, was evacuated by the Romans. The array of the Jews at this time has been estimated at as many as from 400,000 to 500,000 fighting men. Unfortunately, little is known of the campaign, but it is certain that the guerrillas descended in command at the time of the outbreak proved respectively inadequate and inept. The services of Julius Severus, the greatest soldier of the age, were requisitioned from Britain, where he was waging an archon war with the marines, 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 out his formidable enemy. In the end, the array of the guerrillas was fought, and with every victory the numbers of Bar Kokhba's followers increased. From the most remote of the Jewish colonies men came to light under his banner. Recruits were not only drawn from Israel: Bar Kokhba's army included non-Jews in its ranks. Those who could not fight helped to fill the rebel coffers. At first the campaign proved a series of successes for the pretender. Jerusalem was soon captured, and served as a capital for Bar Kokhba, who was proclaimed king, and duly carried out the duties of sovereignty. For three years the Holy City remained in his possession, and during that time his armies succeeded in taking 50 walled towns and 932 villages. At length the tide turned. After a desperate struggle, Jerusalem was captured by the Romans, and no two stones of its buildings were left standing on one another. Other towns fell into the same hands until, of all the territories of Bar Kokhba, the town of Bithynia alone remained. Here the hero made his last stand, but not with the undivided support of the inhabitants of the fortress. Dissensions broke out among the garrison, and on the 8th of Abah, already the lastest anniversary in the Jewish calendar, Bar Kokhba was slain, his body brought in triumph to the Roman camp.
to the Holy Land, and, perhaps in consequence, his influence spread as far as Spain. His career commenced in AD 720, but was speedily arrested. He was captured and brought before the Khalif Yazid, to whom he excused himself by stating that he had never been in his presence; he had merely been amusing himself and making music. He was accordingly handed over to the latter for punishment, while his followers, repenting of their heresy, were re-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. 1087), at Cordova (c. 1117), and at Fez (c. 1257). Of these there are practically no records beyond the mere mention by Maimonides. About 1186, however, one of far greater importance arose in Kurdistan. David Alroy (or Alrui) came from the north of Persia, probably Adhharadjan, being a member of one of the free Jewish tribes which claimed descent from the Ten Tribes, and to which the Afghans, the Afridis, and Pathuns 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. Messiahs appeared in Arabia and Persia, and the weakness of the Sultan led almost to a paralysis 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. Alroy, however, immediately proclaimed himself Messiah, and the weak Sultan, fearing his appearance, was content to limit his activities to the protection of his own subjects; the affair of Alroy was thus to a great extent a failure. In all probability he was killed in an unsuccessful attack on the stronghold of Amadin. According to a less reliable version, the governing powers, unable to overthrow the Messiah, had him put to death when he was still a minor pretender.

Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia was born at Saragossa in 1240. While still a youth he was attracted to kabbalistic studies, and it is said that he was a kabbalist rather than a pseudo-Messiah that his career may fairly be compared to the pretenders. He wandered from town to town and country to country. In 1281 he was in Rome attempting to convert the pope to Judaism—of course without success. 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 elapsed and went by, but the millennium was still far away. Abulafia continued his picturesque career for one more year and then disappeared from history. He also, however, left his spiritual descendents, and from among them one of two of his disciples, Joseph Jukataia and Samuel, both of Mediaea. Where Abulafia had failed, they were likely to succeed, and it was but a matter of time that these two disciples would have made their mark in the firmament of Messiahs.

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 was of little consequence. In 1502 Asher Barmelin suddenly arose in France and was received with sympathy by the Jews and the Christian church. He was received with the greatest interest by the Jews and the Christian church. He was a great man, with the spirit of a Messianic revival. In 1525, he was arrested and imprisoned. He was tried and convicted of heresy, and was sentenced to death. He was beheaded on the 24th of March, 1525, at the age of 63.

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claim were needed, his existence as a Jew un-
molested at the court of one of the most relentless of
the gentile leaders, abandoned Christianity, and
continued to be considered sufficient. The people looked eagerly
towards him and expected, not a momentary
palliation of their tortures, but a final release.

By no means the least of those who were
drawn towards the Messiah was Solomon Molkho
(pseudonym Diogo Pires) (c. 1501-32), an official of the
Government of Portugal. Pires, who was a young man
of great promise, aroused the pity caused by Reubenii's mission, abandoned Christianity, adopting
himself to Judais in place of it, and endeavoured to attach himself as a disciple to the
newcomer. The latter, however, severely dis-
couraged all conversions to Judaism, fearing
probable loss in consequence of their 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
Reubenii for which he had hoped, he left Portugal
for Turkey. In the East Molkho, although hitherto
supposed to be quite unlearned in Jewish lore, is
said to have displayed a remarkable acquaintance
with that subject, and by his eloquence and learn-
ing he acquired the reputation of a teacher by
which he was acquired the latter, he soon collected around him a
class of disciples who considered him almost
divine. His teachings went without disguise far
to the domain of mysticism. By him the advent
of the Messiah was foretold for 1540, and the sack
of Rome in 1527, an oft-foretold precursor of the
millennium, seemed to confirm Molkho's propheticies.
The one ambition of the prophet was to earn a
martyr's crown, and in pursuance of this aim he
left a brief sojourn in Turkey and returned to Christendom.
And here his position was fixed. He was the
conversion of the Messiah the apostles of the
conversion, and flight of Molkho, added to other incidents,
shook the position which Reubenii had acquired at
the Portuguese court. The royal promises,
though made apparently in good faith, lacked
fulfilment, and the undoubted excitement of which he was the cause among the Neo Christians
of the kingdom rendered his continued presence
among them most undesirable; and, after having
spent a year at the Portuguese court, Reubenii was
advised to withdraw to Rome. The vessel in which
he sailed was wrecked on the coast of Spain, and for a time
he was in the hands of the Inquisition. His release
was, however, ordered by the emperor, Charles V.,
and he settled at Avignon, then under the
sequestration and possession of the papal
ambassadors. He removed to Italy, proceeded 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,
and, if possible, a following that grew in
numbers from day to day. In Rome Molkho,
imbued with Messianic tendencies, had visions
and foretold floods and earthquakes, which, it
must be added, subsequently occurred. More
valuable to him, however, were the favour and
protection which he had obtained from the pope,
Clement VII., and from some of the cardinals.
With their assistance he was able to defy his
enemies, who were drawn not only from among
the emissaries of the Inquisition, but also from the
Jews, some of whom shrewdly considered his
influence and pseudo-Messianic claims were
rather than beneficial to Jewry. His critics among his
own community 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 Savona-
rola' (Hist. iv. 27). The Jew Molkho, of which he had foretold would overtake Rome,
Molkho repaired to Venice, and there he met once
again the first inspirer of his enthusiasm, David
Reubenii. His position in regard to Reubenii had,
however, undercur of Reubenii, which was not
now, not as a disciple, but as an equal.

Reubenii was still endeavouring to obtain assistance
for his brother, the king of Kishwar, and
from the authority 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 untriring, and they
ultimately succeeded in securing his arrest by
the Inquisition as a renegade Christian, and Molkho
was condemned to be burned. All the prepara-
tions for the auto da fe were made and the victim
anticipated by the pope. 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 Reubenii, and the
two decided to journey to Lisbon to plead with
the Emperor the cause of the Jews. There
is a tradition that advantage was taken of the
interview with Charles to endeavour to convert
him to Judaism, and it was possible this attempt
that led to the arrest of both the ambassadors.
They were put into chains and carried to Mantua,
where at the Emperor's request Molkho was again
tried by the Inquisition and sentenced to be burned.
At the last moment pardon was offered him on
condition that he returned to the Christian fold,
but he rejected the offer with scorn. He had only
one cause for relief he saw to it that it was
that he had been a Christian in his youth.
Molkho's ambition was thereupon gratified and he
earned a martyr's crown. Some of his addresses
were published by him in 1529 under the title of
The Book of Reubenii. Reubenii 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 Reubenii's diary is in MS
at the Bodleian. Graetz published a portion in his
History of Jewish Christianity, ii.

Concerning the existence of Reubenii, there can
be no legitimate doubt. His mission, however, is
not so well authenticated, and there are those, no
mean authorities, who consider him to have been
merely a charlatan and impostor. Graetz (ib. ch. 8),
for instance, judging from the language of Reubenii's
Journal, expressed the belief that it had been
written by a German Jew, and Neubauer held the
same view, only more positively. Rieger and
Vogelstein (Gesch. der Juden in Rom, ii. 41-46,
33-38) are also very sceptical about his bona fides,
but they express the opinion that he came from
Arabia. Adler (Auto de Fe and Jews, p. 30 ff.)
seems to have more confidence in Reubenii's
credentials, but locates the source of his embassy to
Cranganore in India.
Strictly speaking, neither Molkho nor Reuben should perhaps be included in the list of pseudo-
Messiahs, for neither ever claimed divinity. They were Messiahs for the very reason against their own
inclinations. The same may be said of Isaac ben
Salomon Ashkenazi Luria (Ari) (1534-72), 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 Him-
self. His principal disciple, Hayyim Vital Cala-
brese (1548-1620), was acclaimed by his master as
possessing a soul unsullied 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 Safeh the scene of their principal
activities. In the time 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 he,
Shalom, was Messiah ben David. He offered,
moreover, to shield Vital from the death that
would otherwise have been his fate.

The most remarkable and influential of all the pseudo-Messiahs was Shabbathai Shvi, born, the
son of a Sephardi agent of an English mercantile
firm, at Smyrna, on the 9th of Ab (the anniversary
of the destruction of Jerusalem and a fast day in
the Jewish calendar), 1621 or 1628. He is gener-
ally believed to have died on the Day of Atonement
in 1675. Even as a boy Shabbathai was note-
worthy for his physical beauty and his strange
habits. From childhood on, he was a kabbalist, and
the book of the Talmud, that 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 them,
and endeavoured, by carefully following out the
ordinances laid down therein, and especially by
the practice of ascetism, himself to solve the
mysteries that the Zohar professed to offer its
students. On attaining manhood, Shabbathai had
already acquired a considerable reputation as a
kabbalist, which was enhanced by his mode of life,
his obvious belief in his magical powers, and his
determined aversion to any worldly affair.

Meanwhile Shabbathai's father had learnt, through his
correspondents in England, something of the hopes
and beliefs of the English millenarian sects, then
prominently English thought. He had been apprised of the identification of the year 1666
with the opening of the millennium. By a
coincidence, according to the computations of the
Zohar, the year 1665 was to mark the appearance of the
Jewish Messiah. Shabbathai, encouraged by these
signs and by the almost worshipful attitude of his
father, who attributed the whole of his material
fortune to his son's saintliness, by nature and
education already prepared for the rôle that he was
about to adopt, revealed himself in the latter year
unto a select circle of his followers as the Messiah.

In support of his claim he uttered the Tetragram-
maton—an act permitted only to the high priest in
the sanctuary on the Day of Atonement. Shabbathai
remained at Smyrna for some years after this event,
surrounded by a circle of fervent believers, but
with little if any influence outside of the district
in which he lived. He and his teachings were
widely watched by the Italian authorities, who
ultimately, considering that he had outlived the
permissible limits, excommunicated him and his
disciples on account of their heresy, and banished him from Smyrna. This occurred about
1654 (according to Graetz, 1651).

From Smyrna Shabbathai is believed to have
gone to Constantinople, supported in every sense
by his disciples and strengthened in particular by
the aid of the Rabbis. He professed to have gained
scientific knowledge and of mature years, and
Abraham Yaehini, a distinguished preacher, who,
by means of an alleged ancient MS of very doct-
ful authenticity, rendered Shabbathai still more
steadfast in the belief in his own divine mission.
It is doubtful whether Shabbathai, if he ever
intended to visit Constantinople, did so on this
occasion, but it is certain that he arrived at
Salonica, where mysticism was likely to find a
sympathetic audience and where he remained
about six months. From Salonica he proceeded
to Aleppo. Shortly after his landing he was
acclaimed as the Messiah. In Salonica Shabbathai
showed himself even more intoxicated with the
consciousness of his new rôle than he had been at
Smyrna, and his acts led here also to his practical
expulsion by the Rabbis. After leaving Salonica
the new Messiah spent some time wandering about
the Orient, promulgating his views and his claims
in every city that he visited and gaining adherents
in all parts. In 1660 he was in Cairo, where he
remained for about two years. There he gained a
valuable supporter in the person of Raphael Joseph
Chalebi of Aleppo, a mystic who had long awaited
almost with impatience the coming of the Messiah,
and whose wealth and influence were both ex-
tensive.

The approach of the apocalyptic year, 1666,
attracted Shabbathai to Jerusalem, where, sup-
pressing temporarily his extravagances, he built
up an influence over the people on less theatrical
bases. As the year 1666 he spread his influence
throughout the Jewish community, he was sent abroad to obtain funds for their
relief from an impending calamity, and the success of his mission rendered him all the more popular
among the grateful people in whose midst he was
sojourning. While he was in Egypt, he sent out
in yet another mission. A Polish Jewess, who at
the age of six had been left an orphan and whose
subsequent career was almost as romantic as that
of Shabbathai, was at the time in Leghorn, where
she was reputed to be living an immortal 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
now known to every Jew in Egypt. In a few years
she was heard to have reached Constantinople and
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.

Shabbathai thereupon returned to Palestine. Passing through in particular Cairo, he met
Benjamin Levi, otherwise known as Nathan
Gazati, who immediately became the leading ad-
vocate of the new Messiah and took unto himself
the rôle of Elijah, the forerunner of the Anointed.
One of his first steps was to announce the opening
of the Messianic Age for the following year, 1666.
This prophecy, together with many subsidiary ones,
was promulgated far and wide, spreading even to
the shores of the North Sea. These claims were,
however, not by any means encouraged by the
authorities at Jerusalem, and Shabbathai thought
it well to find a more congenial centre for his
activities. He returned to Smyrna, his journey
being taking the form of a triumphal progress
which culminated in a reception at his destination,
remarkable for its enthusiasm. At Smyrna, over-
whelmed by his reception, he put the final touch
to all the rumours that were current regarding his
divinity, and formally announced his Messiahship.
He was forthwith regarded with awe as the sole
ruler of the local Jewish community. Wherever Jews were to be found, the rise of
the new Messiah attracted attention. The business of the exchanges of Europe was neglected in order
that the latest of miracles might be discussed. The merchants of the North Sea ports wrote to their agents in the Levant for information. Tribute poured in upon the *King of Kings,* Edward I, had been sent to him from the four corners of the earth. In the synagogues he was publicly hailed as the Messiah, and those who doubted went in danger of their lives. Even among the Christians believers in his mission were to be found. In Hamburg Protestants went to their pastor and said: 'We have almost certain accounts not only from Jews, but also from our Christian correspondents at Smyrna, Aleppo, Constantinople, and elsewhere in the East that the new Messiah of whom the Jews talk and the Jews believe, and 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 (31:2), arose and exclaimed in Hebrew, a language with which they were supposed to have no acquaintance: 'Shabbathai Sebi is the true Messiah of the Race of David; to him the crown and the kingdom are given!' The daughters of R. Pehin, Shabbathai's bitter enemy, blessed the name of the Mahommedan seer. Some of 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 Constantinople, with a Controversy which he had previously made, and he distributed the kingdoms of the earth among his principal followers. As soon as he had landed on European soil, he was arrested by an officer of the Sultan, who placed him in chains, and it was in this condition that Shabbathai approached the capital. Despite his undignified landing, Shabbathai's popularity in no wise languished, and he was received by hosts of believers in his divinity, who, by the gifts which they brought, enabled the 'Messiah' to secure a considerable alleviation of the lot that would otherwise have fallen to him. Shabbathai's courage 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 all the petty notables of the city, and in which he and his adherents placed the capital. Despite this undignified landing, Shabbathai's popularity in no wise languished, and he was received by hosts of believers in his divinity, who, by the gifts which they brought, enabled the 'Messiah' to secure a considerable alleviation of the lot that would otherwise have fallen to him. Shabbathai's courage 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 all the petty notables of the city, and in which he and his adherents placed the capital.

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than one faith, he pursued a career of uncensuring war-
fare against Rabbinic Judaism, and in the peculiar
views to which he gave expression he described
himself as the re-incarnation of all the prophets and
Messianahs who had preceded him. In Turkey he
underwent an education which was the result of his
kabbalistic learning, and on the return to his birth-
place the remnants of the Shabbathian party, who
were known as Zoharites, appointed him their pro-
phet. The Talmudists, however, disapproved most
vehemently and forcibly of his teachings, which
were leading directly to the destruction of Judaism
and of morality in Poland. Frank and the Frank-
ists were excommunicated, but they found a power-
ful friend in the bishop of Kamenz, whom they
infringed by pretended points of strong ressem-
bance between their faith—which was bitterly
opposed to Rabbinic Judaism—and Christianity.
With his assistance the tables were turned, and
for a time the upper hand was gained over the
orthodox element in Jewry. With the death of
the bishop, however, another change came over
the fortunes of the parties. The position of the
Frankists became precarious, and in order to
secure the safety of his followers Frank instructed
them to remove to Moravia, on the advice of 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 prac-
tices in secret, the attention of the ecclesiastical
authorities was directed towards them. Frank
himself was arrested in 1769 on a charge of heresy
and imprisoned in the castle of Ceschtow, where
he remained for thirteen years. This imprison-
ment was probably the end of his public move-
ment 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 1791, latterly as the Baron of Offenbach, in
various continental capitals, always with an
immense retinue and a vast treasure, derived from
his position. In subsequent years his occasional
letters show how little belongs to his later history,
however, hardly belongs to the annals of Jewry,
his influence for Judaism had ceased long before his death. His followers, the Frankists, although for a time they kept up a movement with a certain amount of public
activity, were, however, for the most part, victims
of a persecution which has been uniformly judged
by the principal authorities of Judaism to have
been a most unfortunate event for the cause,
with this particular of the kabbalists and the Zohar,
and soon the mysteries of this literature took complete
possession of him and he firmly believed himself to be
divinely inspired. He even went so far as to
create a second Zohar, 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 leaders of orthodox
Judaism in Germany were scandalized and, after
some difficulty, brought pressure to bear upon the
newly arisen prophet to undertake to refrain from
preaching by the mere use of the word, the new
teachings. Luzzatto gave the desired promise, but was unable to observe it for
very long, and, when he once more reverted
again to the forbidden studies, he was excommunicated
by the board of Halakhic authorities. Very shortly
thereafter he was arrested by the government of
the Hapsburg empire, and after a short imprisonment
Luzzatto wandered to Pale-tine, where he died of
plague shortly after his arrival.

LITERATURE.—On the general subject of pseudo-Messianahs relatively
little has been written. The principal references to the
subject are to be found scattered in works on Jewish
history. *JEX* contains a general resume of the subject
with supplementary articles in other volumes dealing with
individual preceptors to the Messiahship. Pseudo-Messianahs in
general are also dealt with by Joannes A. Lenta, in *Scholastica
historico-biblica de Judorum Pseudo-Messianah*, Herborn,
1697; *M. Gaster, in J ewish Chronicle*, Feb. 11 and March 11,
1898; and A. M. Hyamson, *Golcln's Magazine*, cc. cxv.
[1879] 79-80. For this individual pseudo-Messianah, M. Kaufmann,
*Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig, 1868-78, Eng. tr., London, 1891,
should be consulted. In addition, *JEX*, 1890, xxv., art.
xxv.; 1 Ex. *JEX* 8, ii. 2, and E. Schäfrer, *JEX*, i.
189. For Donmeh see *S. Krauss, in REJ*, 1885, 189-22;
A. Büchler, *29, 290-308*; R. *A. Frank, in Medizin, 1892,
189. For Frank see also in *JEX*, 1894, xxv., art.
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METALS AND MINERALS.

I. 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 likened as munificence and insignificance when compared with those which followed the discovery of metals by the men of the stone age; and with the finding of the art of extracting metal from ore human culture was revolutionized. 1

Possibly the first attempts at utilizing metals were made by applying a modification of hammer-work on stone to fragments of surface ore. Copper and its alloys, especially a native bronze, would naturally be observed first; but the usual order of discovery is lead, then tin, then silver, then gold. This 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.

The importance to humanity of 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 metalliciferous ground, would reduce the overtopping ore to a metallic state. 2 But, with the discovery of fire-making, there are many possibilities, and various lines of discovery may have converged. Gowland suggests that the origin of metal-working may be found in the camp-fires of the Neolithic age. 3 When those were made and the metalliciferous soil, the lumps of metal melted out would at once attract the attention of a stone-working people, and the bows of the stone hammer on the hot and malleable metal 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 a primitive appreciation of the marvels of science, in connexion with the working of them and of their wrought products, would redound upon an early man with the results usually found when superstition meditates on critical things. The body of beliefs about metals and, in a less degree, minerals is enormous, but reducible to a few simple types which are found everywhere and survive in peasant psychology to this day. Special properties of this or that metal or mineral are taken into account, and cultural reactions of all kinds modify the various beliefs and usages. These may be typically exemplified without unnecessary multiplication.

In common with all skilled crafts in early culture, the miner and the worker in metal are regarded with wonder, and often with its entailed superstitions.

Among the Bantus of the Upper Congo no one is allowed to step over a smith's fire or blow it with his mouth; such acts would pollute the fire and cause bad workmanship. The smith is supposed to use witchcraft in order to perform his smithing well. Neighbouring peoples simply regard the smith with respect. 5 Some African smiths form sacred gods; the mythical Water-Drums of Scandinavia are a natural dedication, as is part at least of the figure of the Greek Hephaistos.

The taboos attached to the working of metals, to mining, and to ore and metal themselves.

The tin-mines of Malaysia have a remarkable code of tabus and body of superstition. But there are others which, according to the Chinese workers, who, however, as will be seen, have a similar faith. The ore must be kept moist and be allowed to grow, to be able to move from place to place, to reproduce itself, and to have special likes or affinities for certain people and things, and vice versa. Hence the tin-miner is supposed 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 may be produced without being obtained by its own knowledge. 6 Of the talmed arts observed by the miners, the chief act would be possibly may be killed in the mine; that the arrow may not be put on; that shoes may not be worn, or an umbrella used. Numerous charms are employed in the business, for the purpose of clearing away evil spirits and to induce the ore to show itself. 7 The Malay panjang ('medicine-man'), 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 strewing each ore as existed, and of turning it into mere grain of sand.' No one but him was allowed to wear a black coat at the mine. He used a special language (bahasa pantang, 'tana language') for his professional duties, and he sat in a wonderful 'home' tin. 8 Sometimes each separate grain of ore was credited with personality. 9 It was believed that tin could 'announce its presence by a peculiar noise heard within the stillness of nature.' The tin is described as a buffalo, in shape which it makes its way underground, this being perhaps a sophistication of the bole. In Sumatra the spirits of the gods and mines are treated as much as reverence as the spirits of the tin-miners in the Malay Peninsulas. Tin, ivory, and the like are regarded as the property of the miners to the men of the societies of their operation, for at the sight of tin things the spirits of the mine would cause the gold to disperse: in some cases, for example, the spirit of gold, a deep silence must be observed; no commands may be given or questions asked, probably because the removal of the precious metal is regarded as a theft, which the spirits would punish if they caught the thieves in the act. Certainly the Dyaks believe that gold has a soul which seeks to avenge itself on men who dig the precious metal. 10

In Manipur the iron-ore deposits are under the protection of an amma lat ('forest god'), who is propitiated before the iron is worked. 11 He capriciously moves the iron about. His symbol is a piece of iron a few inches square. The lat-hara (pleasing the god) is an annual festival. The first thing to be done is to bring the lat into a state of activity, ordinarily speaking he is supposed to remain inert, unless offended in any way. He 'particularly affects two plants called Leisang Irrel and Langtheli, and when he is about to please the Leirangha, a specially selected official, has to fetch them.' The plants are placed in the house of the lat, and then taken in a brass vessel by an old lady to the river. She washes about, suddenly stings, and then emerges with a vessel full of water. The god has now come. 12 A procession with music is made to the lat-house ('god's place'). The god's servants or priests are supposed to take the god's buiten (pieces of iron) set out. By them is placed the vessel, and a service of prayer and praise is celebrated, after the lighting of a sacred fire for the sacrifices. The god's servants take out two old women, termed mattha, who are often inspired by him and babble incoherently. If a man is similarly possessed by the god, he is known as mattha and during the waiting of the god he wears a calabash adorned with a nuti. Dramatic performances and the list of events. 13

The last example is a perfect one for showing the development of a ritualized cult, the organization 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 defiled, this is hardly to be inferred here or elsewhere.

The god appears to be rather the owner of the site, resembling the Hebrew Baals.

The Malay regarded gold in a similar way. The god spirit is 'believed to be under the care of the god and the care of the spirit of the earth, or god.' It has the form of a golden rooster. 14 The theriomorphous is analogous to that of tin.

The same ideas are found at the other sides of the world.

Gold was regarded by the Central Americans as possessed of 'divine qualities,' among other things, and this was permitted to be attributed to gold. 15

2. Skene, op. cit., 261.
An interesting detail with regard to the personality of metals is supplied by Malay superstition. The Malays believe that so long as gold is in the earth it has a soul. When the gold is taken by man, the soul flies away. 1 The idea is parallel to the story of the soul of the corn-spirit leaves John Barleycorn when he is ground, if not when he is reaped. The idea is elaborated in Celebes, on the principle that the soul may be retained and will assist the usefulness of the implements when made.

Among the Alorers of Celebes iron-working is a prominent industry. Iron is credited with a soul, which is apt to desert the article unless the iron is polished with a piece of yellow damar. It is claimed that a bundle of iron (gods), consisting of wooden imitations of iron implements, and in this the soul of the iron resides. 2 "If we did not hang the names over the anvil, the iron would flow away and be unworkable" on account of the absence of the soul. 3

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 shen ('soul') of animal or human shape, and this figure is either the mineral or a spirit guarding it. 'Gold, Jack, and pearls' are the fairs of heaven on Earth. 4

A particular development is towards the Scandinavian idea of genius loci. As tales of silver and of 'woman in white'; when they were attacked and knocked down, they disappeared, and silver mines were found on the spot. 5

The same kind of analogy of various metals with various things, according to colour or other properties. The Greeks of to-day call jaunmice 'the golden disease,' and heal it on the homeopathic principle with a decoction from an English sovereign, English gold being the best. 6

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. 7 A Malay recipe for turning brass into gold is to kill a wild pig, and sew up in it a quantity of 'scraps' of old brass or silver, when the grass has grown over the remains, 'dig up the gold.' 8 Paracelsus made a magic ring of a mixture of all metals joined under certain conditions, and Van Helmont concocted a ring of magical metal which cured disease. 9 An obvious connection is practically universal between gold and the sun, silver and the moon. Silver is the lunar metal; hence peasants like to have silver in their pockets when they see the new moon, and to turn it for luck, i.e., deshriving throughout the world magnetic iron and ore have excited wonder.

The relative value of the familiar metals is the same in superstition and ordinary usage. It is interesting to note that the Hindus regarded alloys as impure, and never used them for religious purposes. 10 Here may be detected the notion of mixture, adulteration, as a component of the idea of impurity. Another popular division of metals is into 'hard' (base), and 'soft.' Here we consider gold 'the most genuine matter.' 11 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 preponderates over the mechanical importance of iron.

A similar preoccupation is shown in the genealogies of the metals. Mythology connects gold and silver from the union of water and fire. 12 In Chinese philosophy tin is produced by the influence of the feminine principle in nature, being clased 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 converted into silver. It is sometimes said that wine kept in tin vessels has a poisonous action on man, which proves that the arsenic had not been completely transformed into tin. 13

This notion of transmutation of metals is a curious parallel to modern discoveries of the degeneration of radium into a series of radon metals. The search of the alchemists for the philosopher's stone included a similar hypothesis. 14

According to the Pahāvi Bṛhadāraṇyaka, gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver, and adamant arise from the various members of the death-combustion; and an excess of the pursuit of gold it is produced from the life and seed. 15 The Pahāvi Sāyajit-Uyāsāyajit speaks (xxv. 15) of the duty of 'prophylactic' melted metal, i.e., practicing habits of the heart as unsmirched and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon it, it does not burn. 16 But the ordeal shows a simpler metal, especially gold and silver, is a counterpart of Shatvarī himself in the world. 17 From the divided body of Indra, the fire of heaven, earth metals, metals water, and water wood. The idea of impure 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 or metallic implements, the analogy of their relative value and efficiency—gold and silver and steel—seems to predominate. The Satāpatha Bṛāhmaṇa lays down that the slaughterings-knife for the horse should be of gold, that for the perry in copper, and that for the other sacrifices to Prajāpati of iron. Gold is a symbol of the nobility, copper of heralds, messengers, and the like, iron of the peasantry. 18 The intrinsic value of gold, its brilliance, analogous to fire and the sun, connect it with vitality. Hence its extraordinary popularity. On the day among the Chinese, in the form of lead, dust, decoction, or grease. It is placed in the mouth of the dead to assist revivification and to delay decomposition. 19 The Chinese also put mercury in collins in order to preserve the body. 20 With no knowledge of embalming they endeavour to insulate, as it were, the coffin against decay. The use of quicksilver may be referred to the analogy between a moving and apparently living metal of worth and organic life. British folklore advises rubbing ringworm with silver. 21

Metals, in virtue of their various properties, are used both as medicines and as amulets, in either case dependent on magical notions. The Burnese believe that this metal, used by them in itself protective, and base metals may be used in default of precious. 22 Lumps 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. 23 For a person to wear something, as a part of himself, which has a value of its own, adds to his own value and resisting power. On the same line of reasoning, metals of worth are the more useful in warding off ghostly enemies. In European as in Senitic folklore, fire the occasion of a vigorous bullet against a witch is one of silver, or a crooked sixpence; 24 but all metals have efficacy in this direction.

The property of resistance is common to most metals; the precious metals possess the further properties of beauty and value. The strength and hardness of iron make it a favourite charm. 25

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2. *EBE*, v. (1809) 152.
5. Gowland, *JRASMA* xliii. 965 ff.; *EBE*, xiii. 263.
7. *EBE*, xvi. 10 f.
10. *EBE*, xxi. 188 f.
To keep off evil spirits, mourners in India carry a piece of iron—a key or a knife or any iron object. In Scotland after a death a piece of iron was placed in all the provisions in the house to prevent death from entering them, and similar sentiments obtain in Ceylon and Morocco. 1 When Scotch fishermen return to sea, one said to take the use of iron. In the Atharvaveda, the first man who heard him called out "Cast a stone," at which every man of the crew grasped the nearest bit of iron, and he placed it in a cleft in the boat to prevent death. In Scotland there survives a queer superstition about "pigs" and "iron." It is unlucky to utter the words "son," "sister," or "pig" and then hear a man do so; you must say "Cold iron." 2

It is a more coincidence that in modern medicine iron is used as a tonic and that in early culture its "strength" was absorbed by men.

The people of Ceylon wear iron arm-rings to keep off evil spirits. The same principle is used in China.

Long iron nails are used by the Malays to protect newborn infants, betel-nut scissors to drive away iron spirits from the dead. One nail is put in a new child before a man wets it to drink it. When eating alone in the forest a man will sit on his hat to keep off evil spirits. This is not a "confirm" itself. Such iron implements are called "representatives of iron." Scrap of iron is used in ointments for curing the sick.

The supernatural power of a sharp instrument is to be a virtue of the intrinsic power of iron and steel as such.

Lead appears but rarely in superstition. The Atharvaveda speaks 3 of a charm against demons and sorcerers by means of lead. Here, as in many other magical and classical antiquity, the softness and malleability of the metal, and perhaps its weight, were possibly connected with ideas of image-making, for which it is as convenient as wax.

The practice of injuring a person by damaging his sword, or any other object is ever found by the side of shrines is common objects of Greek and Roman superstition; a leaden arrow, in classical belief, destroyed love. 4

The virtues of metal may be enhanced, as is common in the last-cited cases, by the form and purpose of the manufactured article. The ring has the additional advantage of encasing and keeping safe; the coin has the further value of currency and of the personality whose head is stamped on it by the British folklorist, the refined "touch" for King's Evil by using crowns. The head of King Charles I. Sufferers from paralysis or rheumatism collected copper wire from the church-door, and these were wound into silver rings which were worn to cure the infirmity. 5

The necromantic properties of metals have also been important in popular religion.

The idea that the sound of brass or iron has power to purify spirits to flight prevailed also in classical antiquity, from which it may have been inherited by medieval Christianity.
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 fetishes and vehicles of magic is very widely spread; but, as it demands a special treatment, 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 swallow them or rub their heads with them to acquire their vital power. Magic and worship are closely connected with sacred stones. The stone is not the rut (the spirit) nor is the rut in the stone, but there is a connexion. The stone is, as it were, the "outside part" or organ of the rut, and the owner of such a stone is its priest. These stones are kept in houses in order to bring in rain to the inmates. There are special stones for promoting the growth of the crops and for bringing rain or sunshine. The stone is rubbed with food—e.g., corn—so as to induce it to act. Food placed on a stone and then eaten gives means to the eater.

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 manipulated; the medicine-man cures a disease by pretending to extract such a stone from the patient's body. In some tribes every man carried a round black pebble of magically powerful force, buff: placing this in contact with anything causing trouble was said to extract the magic force from body, precluding its death or sickness. Rock-crystal, or quartz, is a favourite material for these purposes. Australian medicine-men use black stones for obtaining rain, curing diseases, and poisoning water. To cure disease they would extract a piece of rock-crystal, alleging that a hostile sorcerer had placed it on the body. To cure sickness, he would take a piece of rock-crystal and spits it towards the sky. White quartz was used for the purpose in Queensland. The stones are fixed to a stick and placed at the bottom of a pool, while in some parts a quartz crystal is ground to powder, which is scattered over the women, who pretend that it is rain. The liquid appearance of the crystal possibly suggested its connexion with rain. The Wawandis of Central Africa around a rain-stone or pebble to procure rain, and pegs are usually painted on the body in a stick or on a piece of wood. In New Guinea a "wind-stone" is tapped with a stick to produce wind. If it were struck heavily, a hurricane would result. The people of Vancouver have a number of stones, each representing a particular wind, and the required wind is obtained by slightly moving the corresponding stone. Pebbles, being obviously suitable for counting (cf. calculus), are naturally used as representatives of persons; in Scottish folklore at Halloween each member of a family is represented by a stone. In Greece a black stone is placed on the head to produce strength, and people carry stones on their heads while journeying over the bounds of the water.

The use of crystals of quartz or other mineral for "seeing" is world-wide, and need no special illustration here (see Art. CRYSTAL-GAZING). Again the analogy between the crystal and the liquid state.

In the Middle Ages the term "bezoar" covered mineral as well as animal concretions. One variety was the "mouldstone," curative of madness and poisoning. The adder-stone was worn to cure whooping-cough, amber to ward off crops, the snake-stone to remove serpent's poison, the lead-stone to cure rheumatism, in recent Scottish custom. Precious stones particularly have in all ages commanded interest by their unique beauty of colour, sparkle, or phosphorescence. The Greeks were "amethysts" to prevent intoxication.

Exhibitions into Central Australia, London, 1850, ii. 316, 329.
  a L. P. Cameron, in J.A.S. xiv. 302.
  c "Gipsy," in the Mag. Art, 186.
  d "Gipsy," in the Mag. Art, 186.
  e "Gipsy," in the Mag. Art, 186.
  f "Gipsy," in the Mag. Art, 186.
  g "Gipsy," in the Mag. Art, 186.
  h "Gipsy," in the Mag. Art, 186.
  i "Gipsy," in the Mag. Art, 186.

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-medicinal properties, as a source of vital energy (yang) to facilitate revival and retard decomposition, such being jade, jasper, nephrite, and agate. Jade, the most precious mineral, being identified with the heavens, intensifies the souls, or Shen, of those in contact with it; and the same was the case with gold, sometimes identified with jade.

When the Sovereign facts, the jade which he swallowing is procured by the Manager of the Jade Store.

This would accelerate his intercourse with disembodied Shen, the object of his fast. There were many stories of a luminous variety of jade.

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Salt has been much used in sacrifice, indicating the analogy between sacred and ordinary meals. Molot solon was offered by the Latins to the Iares, and salt was sprinkled by Greeks and Latins on the head of the sacrificial animal. On the other hand, the Rabha Chin, in the 3rd cent., stated that in the Yachi, salt was partly mixed with the salt and sulphur of Sodom, which blinds the person whose eyes it touches. We thus get the two poles usually found belonging to sacred substances, positive and negative, optimum and pessimum.

Salt has been widely used in protective and curative magic, and the association of ideas may be the same as is seen in the word preserves.

Lao and Siamese women after childbirth washed themselves daily in salt water, being a protection against sickness. Moors carry salt in the dark to keep off ghosts, and in Teutonic countries it is placed near infants to protect them. In Morocco it is put in the wheat stack and left from ear to ear, and is sprinkled on the hand-nail before grinding the corn. British folk-customs have the charm of carrying salt with them round a baby before taking it to be baptized.

Salt is a cure for many sicknesses, and procures disenchantment. Like blood and iron, it is a favourite medium for the oath; in early Teutonic custom the sweater dipped his finger in salt, and then took the oath.

As with other trades, secrecy has attached to salt-mining.

In Asia salt miners observe continence and other tabus. In ancient Greece salt-waiking was a sacred business. The peoples of Central America worshipped a 'godness,' Huichol-bast, of salt, who was believed to have invented the pan-

Prohibitions against the use of salt are instructive for the theory of taboo. Certain professions, and persons in certain states, are forbidden to use salt, as they are forbidden other critical substances.

Mothers may eat no salt among Hindus, Africans, and other peoples. Priests and medicine-men (as among the Egyptians, the Moors, and S. Americans) may eat no salt throughout their lives. The salt-tap of the Egyptian priesthood is especially emphasized. When travelling, the Central African coast may use salt. If he did, and his neighbours were well, the salt would act as a corrosive poison. During the ceremonies of fructification among the Yuchi Indians of California, continence and abstinence from salt are ordered, as is also the case after a solemn communion with a god by the Huichol Indians. No salt may be used in cooking the flesh of the beast or any food at the Gilyak Bear Festival. Some Dayaks after taking heads may eat no salt, or touch iron, or have intercourse with women whose fathers have the same combined tabus. In Indian ritual the young student, after his teacher has taught him the newly-married pair must abstain from salted food for three days.

The following is a luminous instance of the etiology of the associations of salt.

Among the Nyanga-speaking tribes of British Central Africa the Ychie, a metal of great use, has the character of salt. After her seclusion she is married. On the wedding night she puts salt in the wine which she drinks, and this is set out next morning for relatives to rub on themselves, though not if the husband is impotent.

On this and similar customs, viz. that women at their period may not put salt in food, lest husband and children contract a disease, Frazer says:

1 J. Barmage, Hist. des élèves depuis S€me-Crist, The Hague, 1716-26, vi. 1224.
3 A. Lecare, Morocco and the Moors, London, 1876, p. 275; Black, p. 131.
5 Westermarck, pp. 57, 31, 47.
6 Black, p. 131. 7 Grimm, Ill. 1049.
7 G. H., ibid. Tabou, p. 200. 8 Grimm, ill. 1047.
14 J. H. van Schuyver.
17 G. H., vii, Battles the Beautiful, i. 207, quoting R. S. Rally.

Abstinence from salt is somehow associated with the idea of chastity. Primitive man connects salt with the intercourse of the sexes and therefore forbids the use of that condiment in a variety of circumstances.

A psychological analysis is assisted by the Rabbinical theory of Kilayim, the mixture of things differing in species or substance, and by the principle of the salt and fish. The metaphor and between Apollo and Dionysus in Greek thought. Persons in a crisis must be shut out; the keynote of chastity is avoidance of alien influence, of mixture. The Apolline ideal is static, that of Dionysian dynamic.

The veneration of the latter god celebrated orgies with consumption of flesh, wine, and blood. The principle of the organ, whether alcoholic, cannibal, flesh-eating, or sexual, is distinctly stimulation of a human energy to the utmost degree. Movement and change are among its characteristics; and, in a humble way, salt, as producing chemical change, is in the list of dynamic vehicles. In connexion with sexual intercourse it is analogous to heaven; there is some idea of the process of fermentation, so to say, about the sexual act, as well as the expenditure of vital energy in an ultra-
dynamic process.

Alum and sulphur are used, but in a far less degree, as magical substances. Alum is an Egyptian charm against the evil eye, and both are employed in Morocco to protect plunging oxen from the evil eye. Cinnabar was used in Greek charms for producing invisibility.

The use of coloured oehres, chalk, pipeclay, gypsum, kaolin, and other earths for decorating the body on ceremonial occasions is very widely spread in the lower culture. Magical ideas naturally attach to bituminous deposits and such sources of rock-oil as are found in Western Asia.

Chinese folklore includes magical use of oil.

3 In metaphor.—The metaphysical and mimmlal world has naturally developed a large literature of metaphor. Gold is in the OT a symbol of purity, of nobility, and of value, and 'brass' (bronze or copper) is used in the OT as a symbol of hardness. Iron connotes strength and severity—'a rod of iron,' ' a yoke of iron,' 'wails of iron,' 'an iron sinew.' A teacher of the law, said the Rabbs, must be as hard as iron. Being also breakable into pieces, it is a symbol of the Tórrah with its numerous parts.

The symbolism of DN 2 and 7 comparing the kingdoms of the world to metals was popular in medieval literature.

10 Gold is Babylon; silver is Media; copper is Greece; iron is not mentioned either at the time of the First or of the Second Temple, since it symbolizes Edom (Rome), which had destroyed the Temple. 11 The treasure had a larger series of ages—gold, silver, brass, copper, tin, steel, iron. 12 Philo elaborated a metallic symbolism: gold is wisdom; copper perception. 13 The Sabins associated each planet with a metal, of which the statues of the planetary god were made, and in Mythology the soul passed through seven gates, each of a different metal—lead, tin, bronze, iron, alloy, silver, and gold—and each corresponding to a planet as well as to a psychic quality. 14 Jefes famous metallic series of the ages of the world inspired a considerable literature. The first age, which was the best, was golden; that in which
we live is iron. The principle behind this is aesthetic.

In Italy Saturn and in Greece Cronus was believed to have been a king who dwelt in heaven or on earth during the blissful Golden Age; when men passed their days like gods, without toil or sorrow, when life was a long round of festivity, and the gods walked naked in the street. The death of an old chief, slumbering in a tent, announced the end of none of his sad successors, the aments and intimacies of age.


A. E. CRAWLEY.

METAMORPHOSIS. — 1. Evidence for the belief. — Metamorphosis, transformation, or shape-shifting, is a concept 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 subjects; and in the incident, e.g., in the *Transformation Combat* or the *True Bride* cycle; in existing folk-belief, whether among savages or the peonage; in the writings of modern travellers, explorers, and missionaries, as well as in folklore in Babylonian, 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, whatever they represent, 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 European peasant 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 so (see LYCANTHROPY). Among certain peoples, however, the belief is literally in 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. This aspect of the subject is fully discussed under LYCANTHROPY.

While metamorphosis into animal form is more general, that into tree, plant, or flower is also found here and there. Besides this, numerous myths and tales from all parts of the world explain the origin of some tree or plant by saying that it sprang from the body—the arm, leg, head, or blood of some human being. Similarly, men are sometimes held to have sprung 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 that trees often do grow from the barrows of the dead. They are supposed to be tended by the dead man's spirit or are identified with the man himself.


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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 commoner in folk-tales than this—but it is sometimes meted out as a punishment, though transformation for this reason is generally the act of the gods. Shape-shifting transformation may be for a longer or shorter period, but it is often of a permanent character.

Instances are found at all levels of culture. Classical mythology knew many punishments for impiety. The incident enters also into Christian tradition, though it is derived from earlier sources. Thus Christ is represented as the man 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 of the modern peoples it is said to be human beings changed to stone for some act of impiety —the idea of the punishment originating in the belief that the stones embody ghosts of the dead virtues. Other instances of petrification, in some cases also for a punishment, are found in all mythologies—Australian, American Indian, Greek, Hebrew, etc. The idea of petrification may be connected with the fact that many rocks rear some resemblance to human form. In folktales the power of petrifying is usually in the hands of witch or wizard, and a touch with a wand, binding the victim with the 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 high gods to the demons. In the Aryan, Polytheist, Peruviance, Celtic, Greek, Hindu, Egyptian, etc., there was no limitation 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 the duty of gods. The Edwin, the Sun-god, in Egypt, men looked forward to being able to assume any form in a future life, like the gods. The gods, too, as has been seen, had the power of causing metamorphosis as a punishment to men.

(c) Demons and wer-animal dreams were also believed to have similar powers. The *jinn* of Arabia, the *bhkts* of India, the devils of early and medieval Christianity, the water-horses and other monstrous beings of popular belief, can assume any shape to carry out their purpose. The idea that 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 the idea of animal transformation (see ANIMALS, vol. 1, p. 430*).

(d) Animals themselves are sometimes believed to be capable of self-transformation. This is true of the fox in Japan and China and of the tiger in Madagascar, etc. (see under various terms), and many 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 MacCulloch, CP, p. 171 ff.). Examples of this are found not only in European and Asiatic folk-tales, but in Sanoque, 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 shows that man's idea of personality, or perhaps rather of the forms in which personality may lurk, is an exceedingly fluid one. There has everywhere been a stage of human thought when no clear distinction was drawn between man and the rest of the universe, between human and animal, between animate and inanimate. A. J. Evans, 'The Rollstone Rights and their Folklore,' FL vi. (1850) 146.


INANIMATE. In this stage of thought inanimate 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 equally alive by virtue of the possession of such a thing. Such a stage is undoubtedly 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. There was thus obtained a 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 what 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. The conception of the kinship of a human clan and an animal or plant species, has given rise to various myths which are rooted in this primitive stratum of thought, and in turn have served to deepen it. Thus it is said that at first animals were as men, as the Algonquins say, and only later took animal form. As the Hareskins Indians think, in the beginning men were animals and animals were men, but afterwards changed their roles. According to the Zunis, all things were originally animals, but now men, trees, etc., are degenerate animals with souls which can leave their bodies.

Again, men were once animals who became men—a common Polynesian belief. Where a clan of one animal dislike the animal which is the totem of another distant clan, they may come to regard the men of that clan as possessed of its nature and liable to assume its form. In all such cases, whether totemistic in origin or not, it is easy to see that men and animals might be supposed to revert temporarily to the other forms which once were theirs.

It is also possible that an analogy between the habits of certain animals and those of human beings, in life or death, or actors, may have aided the belief in metamorphosis. Thus, the place of a man which was supposed to return to the house in which they lived and which is also the haunt of such animals as snakes or rats, it is easy to imagine that these animals and man might be confused, and the same is case in Zaireland 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 mediaeval 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 werewolf superstition was largely moulded out of such cases of mania (see Lycanthropy, § 3).


The custom of dressing in an animal skin at sacred dances, or before a bear hunt, 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. Such beliefs the medicine-men have often strengthened the belief by exploiting it—e.g., dressing as an animal, imitating its howls and its actions.

In practice the belief in the power of metamorphosis of men is generally limited to the medicine-man, sorcerer, etc., who transforms his victims usually by a spell, talisman, or potion. Self-transformation is caused in magical and diablistical. Sometimes, however, it is the result of a divine, supernatural, or demoniac gift. See, for a further discussion and examples, the art. Lycanthropy; cf. also Transmigration.

MATERNITY.—It is not easy to give a quite satisfactory definition of metaphysics. The same throws no real light on what is referred originally merely to the order of some Aristotelian treatises; but it suggests that the subject is concerned with topics that can be properly dealt with only after the more special sciences (which are the exact 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 of it into three parts: (1) the general nature of knowledge, (2) the conception of reality and its chief applications, and (3) the bearings of metaphysics on other subjects, especially ethical and religious.

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 since the time of Kant, to contrast knowledge with belief, and 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 expressed by the terms 'simple apprehension and judgment, immediacy and mediacy,' 'acquaintance and description,' 'enjoyment and contemplation,' 'experiencing and experienced.' It may be well to take the last of these first. Whenever there is knowledge of any kind, there is some one who knows. 2 See M. Debroff, L'Art de comprendre, Paris, 1890, ii, 77; H. M. Dorrance, The Origin of Primitive Superstitions, Philadelphia, 1891, p. 249; cf. Lycanthropy, § 3.

2. These are the antitheses that are emphasized by R. G. 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 the distinct object of that knowledge, not only that something is apprehended, but that he apprehends it. What exactly he is, and what the something is that he apprehends, are matters for further consideration; but the general fact can hardly be disputed. Now, when any one reflects further upon his knowledge, and especially when by intercourse with his fellowmen he is able to compare his own knowledge with that of others, he very soon comes to realize that some of the things he apprehends are directly 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, i.e. object, independent of the particular nature 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 such things as space and time, and there is still stronger objection 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 objects as being more clearly belonging to ourselves, but being simply objects that we contemplate; and others as being more peculiarly our own, things that we have or enjoy, things that are not merely experienced, but that are bound up with our attitude as experiencing. The things that appear to be most emphatically in the latter class are such characteristics as pleasantness and unpleasantness, beauty and ugliness, emotional experiences, values; but the division between these and such experiences as those of taste, smell, colour, etc., is not a very sharp one. Hence, instead of placing objects in one or other of these divisions, we may be led rather to recognize a subjective and an objective aspect in all modes of consciousness.

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 the pain 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 he may be, and however the object of his experience is to be described or interpreted. Every man is in some degree a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and he cannot have any doubt about the grief with which he is acquainted, though he may be quite unable to analyze or describe it, or to explain how it has arisen. As soon as we begin to analyze, to describe, and to explain, however, we realize that it is a matter of doubt that I call my grief should be more properly characterized as simple unpleasantness or as resentment or remorse; and, when I think that I am grieving over my neighbour's misfortunes, I may, in reality be considering rather the way in which they affect myself. Knowledge ceases to be immediate as soon as it ceases to be the simple apprehension of something and becomes, implicitly or explicitly, a judgment about something. Here also, however, we have to recognize differences of degree.

Though we may conceivably be in error in thinking that grief is the right name for what we are experiencing, yet, if we are really acquainted with grief, we can hardly be mistaken in thinking that what we apprehend is of a general kind as what we have experienced before, but we may easily pass to something that we cannot so immediately know. When Lady Constance says, 'Grief fills the place up of my absent child,' we are not likely to be ignorant of what she means by grief, and we can partly apprehend what the rest of her statement means; but, if we have never had any similar experience, our apprehension has very little immediacy. We may even be inclined to doubt whether we record the real meaning at all. It is a description of something that might be apprehended, but with which we do not happen to be acquainted.

Now, the various theories of knowledge turn largely on the distinction between what is immediate and what is mediate, and between what is subjective and what is objective. One theory of knowledge which, in different forms, has played a very conspicuous part in the history of philosophy is to the effect that we have no immediate knowledge of anything but what is essentially subjective. One of the most extreme forms of this theory is found in the doctrines of Descartes, that the only thing of which we are immediately certain is the existence of the self as a conscious being. What he really brings out, however, is rather that everything of which we are immediately conscious certainly exists as something apprehended. What thus certainly exists is a complex, including certain objects that are apprehended and the fact of their apprehension. But Descartes considered that the objects thus apprehended might be properly described as being 'in the mind,' and that the individual mind should be regarded as a persistent thing within which such objects are contained; and he called the objects 'ideas.' He was thus led to think that the individual mind exists both as something known, i.e. as an 'idea,' and as something that persists in a way that is independent of its being immediately known, whereas the other objects that are known are known only as having what he calls 'objective reality,' i.e. the kind of reality which consists simply in their being immediately known. But he recognized that some of the objects he carry with them the suggestion of a more complete reality than that which belongs to them in the simple fact of their immediate apprehension; and he sought, by various arguments, to give grounds

1 The lack of words to distinguish properly between the subjective and the objective aspects of cognition has been a great hindrance to the development of a science of human psychology. Sensation, e.g., has had to do much both for sensing and for what is sensed; and it is only very recently that it has become common to distinguish between perception and conception. Even now, we do not readily grasp what Goethe meant when he said that all the sciences together (subjective activity) may not bring us to thought (the apprehension of an objective concept). It is largely the failure to realize this distinction that makes it so difficult for most people to understand such an 'Idealism' 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 The difficult subject of error, its nature and conditions, cannot be here discussed. But see the references given at the end of this article.
METAPHYSICS

to justify the belief in this more complete kind of reality. In doing this, he founded the doctrine which has been referred to as that of 'representative ideas,' which had a great influence on subsequent speculation. According to this doctrine, the individual mind may be compared to a picture-galler. The galler is the picture of itself, and that must be supposed to have been always in it. Some others, such as that of God, must also be supposed to have been always there. Some may be supposed to have been painted by itself. Some are double, but, in particular, there is not a sense of them. But there are some that appear to be portraits, and these may be supposed to be the portraits of other beings outside the mind, and to have been, as it were, handed in by them. This is no doubt, a somewhat crude way of stating it; but it appears to be substantially what Descartes sought to maintain, and, with some modifications, it reappears in the writings of several other philosophers. Berkeley dealt it a severe blow by contending that, if we see pictures only in a gallery, we have no ground for supposing that they ever exist in any other way than in a gallery; and Hume improved on this by arguing that, if we see only the pictures, the whole notion is that of a metaphor 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 identical, so that what is immediately apprehended by us at any time. We have to recognize certain fundamental orders, such as those of space, time, and causation, which carry as beyond our immediate data and inevitably suggest a coherent system of connections. In his "Kritik of Idealism" he urges, against Descartes and Berkeley, that the recognition of such a coherent order is more directly involved in the apprehension of objects distinct from the self than in the apprehension of the object itself, and that our knowledge of the persistent reality of the object must, consequently, be regarded as derivative. He contends, however, that the order that we are bound to recognize in the objects which we apprehend is an order that can never be completely systematized, and must, consequently, be treated as 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 Kant called the logical realism, i.e. the doctrine that everything that we in any way cognize has a kind of reality which is not simply to be identified with the fact that it is immediately apprehended at a particular moment.

The acceptance of a doctrine of this kind gives a new interest to the study of the objects of cognition. So long as these objects are regarded merely as a flow of presentations, the interest in them is very much less than purely psychological—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 Meinong Gegenstandstheorie. It is the attempt to distinguish and arrange the different kinds of objects that we apprehend. It is obvious that there is a very great variety of such objects, and that these objects understood in its most comprehensive sense. We apprehend, e.g., a great variety of sense-data—sounds, colours, pains, strains, and so forth; we apprehend a great variety of perceptions—stones, plants, animals, etc.; we apprehend orders, such as those of time and space, intensive and qualitative 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 metaphysics. The possibility, 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 Gegenstandstheorie leads to the recognition that, in one sense at least, there is no meaning in the antithesis between the real and the unreal. As Parmenides, it may be urged, philosophy is not to be thought of 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 even of the parts. This is, consequently, the more true of the parts of an organic unity. We could not be said to know much about 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 mental and the empirical apprehension of a part, 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 the characteristic features of objects of our cognition, we are at least trying to regard them as forming a complete cosmos, such that every object has a definite place in the total order; and constructive metaphysics, as distinguished from Gegenstandstheorie, tries to find the way in which the objects of our experience can be so regarded. Here we are met at the outset by various forms of scepticism. Such a scepticism as that of Hume, no doubt, is effectively removed by a more thoroughgoing doctrine of knowledge, such as that of Kant. But even Kant ends with the view that our knowledge is only of appearance, and that we can never hope to apprehend things as they are in themselves; and such an antiscpticism is defended, in different ways, by a considerable number of
philosophical writers. If it is strictly pressed, it means that we have to be content with the theory of the later Pragmatist philosophers. 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 Gegenstands-theorie, not having completely freed himself from 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' point of view. Bergson, again, while agreeing with the Pragmatists that our purely intellectual beliefs are based on practical needs, thinks that it is possible to reach a more perfect knowledge by modifying the idea of a world which connects him with such earlier philosophers as Plotinus 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 cosmos and knowledge of the cosmos. Yet the attempt continues to be made; and Kant at least recognized that, however futile it may be, it is hardly possible for the human intelligence to refrain from trying it, when the scientific interest has been fully developed. All that can be done here, however, is to indicate some of the chief ways in which this attempt has been made.

The earliest attempt at a constructive theory of the cosmos, and certainly one of the most interesting and remarkable, is that which is set forth in the *Upanisads*. 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 poetic language and parable; hence 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 the doctrine shows itself clearly in the conception of a long series of successive embodiments, gained a firm hold on Eastern thought. It is a view to which Western thought also has recurred from time to time; but in general Western thought starts rather from the multiplicity of existing things, and makes only very tentative efforts to apprehend the central unity. Among the Greeks the earliest attempts to frame a theory of the unity of the cosmos took the form of a somewhat crude hylozoism, such as that of Pythagoras. Pythagoras is supposed to have introduced conceptions more akin to those of the East; but, if so, they became gradually modified among his followers through the influence of the more materialistic Greek philosophers. The first general attempt at a philosophy of the cosmos in the West is that of Parmenides. Parmenides described it as finite, while Spinoza insisted on its infinity, is perhaps a somewhat superficial difference; for they probably understood the term 'infinity' in different senses. More significant is Spinoza's antithesis, derived from the Cartesian philosophy; Pythagoras is supposed to have introduced the conception of a cosmos of forms, that is, of a process from unity to multiplicity and returning into unity again; but his views are difficult to understand, 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 antithesis, derived from the Cartesian philosophy; Pythagoras is supposed to have introduced the conception of a cosmos of forms, that is, of a process from unity to multiplicity and returning into unity again; but his views are difficult to understand, and he tends at times to appeal to a mystical intuition rather than to a clearly reasoned doctrine.

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determined, and which is selected as the best from an infinite number of possible world-orders. How possibility is to be distinguished from actuality is one of the most difficult problems that are raised by the ancient philosophers. At least it is an important problem, that his philosophy in general, notwithstanding its great ingenuity, is much more remarkable for the number of problems that it suggests than for the convincing character of the solutions that are proposed. The first attempt was followed by a great deal of critical work, especially that done by Hume and Kant; and the constructions that followed upon this critical work are deserving of more careful attention.

3. Bearings of metaphysics on other subjects—

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the value of metaphysical speculation is to be measured exclusively by its success in providing us with a coherent doctrine of the cosmos. Any one who thinks seriously about the ultimate problems of knowledge and reality is almost bound to make some attempt to think about the universe as a whole; but the discussion of the special problems can be treated as an end in itself. The interest of such discussion is to be found largely in the light that it throws on other subjects that are commonly and conveniently regarded as distinct. The debt of the special sciences to metaphysical discussion could not easily be over-estimated. Almost all the special sciences, especially those that are concerned with human affairs, were first established on a firm foundation by Aristotle, who used in their establishment his fundamental conceptions of time and space. In this matter, the unity of actuality, together with his general doctrine of categories and causes. The atomic theory was mainly due to Leucippus and Democritus; working on the foundations that had been laid by the Pythagoreans. The foundations of almost every department of knowledge and action may be referred to the metaphysical analyses of Descartes, Leibniz, and Kant. Some of the most important ideas of modern biology were anticipated by the ancient physiological speculations of Aristotle. The foundations of most of the sciences, and arts and habits of life, and the work of clearing up the fundamental principles are largely ignored; just as, in our more ordinary life, we are sometimes apt to forget the labours of those by whom the means of living are provided. Hence it may be worth while to make some reference here to the fundamental conceptions that seem to be involved in several of the important subjects.

(a) Psychologists have, as a fundamental aim of psychology, to be that of studying the growth of cognition in the individual mind. It may seem strange to say this in view of some recent attempts to produce a 'psychology without cognition,' which does not appear to differ very markedly from other forms of psychology. But in general the 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 something which is to be known. So we may study wealth without welfare, though apart from welfare wealth would have no meaning. Naturally, in studying psychology, it is the modes of apprehension which are of importance, rather than to determine the various kinds of objects as those that are made by

1 No sharp distinction can be drawn between the possible and the actual. To say that anything is possible is to say that it would be true; and what would be depends entirely on the structure of the actual. In general, things are said to be possible just when they have no possible reason to be true; and what would be must be consistent with the structure of the cosmos. Any event is therefore possible when it would happen if some one chose to do it. This is well brought out in G. E. Moore's Ethics.
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 genetically; 1 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 stages. In the case of the growth of the general conceptions of the objects that are cognized. The order of the growth of cognition is 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 ‘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 lay down meanings and disjunct. In more concrete forms of 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 mere conception of efficacy and substituting that of a definite order of sequence. Kant argued that the sequence is essentially logical rather than temporal, and that the general principle of implication—A, then B—has to be accepted as a necessary condition of many phenomena. More recent discussions have given still more definiteness to the conception. 2 The dialectic of Hegel is another way in which implications can be brought out. According to this, every conception implies its opposite. The value of these methods cannot be discussed here; but it seems clear that the general significance of implication is one of those ultimate problems that concern metaphysics.

(c) Mathematics.—The mathematical sciences are closely connected with formal logic. As soon as the general characters of the orders of number and space have been made apparent, the working out of their implications requires no extrinsic conception, only the recognition that 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 so precise and convincing, and some of them can be so readily applied to spatial and temporal objects, that there is a considerable temptation to regard all of them as being directly applicable to such objects. Such an assumption does not appear to be legitimate. It may be doubted, e.g., whether some of the spatial conceptions are not in fact the product of the subject, not of the general conceptions of the subject, not of the general conceptions of the subject.
(f) Ethics.—It is in ethics rather than in aesthetics that the conception of intrinsic value comes directly down to us from our earlier sources, and here we naturally differ in our views of what is intrinsically valuable:—whether it is the good will or pleasure or some form of perfection or completeness of self-conscious life—but almost all recognize that in the moral life men are engaged in the effort to realize something that is intrinsically good, and in the end what is intrinsically best. Yet it is difficult to make the conception of such an ultimate good perfectly clear and some are inclined to doubt its validity. It must be confessed that we seem only to begin with valuations that have little conscious ground. Our primitive likings appear to be based on organic needs; and it is only gradually that we are led to regard them as means to ends that have a truer and more lasting value. We begin with organic impulses, and advance through the pleasant to the beautiful and good. Hence the moral life is still, on the whole, as it was in the time of Socrates, a struggle towards a good that is very imperfectly apprehended, and sometimes even not very consciously pursued. It tends to be guided by custom, convention, positive laws, and generally recognized opinions rather than by any clear apprehension of a good that can be either defined or attained. Historical science in ethical science has not yet been made to define it; and this involves a discussion that may properly be called metaphysical. The discussion of its attainability seems even to involve a general theory of the cosmos.

In 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 adequate conception of moral freedom is 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 problems of value and causation are those that chiefly connect ethics with metaphysics.

Ethical valuations have important bearings on economic 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" (Unterwiegung der Werte).

(g) Religion.—A chief element in the higher forms of religious thought consists in a 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 25).

This intensification is generally combined with the conviction that the object of ultimate valuation is real and attainable. A conviction of this kind is based on a definite metaphysical doctrine. At other times it is based rather on some form of intuition or of revelation, or on the authority of some great teacher, or simply on the intrinsic force of the moral principle itself. The founders of religions and their most influential prophets have generally connected their teaching with some doctrine of a more or less explicitly metaphysical character. Buddhism, which is perhaps the most purely ethical form of religion that has lived, seems to be rather intimately connected with those Indian forms of metaphysical construction that had their origin in the Upanisads. It conveys 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 by those who have been initiated. The doctrine of the Pythagoreans, which was largely religious, had a somewhat similar character; and the influence of Plato, so far as it can be described as religious, tends, on the whole, in the same direction. The more or less spiritual nature of its more recent phases is hardly distinguishable from the more esoteric forms of Buddhism. The relations have been thus expressed by Holmes:

'Plato reasoned about God. Buddha kept silence about him. Christ made him the theme of his poetry. . . . A speculative thinker he does not compete with Plato. As a systematic teacher he does not compete with Buddha. But as a source of spiritual inspiration he has no rival!' (Credo of Buddha, add. fn.)

The gospel of love is the most inspiring, because it implies, when its meaning is fully realized, 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 views of the cosmos by representing the attainment of the moral ideal as involved in the nature of things, have a certain tendency to weaken the moral motive, by making it appear that individual effort is unnecessary. No doubt some metaphysical systems have claimed to advance "beyond good and evil"; and the same may be said of some forms of religion. But, on the whole, none of the deeper forms either of metaphysical construction or of religious insight has represented the ideal as attainable by any other way than through the individual choice of what is best.

may also be specially referred to, B. Croce, *Esthetic of Science of Expression and General Linguistics, Eng. tr., do. 1909, is probably the most instructive of recent works on the

basis of which an ethical reference should be made to the

art. Ethics (by J. H. Muirhead). The conceptions of or on the free will are well discussed by G. E. Moore, in his

Ethics, do. 1912. The philosophical significance of the concept of value is brought out with great wealth of illustration by

'The Principles of Inductive Logic' and by

do. 1912, and The Value and Decree of the Individual (Gifford Lec-
tures, 1913), do. 1913. A. Meinong, Psychologisch-ethische

Untersuchungen zur Wert-Theorie, Berlin, do. 1914, and C. Ehren-

deka, System der WerthTheorien, Leipzig, 1895-98, are also import-

ant works. In these works have done much to show the meta-


The World and the Individual, New York, 1903-01, and J. W.

and the Realm of Ends, Cambridge, 1914, are the need to be
cited. In addition may be mentioned of the Creed of Christ', London, 1906, and The Creed of God', New York, 1906, by E. G. A. Holmes, are interesting as bringing the

relations between the two highest forms of

religion, and emphasizing the metaphysical conceptions that

underlie them. H. Höffding's emphasis on the 'transcendatory

of value' as the fundamental aspect of religion in his Phi-

losophy of Religion, London, 1906, has also a very special importance: and is a certain securer ideal for thought in general.

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J. S. Mackenzie.

METENCEPHYSIS. See TRANSMIGRATION.

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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 comparable with that in which, according to the ethics of Butten, the 'adaptations of human nature to virtue' supplement the 'eternal fitness of behaviour' which was 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

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J. S. Mackenzie.
METHOD

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Natural and experimental history is so various and diffuse, that it confounds and distracts the understanding, unless it be ranged and presented to view in a suitable order. We must therefore form Tables and Arrangements of Instances, in such a manner that the mind may be able to deal with them (Novum Organum, bk. 10).

If our dealing with them is not by way of further analysis into the elements of natural form, as Bacon intended, but is numerical, the tables become ‘statistics’; and statistics may be summarized through ‘graphs’; and the tables into affirmative may be avoided by ‘averages’; and incapable of being inverted from accuracy to probability, as probable error.

(a) Hypothesis. — Method can pursue the synthesis of simple elements required in judgment, while still suspending the ascent or final submission of our nature to its necessity. The course of thought freely varies its subjects and predicates, expands each tentative form, ‘causal connexion’, or ‘law’ into exemplifications, or each imagined ‘fact’ into natural consequences, and verifies these as independently true or real, or as not so. Many recent writers, including Jevons, Sigwart, and Bosanquet, teach that such a development and trial of ideas is essential for all inductive inference. Thus, if a pencil of light is a composite of vari-coloured rays, and is passed through a prism, we shall see the spectrum-band; if the process is reversed, we shall reconstitute the unite whitened. If collits are of human origin, they should serve some purpose, and our ingenuity may discover one.

(c) Cognition. — A hypothesis may command an individual or group of such subjects or consequent sequences, both already known and waiting for verification. Thus the theory of elliptical orbits for planetary motion covered many planetary positions already registered, and the possibilities of further writers. The so-called ‘cognition of facts by means of appropriate conceptions’ (Whewell, Novum Organum, Rev. ed. 1828, and Novum Organum, 1838) — an achievement of intelligence which Whewell considers to be all that is serious in scientific investigation, but which Mill considers as an operation ‘subsidiary to induction,’ that is to say, to induction as inference (Logic, bk. iii. ch. ix. § 5, bk. iv. ch. ii.).

There are many independent 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 various forms of thought will be arranged in an ascending-series, in which each higher member attempts to make a good a defeat in the preceding one, due to its failure to satisfy, in regard to its own particular problem, the general impulse of thought to reduce coincidence to coherence (Logic, Introd. § 11).

Thus the categorical form ‘S is P’, is followed by the hypothetical forms of the system, if not a mere petitio principii, 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. Therefore the reform of a single concept, e.g., the atom in chemistry, the cell in biology, the vibratory 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 units’ merely described. It is a unity. And the ideal of development means that the system of our thinking reacts upon its diversity of content. In perceptive observation, historical narrative, and explanatory conceptions of fact objects and instances are made possible by the growth of knowledge as a whole.

(a) Perceptual extensions. — Fields of perception beyond those of the natural senses may be opened through science. — e.g., in space by the telescope and microscope, in time by the chronoscope and bioscope, in composition of substances by the spectroscope and radioscope. And extensions of sensitivity may be supplemented by artificial mechanisms of record, the chronogram, logograph, and automatograph.

(b) Historical interpretation. — Records of past events may be given new values by cumulative means of interpretation. Even mere relics may, through a convergence of historical perspectives, as with the relics of pre-historic man, newly disclose remoter ages for methodical retrospection. That our foresight of events yet to come is not similarly from time to time newly lengthened is connected with the fact that here the way of hypothesis cannot be confirmed by verification. Methodical procedure can only assume a number of alteratively possible events, and assign to each a probability.

(c) Explanatory theory. — A given fact newly known, or more fully observed, may present itself in varied facets for methodical explanation. A chipped flint may be conceived as a geological product, an elastic molecular substance, a surface chemically stained, a contrivance of manufacture, a tool of purpose. And on each facet may centre a separate stress of hypothesis. We may collect contributory explanations of fact in science predominantly concrete, such as archaeology, geology, geography. On the other hand, in sciences comparatively or purely abstract, we may systematize hypotheses as empirical, derivative, or ultimate, making exemplification or consequence incidental only — e.g., in physiology, chemistry, mathematics, ethics. But the deepest difference within the ‘form of a period’ science, where exemplification or consequence flashes into inference under the magic of intuitive construction, described by Descartes, and empirical science, where the ordered sequence aims and waits to fulfill the primary ideals of inference in ‘posteriori synthetic judgements’ (see art. INFERENCE and LOGIC).


J. Brough.
METHODISM.

1. History and Polity.—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 the Evangelical party is not within our province (see EVANGELICALISM).

The Origin of Methodism.—According to Wesley, the ‘first rise’ of Methodism was in Oxford, in November 1729; the second, in Savannah, Georgia, in April 1736; and the third, in London, on 1st May 1738. Wesley overcame the difficulties that confronted him. In Oxford, in the ‘Holy Club’ at Christ Church, 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, paying 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 ‘lived after the law of righteousness’, he had not attained to it. His disappointment at discovering that he had been pursuing a wrong path was intense. The Moravians explained his failure by showing him that he had not sought ‘salvation by faith in Christ’ as it was done by them. His conversations with them left in his mind the unanswered question, What is the faith that leads to salvation? Waiting in London for a solution of the problem that baffled him, he assisted in forming one of the Religious Societies so numerous at the time. His instinct for fellowship was one of the dominant forces of his life, and explains much that happened in his career. The Religious Society which he joined met in the house of James Hutton. It was formed, in accordance with the advice of Peter Bohler, a Moravian to whom Wesley was unspeakably indebted for spiritual guidance. The Society was founded on 1st May 1738. Rules were drawn up for its management, and, as was the case in Savannah, the members of the Society who were intent on cultivating a deeper religious life were divided into little companies called ‘bands.’ The Society grew, and its meeting-place was changed to a room in Fitzroy Square. In the first three years the Religious Societies, was in connexion with the Church of England; subsequently it was dominated by Moravian influences, and this connexion was broken.

2. Wesley’s Spiritual Crisis.—Methodism, as it now is, was the inevitable result of 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 openly, and it stood against him. In this way a policy of exclusion from the churches was commenced, which, after a time, profoundly affected Wesley’s relation to the Church of England.

During this preliminary stage, Wesley was oppressed with a ‘burden’ which was to him ‘intolerable—the burden of unrepented sin. That load was lifted on 24th May 1738, in a ‘room’ in Albermarle 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 him with the spirit of the evangelist. He would gladly have borne his testimony in the churches, but he was compelled to wait until a wider sphere opened before him.

3. Beginning of Field-preaching.—In April 1739 Wesley found his opportunity, and began his evangelistic work. In the evening of the Oxford ‘Holy Club,’ had entirely reigned over the preaching of the ‘new doctrines.’ Being exceded 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 to the Kingswood colliery, he got into close touch with the Religious Societies in the city. His genius for administrative reform found scope among them. He did not scruple to expel Societies in Baldwin Street and Nicholas Street so increased that it became necessary to build a ‘Room’ for their accommodation. A site was secured near the Horserow, and the ‘Room’ was opened on 3rd August 1740. 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 much of its character to the advice of Peter Hutton. A Moravian to whom Wesley was unspeakably indebted for spiritual guidance. The Society was founded on 1st May 1738. Rules were drawn up for its management, and, as was the case in Savannah, the members of the Society who were intent on cultivating a deeper religious life were divided into little companies called ‘bands.’ The Society grew, and its meeting-place was changed to a room in Fitzroy Square. In the first three years the Religious Societies, was in connexion with the Church of England; subsequently it was dominated by Moravian influences, and this connexion was broken.

4. First Wesleyan Societies.—While he was still a member of the Fetter Lane Religious Society, Wesley formed a life 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 openly, and it stood against him. In this way a policy of exclusion from the churches was commenced, which, after a time, profoundly affected Wesley’s relation to the Church of England.

During this preliminary stage, Wesley was oppressed with a ‘burden’ which was to him ‘intolerable—the burden of unrepented sin. That load was lifted on 24th May 1738, in a ‘room’ in Albermarle Street, the meeting-place of one of the Religious Societies.

* 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. 470).
own spiritual edification, but also that Wesley might be assisted in his pastoral supervision. At first the leaders visited the members at their homes; but, that method proving inconvenient, the members were expected to meet their leader at some fixed place, week by week. The 'Rules' mentioned above are still, with slight alterations, the 'general rules' for Methodists, the particular rules, introduced in later years, being contained in the disciplinary 'codes' of the different Methodist churches. In the classes contributions, usually a penny a week, were made for the poor. At a later date these contributions were given for the support of the ministry, a special poor-fund being raised from the members. Wesley's personal appearance was simple; he could not content himself with gathering a miscellaneous crowd of people of whom he knew nothing. He supplemented the work of the leaders by visiting the members themselves, and met them quite unexpectedly in the conversation on their religious experience. If satisfied, he gave them tickets in recognition of the fact that they were members of the Methodist Society.

5. Attitude of the clergy.—Those who have studied the evolution of Methodism will note the affinities and 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 conduct of the clergy. In some places they arranged among themselves to reject the Methodists from the Lord's Table. In Bristol, on 25th July 1740, Charles Wesley and a company of Kingswood Methodists were sent away from the church by the officiating clergy. Wesley, therefore, administered the Lord's Supper to the Methodists in the school at Kingswood which had been built for the training of the soldiers' 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 preach the gospel not only to select companies but to the world. His heart responded to the call of God's Holy Spirit. 'Attempt nothing less than all mankind' (Journals, iii. 48 note 1). But how could that advice be followed by a man in his circumstances? His work taxed all his strength. Charles Wesley helped him, especially in the closing years of his mission, and a few frieze-day elections helped him occasionally. 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-power of laymen, and gave 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 order of lay-preachers is usually considered to have date from 1740.

The importance of this step cannot be exaggerated. The lay-preachers were divided into itinerants, 'half-itinerants,' and 'local preachers.' They first abandoned their business and gave themselves entirely to the wandering life of the evangelist. Under Wesley's supervision their 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 'return the nation, particularly the Church, and spread Scriptural holiness over the land' (Minutes of Conference, i. 440). Wesley's work as an evangelist, an educationalist, a philanthropist, a social reformer, and a pioneer in enterprises that have been of service to the world, was a work of leisure and trial. The conversion of the nation must be passed over here. Some idea of the toils of himself, his preachers, and those who were associated with them in his Societies may be gathered from the fact that, in a single week in 1791, Wesley was present 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 the origin of the conference, which have determined the character of modern Methodism. While Wesley was 'the head of his order,' and spoke the last word in matters of administration, he thoroughly believed that there was safety in a multitude of counsellors. He consulted the heads, 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 at intervals in different parts of the country and conversed with them on financial and spiritual subjects. Out of his annual conferences with the clergy and lay-preachers, with their stewards, and with the members of the Societies, from which often 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 explaining 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 conjunction 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.' The elective confirmation in 1835, when the Lord High Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst, and the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Lancedot Shadwell, upheld its validity in trials which took place in their courts, in his judgment the Vice-Chancellor said: '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 return later on the United States 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' as the standard by which the trustees were to judge the orthodoxy of the preachers appointed by the Conference. We may also add that the rights of trustees were strengthened by Wesley's 'Deed Poit' 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.

9. Influence of Charles Wesley.—John Wesley is justly considered as the founder of the Methodist Church, and we have, in the main, dwelt on his actions in describing the origin and development of the United States functions; yet, however, it should be remembered, however, if we failed to emphasize the services of his brother, Charles Wesley. During the early days of the 'Revival' he was a daring and successful evangelist, facing the thunders of mobs and rivalling his brother in the activities of the wandering preacher's life. Later he settled down in Bristol, and then in London, and his itinerant work was restricted. But his influence as a hymn-writer was truly wonderful. It is true, that Charles Wesley did not only lead the Methodists, but throughout the Protestant Churches. He died on 29th March 1788.

10. Events following Wesley's death.—John Wesley died on 2nd March 1791. His death produced a dangerous crisis. Many thought that the time had come when the Methodist Societies would fall in pieces. Their stability had been secured, in great part, by his firm and reasonable auto-cray. Was that autocracy to be exercised by a successor? The answer was in the negative. Then how was the supervision to be continued which he had exercised over preachers and people during the intervals between the annual meetings of the Conference? The Conference gave the answer by dividing the kingdom into twelve, each containing a smaller number of circuits, the preachers in which, being formed into committees, were answerable to the Conference for the maintenance of Methodist discipline. The functions of these Committees were enlarged from time to time, and chairs appointed by the Conference, were placed over them. This arrangement had been greatly developed in more modern times. The Committees have grown into District Synods, which exercise great influence in the administration of Methodism.

After Wesley's death the demand for the sacraments became urgent. The party most favourable to the Church of England was first in the field and issued manifestos against administration by the preachers. These provoked replies, and a controversy on the subject was continued until 1795, when an arrangement was made between the Conference and the representatives of the trustees of chapels. This arrangement, contained in the 'Plan of Pacification,' led to the ordination of the preachers in all Methodist chapels. As to ordination, it was decided that the reception of a preacher into full connexion with the Conference should carry with it the right of administration without ordination by imposition of hands. In the case of Foreign Missionaries an exception was made, and they were ordained as in the time of Wesley. In 1830 the Conference determined that all its ministers should be ordained by the imposition of hands.

11. 'Plan of Pacification.'—Another subject of cardinal importance pressed for settlement. The question had to be answered, Who shall possess the predominant ruling power of Methodism in the country, at 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 'inspired with a 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 of the trustees of chapels. That contest was seen for in 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.
Methodism. The pastorial power of the preachers was safeguarded; but its exercise was limited by giving to the Leaders' Meeting additional rights, as representing the Societies, while matters of finance were placed more entirely under the control of the Circuit Quarterly Meetings in which laymen predominated. Thus, in 1785 and 1797, it was instituted that remarkable 'balance 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 who were desirous of a democratic form of government united themselves into a Society under the leadership of William Thom and Alexander Kilham, and became the Methodist Connexion.

12. Connexional system of Wesleyan Methodism.—Speaking of Methodism in the present time, we may say that the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the mother church of the Methodists, has pursued its course along the lines laid down by John Wesley. The Connexional system is intact. The Circuits consist of the several Societies within their boundaries, the Districts are composed of the Circuits in their areas, and the Connexion is the aggregate of all the Societies, Circuits, and Districts in the countries in which Methodism is established in association 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 met with successful resistance. 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 in his spirit, for more than a hundred years since his death. We may briefly note some of the changes which have taken place in the Conference since the Deed Poll was signed in 1784. The specific naming of the 100 preachers who composed the Conference produced excitement and ill-feeling, especially among preachers who were not nominated in the Deed. In 1791 the Conference, in accordance with Wesley's request conveyed in a letter, resolved that all preachers who were 'in full connexion' should enjoy every privilege that the members of the Conference enjoyed. That resolution almost completely allayed the ill-feeling that had been excited. The Conference consists of 300 ministers and 300 laymen. The resolutions 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, of which, in their turn, have been greatly enlarged through alterations made in the composition of the Leaders' Meetings. The most striking of the alterations in the Leaders' Meetings is the addition to them of persons elected by the Conference to represent the members of the Society. The votes for the laymen and the duly qualified women chosen to attend the Conference represent a wide constituency. As there is a permanent ministerial element in the Representative Session of the Conference consisting, for instance, of members of the 'Humble Band' born about the year 1790, 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 transaction of business, according to the Deed Poll. To these are added several ministerial officials such as chairmen of Districts who are not members of the Hundred, 8 representatives of foreign missionaries, and others. The rest of the 300 ministers are chosen by the votes of the ministers in the Pastoral Session of each Synod in Great Britain, the number of ministerial and lay-representatives being governed by the principle of proportion of members of Society in the several Districts. The Representative Session of the Conference deals with all questions in which the Connexion is interested, and reviews the work done by the committees of ministers and laymen that have managed the affairs of the several Church 'Departments' during the year. New legislation may also be proposed on subjects within the province of the Conference, but such legislation is impossible until it has been submitted to the Representative Sessions of the Districts for consideration and report.

At the close of the Representative Session the Pastoral Session is held. This consists of the 'Legal Hundred,' the ministers who have been members of the Representative Session that year, and other ministers who have received the permission of their Synods to attend. When the scheme of lay-representation was adopted, it was agreed that all questions of doctrine, discipline, and the stationing of ministers should be reserved to the Pastoral Session, as also the management of the Book Room, the great publishing department of Methodism. The Pastoral Session exercises strict discipline over the ministers of the Connexion, and also considers all appeals in cases of discipline affecting members. The Circuit Quarterly Meetings have a right to memorialize the Conference, in both its sessions. Although ministers have been allowed to propose alterations in Methodist rules and regulations, when 'provisional legislation' is passed by the Conference in its Pastoral Session, that legislation has to be submitted for the consideration of the ministers of the Districts when assembled in the Pastoral Session of the Synods.

14. Home and Foreign Missions.—The work of Methodism has always been deemed of greater importance than its machinery. The wide-spread character of that work may be judged from the Minutes of Conference annually published. The work of the Home and the Foreign Missionary departments is worthy of special consideration. In recent years the evangelical campaign has been quickened by the erection of large Mission Halls in some of the principal towns of England. The example of renewed evangelistic enterprise in Wesleyan Methodism has made a deep impression on the Churches of Great Britain and other countries. The Foreign Mission meetings are not annual, but are held in the years from 1759. The work gradually increased. In 1785 appointments in the United States, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Antigua appear in the Minutes of Conference. Working in connexion with the Conference to represent the leaders of Methodist Foreign Missionary enterprise until his death in 1813. In that year the work became
more completely organized, and the present Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was formed. In estimating the importance of the work done by that Society, it must be remembered that its 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.

1. CHURCHES OF THE EASTERN SECTION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCHES</th>
<th>Ministers</th>
<th>Local preachers</th>
<th>Members and communicants</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Sunday Schools</th>
<th>Sunday School scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Wesleyan Methodist</td>
<td>3,966</td>
<td>24,836</td>
<td>684,958</td>
<td>12,542</td>
<td>9,428</td>
<td>139,099</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Primitive Methodist</td>
<td>1,192</td>
<td>16,241</td>
<td>211,091</td>
<td>5,136</td>
<td>4,176</td>
<td>59,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. United Methodist</td>
<td>865</td>
<td>6,329</td>
<td>165,732</td>
<td>3,021</td>
<td>2,574</td>
<td>42,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Irish Methodist</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>29,645</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>5,082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Wesleyan Reformation Union</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>8,506</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>2,740</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Independent Methodist</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>5,167</td>
<td>8,769</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>2,053</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. French Methodist</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>1,890</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>223</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. S. African Methodist</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>5,797</td>
<td>117,148</td>
<td>3,599</td>
<td>788</td>
<td>5,605</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Australasian Methodist</td>
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<td>4,594</td>
<td>150,209</td>
<td>6,554</td>
<td>4,031</td>
<td>20,858</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total for Eastern Section, 1910: 7,194 | 59,046 | 1,358,880 | 33,069 | 21,546 | 275,575 | 2,211,674 |

II. CHURCHES OF THE WESTERN SECTION.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCHES</th>
<th>Ministers</th>
<th>Local preachers</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Sunday Schools</th>
<th>Sunday School scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>20,755</td>
<td>14,718</td>
<td>3,459,006</td>
<td>30,265</td>
<td>25,590</td>
<td>574,118</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Methodist Episcopal Church (South)</td>
<td>7,807</td>
<td>5,584</td>
<td>1,883,043</td>
<td>16,457</td>
<td>15,989</td>
<td>127,761</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Methodist Church, Canada</td>
<td>2,665</td>
<td>2,626</td>
<td>340,091</td>
<td>3,072</td>
<td>3,673</td>
<td>36,503</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. African Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>6,774</td>
<td>4,802</td>
<td>696,106</td>
<td>5,630</td>
<td>5,058</td>
<td>39,359</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. African Methodist Episcopal (Zion)</td>
<td>3,149</td>
<td>2,924</td>
<td>574,216</td>
<td>3,258</td>
<td>3,123</td>
<td>20,098</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Methodist Protestant</td>
<td>1,562</td>
<td>1,490</td>
<td>185,437</td>
<td>2,590</td>
<td>2,123</td>
<td>17,812</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Coloured Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>2,901</td>
<td>6,194</td>
<td>233,721</td>
<td>2,327</td>
<td>3,011</td>
<td>21,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Free Methodist</td>
<td>1,122</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>21,112</td>
<td>1,103</td>
<td>1,134</td>
<td>7,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Wesleyan Methodist</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>19,176</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>3,523</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Primitive Methodist</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7,407</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>1,011</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Union American Methodist Episcopal</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>18,500</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>483</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. African Union Methodist Protestant</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>441</td>
<td>5,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Congregational Methodist</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>2,829</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>1,146</td>
<td>8,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Congregational Methodist (Coloured)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. New Congregational Methodist</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>1,792</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>1,298</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Zion Union Apostolic (Coloured)</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>3,039</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>1,608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Independent Methodist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,101</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,101</td>
<td>1,101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Reformed Methodist</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal (Coloured)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. British Methodist Episcopal (Coloured)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Japan Methodist</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>12,292</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1,150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total for Western Section, 1910: 48,814 | 39,075 | 7,460,736 | 67,458 | 68,578 | 633,144 | 6,652,135 |

Note.—The returns for local preachers and Sunday Schools are in some instances incomplete.

III. SUMMARY OF EASTERN AND WESTERN SECTIONS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Ministers</th>
<th>Local preachers</th>
<th>Members</th>
<th>Churches</th>
<th>Sunday Schools</th>
<th>Sunday School scholars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Section</td>
<td>7,194</td>
<td>59,046</td>
<td>1,358,880</td>
<td>33,069</td>
<td>21,546</td>
<td>275,575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Section</td>
<td>48,814</td>
<td>39,075</td>
<td>7,460,736</td>
<td>67,458</td>
<td>68,578</td>
<td>633,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55,908</td>
<td>88,121</td>
<td>8,819,616</td>
<td>73,527</td>
<td>70,124</td>
<td>908,722</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. Statistics of world Methodism.—It is only at the decennial meetings of the Ecumenical Conference when representatives of the Methodist Churches in both hemispheres meet, that an idea of the wide-spread influence of Methodism can be gained. These 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, 25,034,076, making a total of 32,228,547.

The statistical tables show that there are many separate Methodist Churches in the world. It must, however, be understood that the divisions that have occurred have not been caused by doctrinal differences; in almost all cases they have arisen from varying opinions concerning ecclesiastical constitution and administration. In the Western Section the 'colour question' has had an influence on the number of churches.

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 1739, and the action of Wesley in ordaining Coke as a Superintendent, and two other preachers as presbyters, in 1784. Wesley was followed in this line of action by Francis Asbury as a Superintendent. Asbury's work and influence have left a deep mark on Methodism in the United States. Like Wesley, he was a man of high spiritual tone. He rivalled Wesley in evangelistic enterprise, and gathered around him men who possessed the courage and devotion of the pioneer preacher. The War of Independence had made the whole country the sphere of the most enterprising Evangelism. In settled towns, in clusters of huts, in lonely backwoods, the Methodist preacher became a familiar figure, as he preached and formed and visited his little Societies. The growth of the churches in the immense areas in which the pioneers worked necessitated the hospital supervision not only of the Superintendents but also of *Presiding Elders,* who rode litter and thither, constantly giving inspiration and guidance to the scattered evangelists and churches. For a considerable time the work was in close connection with the British Conference, and on lines similar to those followed in England. A Conference was held in the States in 1773, at which time there were 6 Circuits, 19 preachers, and 160 members. From these small beginnings American Methodism has advanced to its present position.

The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) occupy the chief positions among the Methodist Churches of the United States. They separated in 1844, in consequence of a dispute as to the election of a Bishop, but the dispute has now been settled. A General Conference is held every four years composed of delegates from all the Annual Conferences in the States. It consists of pastors and lay-delegates, the admission of the latter into the General Conference being by general vote of the Annual Conferences, each of which is entitled to one delegate at least. The General Conference fixes the ratio of representation and the manner of election. Every four years a Lay Electoral Conference is constituted within the bounds of each Annual Conference for the purpose of voting on constitutional changes to be submitted to the General Conference, which is the supreme legislative assembly. The Lay Electoral Conference is composed of lay-members; one from each pastoral charge, chosen by the lay-members of each charge over twenty-one years of age, in such manner as the General Conference has determined. Each Lay Electoral Conference is entitled to elect as many lay-delegates to the General Conference as there are ministerial delegates from the Annual Conference. In the General Conference the 'General Superintendents,' as the bishops are called in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and are elected by the General Conference, and are the heads of the circuit, and preside over the President of the General Conference. In the Annual Conference the 'General Superintendents,' as the bishops are called in the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, are elected by the members of the conference as they determine; but if no General Superintendent is 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 deem necessary from among the 'Travelling Elders,' as the former Presiding Elders are now called. The Conference has full power to make rules and regulations for the Church, under the limitations and the ordinary rules of the *Discipline.* The principal restrictions are that it cannot revoke, alter, or change the *Articles of Religion,* which were prepared by John Wesley, and which first appeared in The Sunday Service of the Methodists in the United States of America, published in 1784. Nor can the General Conference establish any new standards, or rules of doctrine, 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 Methodists,* as drawn up by John Wesley in 1743. As to the procedure of the General Conference, the *Discipline* shows that, in voting, the ministers and laymen vote together; but it is provided that a question may be put to a vote in small group, or it may be referred to a committee when it is requested by one-third of either 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 two-thirds of the General Conference is required. Such, in bare outline, is a sketch of some of the outstanding features of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but it should be supplemented by a study of the book "The Methodists in America," by J. H. Rigg (1912). In J. H. Rigg's *Comparative View of Church Organizations* there is a chapter on American Episcopalian 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 and Ireland and America, have been an agreeable feature of the annual meetings of 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 secessions.—We have mentioned the first important one. The Methodist Church in Great Britain was divided in 1792 into the Methodist Church and the Primitive Methodist Church in Great Britain. In 1815 a Society, consisting of 22 persons, was formed by William O'Brien in Devonshire out of which arose the Bible Christian Church. The reasons for the institution of these two Societies were similar. In the former case Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, two earnest evangelists, were 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 agitate the Church from which they were separated. They gathered their members out of the neglected classes, and displayed in their work much of the spirit and character of the early missionaries. The same may be said of William O'Brien, the founder of the Bible Christian Church.

18. Primitive Methodist Church.—Next to the Wesleyan Methodists, the Primitive Methodists hold the strongest position and strength. In 1844 it contained 30,000 members, and the constitution bears, in several points, a strong re-
semblance to that of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, but there is a marked difference in the composition of the Conference. H. B. Kendall, in his *Handbook of Primitive Methodist Church Principles and Policy* (London, 1913), says:

50. The Deed provides that numbers shall be formed into Classes, Societies, Circuits, and Districts, and that Societies shall have their Leaders' Meetings, and Circuits their Connexional Meetings (p. 91).

Dealing with the functions of the Annual Conference, he sets forth the provisions of the Primitive Methodist Deed Poll. First of all, the Conference is to be composed of 12 Permanent Members, irremovable from office except for incompetence or incapacity. Next, it is to be composed of other persons not exceeding 4, whose appointment is to be made by a by-law of the Conference. These may be ministers or laymen, official or unofficial members. Lastly, the Conference is also composed of delegates, who have been elected thereto by their District Meetings, one-third of whom must be travelling preachers and two-thirds laymen, and must be appointed who are not a local preacher, or a class leader, or a Circuit steward. After long consideration and much discussion it was decided by the Conference of 1876 that the members should be sent by each to the highest court should be determined by the number of members in the District, 3000 being made the unit for one minister and two laymen (p. 614.). Kendall is of opinion that the Primitive Methodist policy is a 'modified Presbyterianism,' one evidence of the fact being that the Church is governed by ministers and lay-officials, and that all ministers are in theory equal, the Superintendent differing from his colleagues only in function and responsibility (p. 622). Up to the present the Primitive Methodist Church have not shown any strong desire for corporate union with other Methodist Churches. Their Foreign Missionary work is confined to Africa.

20. Smaller Methodist Churches.—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 oath into the chapel of the chapel in Leeds. In its course constitutional questions were raised touching the power of the Conference, which re-emerged at a later stage. In 1835 the creation of the Theological Institution for the training of church officers was contested by the ministers, from whom it was claimed that the Church was composed of men who had been trained at the university and that the decision of the United Methodist Church may be studied in the *General Rules*, approved by the Conference in September 1907, a new edition of which was published in 1911. Foreign Missionary work is being done by this Church in China, Africa, Central America, and the W. Indies.

21. The Wesleyan 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 oath into the chapel of the chapel in Leeds. In its course constitutional questions were raised touching the power of the Conference, which re-emerged at a later stage. In 1835 the creation of the Theological Institution for the training of church officers was contested by the ministers, from whom it was claimed that the decision of the United Methodist Church may be studied in the *General Rules*, approved by the Conference in September 1907, a new edition of which was published in 1911. Foreign Missionary work is being done by this Church in China, Africa, Central America, and the W. Indies.

Although sharply divided by constitutional distinctions, the Methodists of England have so much in common, especially in their practical work, that they are being drawn nearer together. The Ecumenical and other Conferences have done much to promote the spirit of fraternity among them. In Canada and other countries the Methodist Churches have united, and Methodist reunion in England is often sympathetically discussed.

**Literature.**—A. POLLY, ETC.—Minutes of the Forty-Fourth Conference of the People called Methodists, published annually, 1744-1914; Reports of Proceedings of Ecumenical Methodist Conferences, 1881, 1901, 1903; Reports of the Conference as it meets in Great Britain with Statements concerning Church Membership, published by direction of Conference (1913); C. Wansborough, *Handbook and Index to the Records of the Conference*, 1859; *The Sunday Service of the Methodists*, 1874; *The Book of Public Prayers and Services for the Use of the People called Methodists*, 1853; *Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist
METHODISM


1. Methodism and Deism.—A rationalistic deism then largely prevailed amongst educated men—a system of thought which fenced God off from mankind 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 practice as in thought. The Revival swept the country; and the hundreds of thousands that were realized in living contact with His children. The sense of the divine was recovered; the transcendent being again innumerable to consciousness. Accordingly, 'the life of God in the souls of men' was Wesley's depiction of regeneration; 'the work of God' was the habitual Methodist designation for the Revival, because in its phenomena God's immediate action upon human nature was discerned. Hence the emphasis laid in the teaching of the Wesleys on 'living upon the Word of God.' The doctrine of assurance—the personal certainty of the forgiveness of sins and of restored sonship toward God — was the outstanding feature of original Methodism. To most Churchmen of the time professions of this kind appeared a strange 'enthusiasm' (see G. Lavinson, The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Popish Considered, London, 1853); that a man might know his sins forgiven was deemed a dangerous presumption. Along with the Fatherhood of God, the Divine Sonship, and the Spirit came to be freshly recognized; an arrest was made of the Socinianism which by the middle of the 18th century 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 transcendency of God at the expense of His immanence, reducing finite will to an illusion and making man, even in his acceptance of divine grace, the passive creature instead of the consenting child of God. The Puritan theology, in its prevailing strain, was intensely Calvinist; and so, it Whitfield and Wesley, and the Evangelical clergy generally, adhered, while the Wesleys espoused Arminian views upon election and grace, in this respect inheriting the High Anglican tradition. But the spring of their universalism lay in the sense of God's mercy to mankind revealed within their own breast and interpreted in the broad light of the NT; they sang:

'The boundless grace that found out me
For every soul of man is free.'

They could not preach that God 'will 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 will!' The
Wesleyan teaching lifted a cloud from the character of God; it brought salvation to thousands who had remained outside the Established Church until then. John Wesley vehemently contended against another tenet of Calvinism, maintained by contemporary Evangelicals—that of the necessary inheritance of sin in the redeemed. The current orthodoxy limited the salvation of Christ in the degree of its attainability as well as in the persons by whom it is attainable. John Wesley arrived at 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 'saved from all sin' through ‘the blood of Jesus’ (1 Jn 1:9)—famed (as he would say) ‘from the last remains of sin’; on the strength of God's promises and the warrant of experience, he taught his people to seek and expect the power to keep continually the two commandments of Jesus and so to become altogether holy and happy. To this effect he used to quote the Communion Prayer, 'that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name,' insisting that this in theory, if not in practice, beyond His giving. From the moment of conversion the Methodist was set at war with 'inbred sin,' inspired by the prospect of its extirpation. The Class Meeting, with this ideal before it, became a school of self-command. It proved an abiding spring of spiritual ardour and a powerful spur to moral endeavour. Sometimes the extravagances and self-delusions of unbalanced minds discredited the doctrine of Perfect Love; to succeed in this theory, in God's practice upon His giving. But the sight of the goal of faith given to Methodism quickened and sustained the race for multitudes. The endurance of the Wesleyan Revival is due to the spiritual breadth and sanity of its programme. The spirit of Methodism was to breed a clear understanding of the words 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 beenavened the whole Methodist Church.

3. Methodism and Moravianism—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 and John Newton, 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. Regarding the inner light and the Holy Spirit's witness as the sum of Christianity, men of this persuasion treated fellowship and Church order as superfluities; some of them even denied the doctrine of 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 the soul be free to do all things without the hindrance of any rule or authority. This was a temporary, but widely operative, aberration in Moravianism. In this outbreak Wesley saw the peril of the Revival; he raised a barrier against it in the 'Rules of Society' (dated 1st May 1745), which bear strongly upon private and social duty, and by the mutual oversight secured through the Class Meeting. Thus the experimental in religion was balanced by the practical; inward holiness found in outward holiness its complement and safeguard. Methodism recognized that, while salvation is through faith alone, a true faith 'works by love'; it enforced the teaching of St. James by side with that of St. Paul, and found that the two are consistent. Their home-training and Anglican schooling stood the Wesleys in good stead at this crisis.

4. Methodism and the Church of England.—John and Charles Wesley were sons and ministers of the Church of England, and taught (as they supposed) her true doctrine. John Wesley quoted the Articles and Homilies in vindication of his most opposed tenets. For the guidance of his people he revised the Thirty-nine Articles, reducing their number by omission and abbreviation to 23 (so printed in the Wesleyan Methodist Service Book): the changes are in many instances significant. There disappear, with others, artt. viii. ('Of the Three Creeds'), xii. ('Of Works before Justification'), xv. ('Of Christ alone without Sin'), xxvii. ('Of Predestination and Election'), xx, and xxi. ('Of the Authority of the Church' and 'Of the Authority of General Councils'), xxviii. ('Of Ministering in the Congregation'), and xxix. ('Of Excommunicating'). In those who xvi. becomes 'Sin after Justification' instead of 'Sin after Baptism,' and 'Ministers' is substituted for 'Priests' in xxi.; 'Traditions' is paraphrased by 'Rites and Ceremonies' in xxix., the substance of the art. being perfect Love; and 'Liberty' in detail. 'The Civil Magistrates' (xxvii.) Wesley turns into 'the Rulers of the British Dominions,' adding 'his Parliament' to 'the King's Majesty, merging 'Ecclesiastical and Civil' in 'all Estates,' and concluding with 'the Magistrate.' In short, he ignores the Royal Supremacy over the Church. The artt. on 'the Sacraments' and 'the Lord's Supper' are reproduced almost verbatim; but that 'Of Baptism' is curtailed, the definition ending with the words: 'the opposite of the statement that by baptism persons are 'grafted into the Church' is avoided, while the clause commending 'the Baptism of young Children' is retained. Art. ix., 'Of Original or Birth-Sin, is also cut down materially: the Wesleyan teaching on Sanatization appeared to conflict with 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. II. the Resurrection of Christ.' The general effect of the recasting is to emphasize the Protestant and Evangelical character of the formulary, to set aside the principle of State-establishment, and to eliminate Calvinism.

5. Doctrinal standards.—Neither the Articles of Religion nor any other Anglican document or dogmatic creed was laid down by Wesley as the ground of Christian fellowship. The revised Articles of Religion were, however, from the first incorporated, with certain necessary local adaptations, in the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America (see Doctrine and Discipline, etc., of this Church, pp. 21-26). 'There is only one condition previously required, the desire to enter these [the Methodist] Societies, viz., a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins.' This 'narrow gate' leads into the true way: the earnest seeker of salvation approves of Christ and the gospel as 'the true and only way'; a deep repentance affords the best guarantee for orthodoxy. To his preachers, however, Wesley prescribed his Notes on the 47 and the first four volumes of Sermons (ed. 1757-88, containing 41 Discourses) for the basis of a common understanding. These standards are introduced into the Model Deed regulating the trusts upon which Wesleyan Methodist church-fabrics are secured, and into the ordination vows of the ministers. Every Local Preacher also declares his consent to 'the general doctrine' contained in the above writings as being...
MEXICANS (Ancient)


GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

MEXICANS (Ancient).—The territory of what is now the Republic of Mexico was inhabited in ancient times—as 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 abode, relying chiefly on the produce of the chase, and to some extent on agriculture. These tribes, of whom we know very little, received from the Mexicans the general name of "tribes," and the more cultivated nations were concentrated in the central highlands, and in the ravines, valleys, and coast-planes of Southern Mexico. Though belonging to different linguistic stocks, and differentiated as to their 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 citizens of Mexico as México and Tenochtitlan, 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 Tuxpana, where they lived intermingled with fractions of the Otomi nation, with Mazas, Matlatzincas, Popohcas, and other primitive nations. From that central home parts of the Mexican nation emigrated, in pre-historic times, spreading as far as Guatemala, Son Salvador, and the coasts and islands of the great lake of Nicaragua. Those were the tribes particularly connected with the mythical name of Tolefes. 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 simply by Yaque, 'those who went to the rising sun.' For all these tribes, undoubtedly, a long succession of ages of cultural development must be taken into account, since their civilization, at the time of the Conquest, might have equaled, at least in many respects, that of the ancient nations of the other side of the globe. Their religion had reached a correspondingly advanced stage of development, and was very elaborate, while their pantheon was unusually rich.

1. Religious ideas.—As with all the other nations of the world, the religious faith and the metaphysical ideas of the Mexicans had in part developed from attempts to grasp the connexion between the things of this world according to the principle of causality; in part they were the outcome of religious practice, and the crystallization of magic ceremonies, intended to produce certain effects by way of imitation. The great problems that were the essence of the human mind had to do with 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 mythical traditions.

The most prominent and the most widely worshipped Mexican god, of whom the largest number of tales and myths were reported, Quetzalcoatl, the 'feathered serpe,' the creator of men, the wind-god of the latter world, who did 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 away in the rays of the rising sun. It was believed that, when the moon, or the sun, 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 who 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 Tonatiuh, 'sun-god,' have developed from certain religious practices, e.g., the placing of maize-stalks or young maize-ears in the houses, in order to get rich crops. Xipe Totec, the 'flayed,' the god who wears a human skin, the high-praised and malevolent, has probably originated from well-known ceremonies celebrated in the beginning of the year in the time of sowing, in order to bring about the re-birth of vegetation. The two classes of deified beings met 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 of 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 spirits of the dead are to be added to these two classes—the ancestors, the founders of the tribe who had died in ancient times, and who had lived when the sun had not yet made its appearance in the sky. These deified ancestors were believed to awaken and to live in the night and to appear, occasionally, were identified with the stars, Xiuhtecuti, the god of fire, who had likewise existed in the 'time of darkness and night,' before the birth of the sun, and was, accordingly, named Oneuecatl, 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 preceded the formation of the present world. The first of these primitive creations was named Ocelotlantinuih, 'jaguar-sun.' This was the sun of darkness, or sun of the earth, for the jaguar was considered to be the animal that swallowed in times of darkness, and, as the earth was the realm of darkness, the jaguar was identified with the earth. This first came to an end by darkness, when the jaguars were eating men. The second period was called Atontatlinuih, 'wind-sun.' This period ended by great revolving storms, and men were transformed into birds. The third period had the name Quinahtotlinuih, 'rain-sun,' meaning 'fire-rain.' In this period fire rained from the sky, volcanic ashes and lapilli were strewn over the earth, and red flesh-ellips arose. Men were transformed into birds. The fourth period was called Atonatlinuih, 'water-sun.' In this period a great deluge took place, men were transformed into fishes, and the earth was raised by the joint action of the gods Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, and the earth was revived. It was only then, in the year called ce tochtli, 'one rabbit,' that the present world was created. Its name is Quinotontliinuih or 'rain-water,' because this present world is to be destroyed by earthquakes. One year after this creation, in the year one coatl, 'two reed,' the god Mixcoatl, 'cloud-snake,' the god of the North—or Tezcatlipoca, in the form of a wolf—drew fire out of the wooden sticks, kindled fire by means of the tire-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, and captured by the enemy, was offered on the sacrificial stone, was Xochiquetzal, the goddess of the moon, for it is the moon who 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 Nanauatzin, the ancient moon, who was considered by the gods as the second child of this deity would take charge of lighting the world. As one rejected, the gods requested Nanauatzin, who was the first child of the god, to undertake it, and he consented. The gods kindled a great fire in the totecalli, the 'divine store,' and Tezcatlipoca tried first to throw himself into the fire, but he was afraid and drew back. Then Nanauatzin shut his eyes and threw himself at once into the fire, and after him Tezcatlipoca did the same. This took place at midnight. Then the gods consoled in that direction the sun was to rise. It was in the east, where the sun rose at day-break, followed by the moon. The chronizers relate that originally the moon possessed the same splendour as the sun, but the gods struck her in the face with a rabbit, so that her splendor darkened, and now the figure of the rabbit is seen on the face of the moon. After having risen, the moon and the sun stood still for fourteen days, and then upon 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, alternation with the moon.

3. Origin of men.—When heaven and earth were created, the gods took counsel and asked where to get beings to dwell on the earth. Then Xolotl, the dog who jumps down from the sky—the god who carries the setting sun to the under-world—went to the kingdom of the dead to fetch a bone of the dead. When he had given his message to Mictecantec, the king of the dead, the latter sent the four brothers and sisters, Aztechincoatl, the black jade sceptre in the stone-ceremony, blowing the conch. The dog called upon the worms to make a hole in the bone, and put it into the shell, and the conch. The king of the dead gave the bone to him, but ordered his vassals to follow him and to dig a pit in his way. There the god stumbled and fell, and the bone was broken in pieces, the hand, fell to the ground, and was broken in pieces. The god was much grieved, but he arose, picked up the fragments, and brought them to Tlancanachtlan, a region situated far in the west.
There the goddess Chicomochtli or Quinatzin ground down the fragments on the grinding-stone, and put the pulverized material into the chalchihuites, the bowl hollowed out of a precious stone, and set with gems. On this pulverized material Quetzalcoatl, the feathered serpent, drew by piercing his penis with a knife. In this way men were generated, and food was found for them in the same region of the west. It was the maize, whose place the black ant and the red ant showed to the god.

4. Heaven, earth and under world, and the abode of the gods. The Mexican deities of opinion that from the earth (tlaltecuhtli) upwards there were thirteen regions or heavenly spheres (ihuauintli), and from the earth downwards there were nine regions or under worlds (mielpan). The second, third, and fourth of the heavenly spheres were the setting of the sun when the moon and the clouds, the stars and the sun moved, while the uppermost or thirteenth region was the abode of Omecaotin, Oneincatl, or Tonamecuatl, Tezcatlancatl, the gods of generation. The second of the under-world regions was the Chichinauhaplin, 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 condemnacion, the gateway by which the souls were led to the underworld. The fourth or undermost region was the abode of Mietlancatl and Mietlancatl, 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 contagious disease or who were taken by the war. If the dead had any special merits, or were priests, or were the sons of the nobility, they were buried with great ceremony, and their souls were believed to be taken by Thloco, the rain-god. Their corpses were not burned, but buried in the ground. The bodies—having been put on their foreheads. They went to Thlocoan, the home of the rain-god, situated on 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 setting sun. In the morning they climbed up to the zenith, where, at noon, they received the sun from the hands of the warriors, and accompanied him on his downward course. At night the sun returned to the dwellers in the under-world region, for at night the sun illumines 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 moon, the moon, the morning star, the earth-god, the maize-god, and the other deities of vegetation, the gods who pour down the beneficial rain, and host of naucnuco and spirits who were believed to dwell in particular places, as mountains, caves, water-holes, etc. In the course of time those cosmic potencies assumed very different shapes in the mythopoetic imagination of the people, coalescing in part with a defined ancestor, or being merged in certain regional festivals, thus giving rise to certain well-defined divine personages, who in the different tribes, towns, and villages were acknowledged as the 'lords of godlihood, the 'heart (or living principle) of the town.'

Thus Uitzilopochtli, the war-god, the particular protector of the citizens of Mexico (Tenochtitlan), must originally have been the rising sun, or the morning star. His mother, the conquest-goddess, feathered-bull coming down from the sky. Her other children, the Centzon Uitzman, the 'four hundred Southern' (the stars), and their elder sister Coyolxauhqui (the moon), seeing their mother pregnant, wished to kill her, but just at this moment Uitzilopochtli was born. Armed with shield and spear, he came forth and killed or devoured his own mother and appropriated her strength, or maghnicient prey. The child of the morning star, Uitzilopochtli, was probably a mythic conception of the morning star. Tlaloc was the rain- and thunder-god and the god of the mountains. He had his residence on the top of a mountain in the east, where he owned four chambers and four bars, from which he brought down the water and poured it down on the earth. Stone images of this deity are to be found all over the country. Tetzctliopochi was the god of the Teoztecac and of the tribes dwelling on the slopes of the volcano. He was the sorcerer who roams about in the night, the god who sees and punishes sin, and the patron of the toltecoatl, the club-house of the young warriors; and certainly derived from the conception of the new, waxing moon. Xintecuatli, the lord of the turnip and potato gods, the 'god with the yellow face,' was the tutelary deity of the citizens of Tlateloc and their brethren on the western mountain slope, the Tepanecs of Tepacal and Coyotanec. Tonatiuh, the sun, and Meteti, or Tetzcteacatl, the moon, had in ancient times a great worship in the north of the valley of Mexico, and two great pyramids dedicated to them are still to be seen in that place. The moon alone was the principal deity of the inhabitants of Xilitzucan and of the province of Maztecatl, the water and rain gods, or the deities that ensured the growth of the crops. Quetzalcoatl, the feathered snake, the creator of human life, the wind-god, was another conception of the waning and resuscitating moon. He was the great god of the merchants of Choluia and all the Mexican commercial colonists, down to the provinces of Guatemala and San Salvador. Xipe Totec, 'our lord, the flayed,' the god of the sowing time, the god of vegetation, was generally worshipped in the whole country; but it seems that the Nahatl tribes on the borders of the State of Oaxaca, the inhabitants of Tehuanac, Coaxtan, and Teotitlan del Camino were particularly addicted to his cult. He is also called god of the goldsmiths, because the goldsmiths, located in the town-square, entered to the dwellers in the under-world region, for at night the sun illumines the under-world, and the dead awaken and live.

Female deities were Coatltecu, the mother of Uitzilopochtli, worshipped in Mexico City; Ciaeaeacatl, the female warrior, the goddess of Cuitlahuan; Itzpapalotl and Quinatzin, the earth-goddess and the fire-goddess of the towns of Quauhtitlan and Xochimilc; Tetelo innan, the 'mother of the gods,' or Toci, 'our grandmother,' also called Tecuhtzoltecatl, the 'valley of darkness.' Tlalocquixtli, 'mire-eater' (i.e., sinner); she was generally worshipped as a harvest-goddess; Xochiquetzal, the goddess of flowers and of love, her worshippers throughout the country, and a maghnicient prey, came from the town of Xochimilc, south of Cuauhtlan. All these goddesses, without any doubt, were originally moon-goddesses, but developed into goddesses of
fertility and generation, into earth-goddesses and patronesses of women's art. Chichimilthinile, the 'goddess whose garments are precious stones,' was the impersonation of running water, brooks, and lakes; Uxoltziatl that of the salt water, and another that of the rain. As the priest-architect, the male-god, was represented either as a female or as a male deity, and was particularly related to the gods of generation, the authors 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 upon them by their own sins. In order to obtain the favour of their gods or to appease their wrath, they used them 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, which is originally written in Aztec, he has preserved many prayers directed to several gods, delivered by a high priest, and in a wonderful refined and poetical language, while another chapter of the same work contains twenty ancient and very curious songs, which they used to sing in honour of their gods at the different annu-

uary festival. (Text, Gurne, tr., and comments in E. Sefer, Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur ameri- kan. Sprach- und Altertumskunde, Berlin, 1902-08, ii, 939-1107.)

The offerings which the Mexicans were accus- tomed to bring to their goddesses consisted of food and garments, flowers and green twigs (necoyotl) to adorn their altars, caps, rubber, and different kinds of aromatic herbs to burn, and piles of wood to heap up and kindle on the top of their temple-

houses, in the presence of their gods by eating earth (tlotlaliztli), i.e., by touching the earth with the finger and putting it to the mouth. When they requested something from their gods, and before every festival dedicated to them, they fasted, eating only once in the day, avoided red pepper sauce and every kind of spices, abstained from sexual intercourse, and did not wash their heads. When the request which they had to make was a very earnest one, they tore themselves by piercing their tongues or the margin of their ears, sometimes drawing stakls or threads through the hole made in the tongue, and offering the blood issuing from their wounds, collecting it on agave leaves. If they had committed a sin such as intercourse with the wife of another man, and wished to atone for it, they went to the priests of the goddess Tlalticue and made confession, and the priests, after having heard the confession, imposed some penance — e.g., to go naked in the night to some shrine of the 'women-goddesses' (cicelotetel), to deposit garments made of the common bark-paper. By performing this penance they were believed not only to have got rid of the sin committed, but also of the punishment for it enjoined by the law. A Mexican religious practice that excited the curiosity and even the amazement of the Christian priests was the so-called "eating of the god" (tequiquiliztli). At a certain festival a number of devotees assembled, and, after having made an image of the god from the paste obtained by grinding certain seeds, the high priest sacrificed the image and cut it into pieces. The 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 salt-makers or masons. The female 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 Urzilopoeh traffi, 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 lost. Yet she would revive, and therefore the flayed skin of the victim was draped by a man who, in the following ceremo-

nies of the feast, represented the goddess.

The Mexicans practised to a terrible extent the offering of human hearts, torn out of the bodies of living men. They used for that purpose a sacrificial stone of a rounded pyramidal shape. The victim was thrown backwards 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, under the ribs, and, putting 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 man who had captured the prisoner and had presented it as a sacrifice. He cooked the flesh with maize, and made a feast of himself and of 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 the symbol of the owner of the house, and probably, at the same time, a fetish for luck and protection.

7. Annual festivities. — The Mexicans divided the year into eighteen sections of twenty days each and five remaining days. On each of these twentiths they had a feast with many elaborate ceremonies, dedicated successively to various special deities, all these feasts being so 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 labourer. They commenced with the ceremonies early in the year — in the time of our February. At that time, in the houses and on sacred spots — mountains, caves, water-holes, and localities considered as the abodes of the rain-gods — they set up poles to which papers painted with the emblems of the muisina of these localities were attached; and they carried children, who were bought from their parents, to the same localities and sacrificed them to the rain-gods, in order that these divinities might grant rain in sufficient quantity for the crops of the new year.

In the second twentith they celebrated a great feast to Xipe Totec, the god of vegetation, a form of the ancient moon-god. This was just before sowing, and it seemed to those ancient philosophers to be necessary to fertilize the earth, that she might receive the germ and bring forth the crops. For this important business a sacrifice of value and a vigorous man was required.

They took a prisoner of war, the most gallant whose hands at hand, and with him performed a ceremony of a testing. He was fastened by a rope to the central hole of a
In the third and fourth twentieths, called Topoztli, 'awakening,' the temples and shrines were adorned with green stalks, and the ears destined for sowing were brought to the temple of the maize goddess to be consecrated. The fifth feast, called Toxcatl, fell at the time when the sun, shifting to the north, came to the zenith. This was regarded as the real feast of the new year, and the priests designated a prisoner of war, who in the disguise of this god had represented him all the year round, was sacrificed, and immediately replaced by another prisoner, who, invested with the paraphernalia of the god, had to die in his stead in the sixth twentieth, the time when the rainy season set in, was celebrated by a general and severe fasting of all the priests of all the temples, including the little boys in the priestly schools. The Mexicans ate at this feast a certain meal prepared from maize in grain and beans, called etzahuitl, with which it bears the name Eztalqualiztli, the 'eating of the meal of maize and beans.' In the seventh and eighth twentieths the sprouting of the young maize-ears was celebrated by a ceremonial dance of the kings and rulers of the town, and a general feeding of the people, the feast being called Tecuilhuitl, the 'feast of the kings.' The ninth and tenth twentieths were called Mixcochimaco and Xochiquetzal, i.e., the god of the Xochitl, the flower and ornament, which the Xochitl comes down (for the Xochi, i.e., Xochicueh, the 'feast of the dead.' At these festivals living prisoners were thrown into the fire as a sacrifice to the god of fire, and the image of Xochitl or Otontecuhtli, the god of the Otoni, the 'soul of the dead warrior,' having the shape of a bird, a butterfly, or of a mummy packet, was placed on the top of a high pole, and brought down by the novice youth, vying with each other in climbing to the top.

The eleventh twentieth, called Ochapinaztli, 'sweeping the roads,' was the harvest feast, and at the same time a great exequia ceremony, by which evil was taken out of the town.

A woman representing Teteo innan, the 'mother of the gods,' having been decapitated at midnight and thrown, a priest on the skin and represented the goddess in the following ceremonies. From a portion of the skin of the thigh, a mask was made for the son of the 'mother of the gods,' to be worn in the role of the black and white God of Thunder, and, on the way to the meeting of the gods, Teteo innan was accompanied by warriors, armed and protected by priests (of the province of the Huexcoa). Ceremonial dances followed, where Teteo innan was replaced by the maize-ear, and the faces of the feast, racing with each other, took the music out of the town, and buried it somewhere in the territory of their enemies. The goddess herself, i.e., the priest, wearing the skin of the victim, was likewise driven out of the town, and the skin was hung up, beyond the boundaries of the town, on a frame-work dedicated to the god, Cocihuatl, being the god of the earth and fertility. This was the original form of the ceremony, and as the pictographs, and as it was performed in certain ancient towns up to the time of the conquest.

In Mexico City, however, when the skin of the prisoner was exhausted and the god was no longer able to defend himself, he was sacrificed in the regular way, by cutting the breast and tearing out the heart; and many prisoners were sacrificed in the same way after him. The bodies of the sacrificed were skinned, and the skins donned by certain men who represented the god in the following ceremonies, to show that the god had passed on to a new form. From this custom this second annual feast was called Tlacaxipehualiztli, 'sacrificing men.' This feast concluded with a great ceremonial dance, where priests disguised as maize-ears, maize-stalks, and other vegetables, or as beings connected with the maize, obtained the abundance of food which the new year was expected to bring.

In the twenties, called Teocalli, the Mexicans celebrated the return of their gods, i.e., of the fire-gods, who were taken out of the country and returned during the rainy season. The feast may also be called the 'birthday of Uitzilopochtli.' It concluded with another fire-ceremony, in which living prisoners were thrown into the flames. The thirteenth feast, called Tepedihuitl, was another harvest feast, when the pulque-gods—the gods of fecundity—were honoured by sacrifices, and offerings were brought to the rain-gods, i.e., to the gods of the mountains. The fourteenth feast, called Quechollii, was dedicated to Mixcoztli, the god of hunting and war, and was celebrated by a great ceremonial hunting. Arrows and other weapons were made.

The fifteenth feast, called Panquetzaliztli, '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 Uitzman (the stars), were dramatically represented by a combat between the warriors and the priests. The outer banner represented the fire-smoker, the weapon with which Uitzilopochtli had killed his sister Coyolxauqui, came down from the upper platform of the temple to burn the offerings heaped up on the great cylindrical stone at the foot of the case leading up to the platform. The sixteenth feast, Atenoztli, was dedicated to the rain-gods. The seventeenth, Titiolli, was a commemoration feast of the dead, at which the iztacolli, 'women-goddesses,' i.e., the deified spirits of the women who died in childbirth, and their patroness Iztacatatl, the old goddess, the goddess of fire, played an important part. The eighteenth and last feast was called Izcalli, 'increasing,' and was dedicated to Xiuhtecuhtli, the god of fire, who was honoured by offerings of all kinds of animals thrown into the flames. The god was represented in this feast by two different figures—at one time as a god of vegetation, dressed in green Quetzalcatl-feathers and wearing a mask of turquoise, and green stones, and at another time as the god of the burning fire, dressed in feathers of the red macaw and wearing a mask of red and black stones. The five last days of the year, called nemontemi, were deemed unlucky. No feasts were celebrated on them, nor any business of importance taken in hand.

Other ceremonies were performed to the deities who were believed to rule certain days, according to the name of the day in question, 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 designated '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.' They were divided into different classes, such as the tlamacazte, 'incense-burners,' the tecpatl, 'guardians of the idols,' the quepmaco, 'fire-god priests,' and the xocochtli, 'tallow priests,' who were, at the same time, the musicians and the singers. At the head of all these priests there were in Mexico City two high priests, called Quetzalcocatl Toteo tlamacazqui and Quetzalcocatl Tlaco tlamacazqui, and at Mixcoztli two great gods, Uitzilopochtli and the rain-god
9. General characteristics.—In spite of their adherence to bloody sacrificial rites, the Mexicans were sober, honest people, of tender susceptibility, governed by the laws of a highly developed civilization, respecting the rights of property, detesting lying and falsehood, cheerful with their friends, brave in war, and unflinchingly obedient to their native kings. Their governors and princes exercised arbitrary power, but were restrained by unwritten laws, handed down from their forefathers, and by 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 standard, and to-day the Mexicans are, if not the most refined, certainly the most honest, component of the population of the Mexican territory.

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MEXICANS (Modern).—An intimate knowledge of the religious life of the ancient peoples of Mexico is necessary in order to understand the religious life of the present native population of the country. On first acquaintance with the people an impression is given that the Roman Catholic religion is everywhere present, yet many of the pre-Columbian religious ideas remain. Too much cannot be said of the energies and the fervour of the Roman Catholic priesthood in their attempts to Christianize the natives. The originality of their methods and their enthusiasm for the work resulted in a marked success. They learned the native languages, and collected much data upon the customs and religion of the people, and to these early accounts we owe practically all our knowledge of the pre-Columbian life.

The ability of the people to read in pictures, and this was turned to account in their teaching of the Roman Catholic Catechism. Figures were drawn on large pieces of cloth representing most ingeniously, in a series of pictures, the various teachings of the Church. These pictures were also made in books, some of which, according to N. Leon (Am. Anth., new ser., ii. [1900] 726), are still used among the Mazahua of Michoacan. A more ambitious attempt was made by the priests to teach the native peoples the words of the Latin Prayer and other Articles of the Church. A native monosyllable word was selected, the sound of which was similar to a syllable of the Latin word, and this sound was represented by a picture. The first syllable, pa, of pa'eter, was shown by a picture of a flag, which in Nahauatl was pantli, and the second syllable, ter, was represented by a drawing of a stone, tell in Nahuatl. 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, 1729, xv.) that the Christian priests illustrated the vicissitudes 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 shown fighting with one another, ogling women, becoming intoxicated, and receiving glasses of wine from devils. According to J. de Acosta's report (9. Mural Hist. of the Indies, ed. C. R. Markham, London, 1850, bk. vi. ch. viii.), in illustrating the doctrine of the Trinity, God was pictured with three carved heads, and St. Peter and St. Paul were drawn as two carved heads with keys and sword. As Sapper remarks: 'It is easy to suppose that this sort of picture must have been absolutely incomprehensible to an Indian, but the Catholic Church, and Sapper has no doubt that the effect of these pictures was extremely favourable to the spread of Christianity' (Globus, lxxx. 129).

The Spanish padres were not content with these mnemonic and symbolic methods of teaching the Christian religion, but soon learned the languages of the country, translated the Catechism into the various dialects, and preached in the native tongues. Priests taught the Indians how to record their languages phonetically by the use of the Spanish characters, and from the early days of the Conquest there was a constantly increasing amount of printed and MS material in the languages of the different peoples of Spanish America. The earliest pantheon was an earnest attempt to incorporate it, as much as possible, into their own religion, and, accordingly, we find many of the ancient myths turned into a new setting, with the saints now figuring as the gods of the new faith. We cannot attempt to explain everything in terms of his own mental fabric, we may suppose that many of the strange metamorphoses which came about were the natural result of implanting ideas upon an older foundation, but a result not recognized or authorized by the Church. In many cases the gods of the ancient religion were incorporated into the new, as when the three most important gods were sometimes turned into the Trinity, while the lesser gods became the saints of the Church. This did not always work, as some gods already had a counterpart in the Mexican religion; among the Mayas he was Kisín, the earthquake.

The present population of Mexico may be divided, for the purposes of this article, into four classes as regards their religion: (1) those of Spanish descent who are true Roman Catholics; (2) those of mixed descent who are nominally Roman Catholics, but still retain some of the ancient pre-Columbian religious ideas; (3) those of mixed blood who are fundamentally pagans from the Christian point of view, with religions rites coloured by Roman Catholic teaching; and (4) those who show no trace of the Roman Catholic teaching, and still continue to practice the ancient religion. It is, of course, impossible to draw a hard and fast line between any two of these classes; the middle divisions are differentiated only by the degree in which the Christian or the native religion prevails.

CLASS 1.—In the large cities and towns there is a numerous population of Spanish-speaking people who have little or no Indian blood, and these carry out the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church as practised in Spain. The festivals of the Church are celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. An interesting survival of the teaching of the early Franciscans is seen in the Nacimiento,
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the Pedraletes, and the Mystery Plays, performed at Christmas 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 been placed in this division, and he considers 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 that the underlying principles of the religion are based on the native ideas rather than upon the Christian faith. The veneer of Roman Catholicism is removed, and the native religion stands out clearly. The greater part of the population of Mexico are of mixed blood, with a strong 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 of Mexico City, e.g., are of this class.

Holy Week throughout Mexico is a time of great religious festivity. In 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 crowns of thorns and dangle themselves. From Holy Thursday until the Gloria of Saturday the bells of the churches are silent, and the water-carriers, or ratters, take their place. Each child and adult has a rattle, and the streets are full of vendors, each selling some sort of noisy toy. On the Sabado de Gloria new fire is struck from the blessed lint. 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 struggling crowd. Firecrackers often burn the hands and feet of these Judas figures. It is a time of much merriment.

In Mexico City on Viernes de Dolores, the eve of Pahu Sunday, there is a long procession of devotions from the various missions to the Viga, in which small shrines, and altars are displayed everywhere, the native love of flowers and their varied use of them as decoration being seen at this time at its best. These religious festivals play a very important part in the life of the people.

The custom of erecting wooden crosses along the roads and trails is very common in Mexico. The traveller, in passing one of these crosses for the first time, usually deposits a stone or a flower before it.

It is on the magical side of the religion that we find the greatest number of survivals at the present time. Symbolic and contagious magic abound among all strata of the population. Some of their ideas are, of course, derived from the Spanish element, but the greater number are purely native. Hypnotic suggestion is the important feature in all the ceremonials which deal with healing the sick. The air is full of evil spirits, which linger round the outskirts of the villages, and precautions must be taken to placate or oust them.

Class 3.—This class is represented in the small pueblos in the country districts, where the headman of the village performs the offices of the Church, except at infrequent intervals when the priest of the district makes his visit to celebrate Mass and to perform marriages and baptisms. The native religious ideas are also considerably influenced by the visits of a priest of the Church; often too infrequent to make much headway against the presence of the strong native religious element. This cannot be stamped out among the people, and it remains a study growith itself. Unless energetic efforts are made to counteract its influence by Christian teaching, it is among people of this class that the blending of pre-Columbian and Christian ideas may best be studied.

The native element in the form to the front especially in connexion with agriculture and the burial of the dead. Incense is burned and offerings are made to the gods of fertility at the time of sowing; other gifts are presented to the gods of rain; in some cases offerings are given to the wind-gods when the brewing of the brush of the maize-field is undertaken; and abstinence from sexual intercourse before the planting is another of the survivals. Among the Otomi an idol is buried in the maize-field, another is kept in the domestic house, and a third in the granary. The hunter may burn incense for a successful hunt, the traveller for a prosperous journey. Every house has its santo, or saint, often the crudest kind of picture or image, and the first fruits of the harvest are usually placarded before this shrine; in time of sickness and death many offerings are made and incense is burned. It is the nature of the gifts and the spirit in which they are made, rather than the act itself, that shows the pre-Christian element.

In many of the prayers the native element is seen. Sapper tells (Vida nörd. Mittel-Amerika, p. 250) of the Kekehi praying, 'Thou art my mother, thou art my father, a form common in the Popol Vuh (q.v.); for example, in one of the prayers is seen in the poetical form, the parallelisms, the antitheses, and the repetitions of single words and phrases. Seler tells of a stone idol discovered in a cave in the State of Puebla before which offerings of flowers, eggs, and wax candles were found. In another case the visiting padre saw, to his indignant, a stone idol occupying the place of honour beside the crucifix, on the altar of the village church. In a cave in Oaxaca a pottery image and grapes were discovered, the feathers having undoubtedly been used in connexion with the sanctuary of human blood, so common a part of the religious ritual of the ancient Mexicans. These definite examples will show the hold which the older ideas have upon the people, who are nominally good Roman Catholics.

Class 4.—The number of individuals who have been placed in this division is comparatively small, and, as might be expected, they are found only in the most unsettled and inaccessible portions of the country. They show practically no influence from the outside world in their customs, their languages, or their religion. Spanish is seldom understood, and the native language shows little change from those portions which were recorded by the early Spanish conquerors. It is among these people that one can obtain a clear picture of the pre-Columbian aborigines. The polytheistic ideas are still maintained, and many of the gods now worshipped may be identified with the ancient deities of the people.

—Sakaimokha of the Huichols, e.g., is recognized as the old rain god, Tlaloc. It is seldom that the ancient gods of the sun, the moon, the morning star, and other planets can be identified with them, although among the Seri of Lower California the sun and moon find a place among the gods, and among the Pueblos there is a 'father-sun' and 'mother-moon.' Among the present-day Mayas the sun and moon are servants of the gods.
Worship by means of prayer, divination, and sacrifice takes many different forms. Human sacrifice has been aboli-
shed, although there are a few sporadic cases where it has been reported within the last century. Blood sacrifice is not un-
common among people of this class, the car and other parts of the body being plunged into the sacrificial 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, although burning of copal or other 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, the kikali of the Huichols, the teocino of the Tarahumara, and the bateko of the Lacandones. Divination is practised in many forms, and among many peoples there is a class of soothsayers who look into the future by means of the movements of sacrificed animals, the smoke of the incense, the crystal, the image on the surface of a basin of water, and many other ways. The prayers of the Cora, collected and translated by Preuss (Die Nayagrat.-Expedition), furnish an excellent criterion of the native point of view towards the gods and religion. Certain places are usually set aside for them, and are often held for magical purposes. Among the Tarahumara, e.g., the dance is a prayer, a petition for prosperity for the harvest, or for health and freedom from ill-fortune.

The idea of renovation, the renewal of the incense-
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 Lacandones, at the main ceremony of the year, when the firstfruits are offered, the collection of the 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 head of the family now performs the priestly functions, and among some of the tribes the class of shamans still remains. It is claimed that one-fourth of the Huichols (g.v.) of Northern Mexico are shamans; the name of the tribe signifies 'the doctors or healers.' It is they who have the power to look into the future and who understand and interpret the will of the gods. Religious temples, so common a feature of the pre-Columbian culture, no longer play a part in the religions life, though the Lacandones make many places of worship of incense-burners and other offerings. The religious practices are usually carried on either in the domestic habitations or in a house set apart for the purpose, this house being called tapia, '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 offer-
ings, previously made to the gods, are consumed by the worshippers. Perhaps the best example of a people who have had no contact with Spanish ideas are the Lacandones, who live in the State of Chiapas on a tributary of the Usumacinta River, which forms a portion of the boundary between Mexico and Guatemala. The early efforts of the Spanish to Christianize these people met with failure, and they have remained undisturbed for three hundred years. The customs, and especially the religious, of this people is of great importance 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 careful 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 southern-western portion of the United States: the religion of the Puebloan peoples and of the Navahos and Apaches shows a striking similarity to the religious ideas of the Huichols, the Cora, and the Natchez of New 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 pheno-
mena of nature and the power of the gods. The religious ideas of the present native population show a great number of survivals of the ancient religion of the formerly highly cultured peoples belonging to the Nahua, the Maya, and kindred civilizations.

LITERATURE.—D. G. Brinton, 'Das Heiligtum im christlichen Yukatan,' Globus, IX. (1897) 176-179; M. R. Cole, 'Los Pastores, a Mexican Play of the Nativity,' Memoirs of the Amer. Folk-

MICHAELMAS.—1. The origin of the festival and the Michael churches in Italy.—The Martillo in Englyshe, translated by Richard Whytford of Sycamoonastery by William Ykyn de Wode in 1520, records the Roman and Sarum tradition of the origin of the festival:

'The xxix day of September, in the month of garson, the rememhred memory of saint Michael the Archangel where a church of hym is osen, that is but of poore budyng yet notwithstanding it is adored wyth many grete vertyes (Henry Bradshaw Society, iii, (1891) 155).

The Sarum Missal in the calendar has: ' 3 kl. Oct. Michaelis anchargeli, and in the text: 'Michaelis anchargeli' (Miss. ad numm. Sarum, Burntisland, 1891-ss, pp. 23°, M8). The calendar of the Westminster Missal of 1685 has: ' 3 kl. Oct. Sancti Michaelis anchargeli' (H. Bradshaw Soc. i. (1891) xiiii). The Missal of Robert of Jumieges, an English Service-Book written, probably at Winchester, between the years 1096 and 1027, has in the to the rainnyng structures wher they believe the gods reside, carrying with them incense-burners and other offerings. The religious practices are usually carried on either in the domestic habitations or in a house set apart for the purpose, this house being called tapia, 'the house of all,' among the Huichols.

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Martin Rule, in his 'Analytical Study of the Leorum Sacramentary' (JThSt. ix. (1905) 515 ff., x. (1908) 514 ff.), traces the traditions of this Venetian MS of the 7th cent. to three collections made during the pontificates of Leo I. (440-461), Hiiranus (461-468), and Simplicius (468-473). This carries the evidence of the rubric to the 5th cent.

The festival is, therefore, in its origin the dedication festival of a church. The evidence is not confined to the liturgical books of the Lateran rite. The early Mozarabic rite is represented in a MS of the 11th cent. at Paris (Bibl. Nat. nov. acq. lat. 2171). In a short frontispiece, Adnotationes front. evisitationum, the festival is announced thus: 'Adveniente diei festivalis erit dedicatio sancti Michaelis archangeli vel socororum eius' (MS, p. 2171, col. 2).

And in the Notitiae Leorum, a calendar in the same MS under Sept. 29, 514 (413, Oct.) dedication sancti Michaelis arcangeli (G. Morin, Liber Comices, Anecdotae Moravodanoi, i. (1903) 392, 402). A contemporary MS from the same Spanish monastery or bones in Old Castle (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 3653) has the same hymn of 'Dianam Sancti Michaelis Arcangeli, where reference is made to the 'socii.' The first hymn is: 'at glorietur in deo cum consortibus sociis'; and the second: 'Sancto Gabriel Raphaeleo socius.'


i. The Castello S. Angelo at Rome.—Quentin has lately given further evidence of the Martyrologies. The earliest example is that of the Martyrology of Bede: 'iii. li. Oct. Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti angelii Michaelis.' This is modified by the Macon MSS: 'Romae, dedicatio basilicae sancti angelii,' and the Monti MSS: 'Romae, dedicatio basilicae sancti Michaelis archangeli:' and by the Bologna MS with the insertion of the words 'milionario sexto' between 'Romae' and 'dedicatio.' The earliest evidence suggests that of the Leonian Sacramentary, and that the dedication of a church on the 5th stone mile on the Via Salaria is: 'in Monte Garagano, dedicatio basilicae sancti Michaelis archangeli.' This is the source of the entry in the Martyrology of Aど, archbishop of Vienne, c. 570; but as he adds: 'Sed non multo post, Romae, venerabiles etiam Bonoestit unius ecclesiae sancti Michaelis nonnunquam constituunt dedicatam in instantia eirii, quia ubi populus altissimi popocuman. Unde et hodie loci, in summatione sancti Michaelis unius ecclesiae sita sacerdos loci ' (Quentin, Les Martyrologies historiques, p. 56).

The entry in the Martyrology of Aど is the most ancient to be the conscription of the tomb of St. Michael. A century later Liutprand, in his Vita of Chironia, witnesses to this church on the top of the Castel S. Angelo: 'Munitione vero ipsa ... tanque altitudine est, ut ecclesia quae nuper locis, in honore sancti et ecclesiae unius principis archangeli Michaelis fabricata, dicitur sancti Angelii ecclesia usque ad eadem' (ib. p. 96).

Baronius also identified the Church of St. Michael 'inter nubes' with the Castle of S. Angelo, assigning its dedication to Boniface III. (606) or Boniface IV. (607-614), in memory of the stay of the pope on the 29th Sept., and to the festivities of the Great (C. Baronius, Martyrologium Romanum, Venice, 1602, p. 544).

ii. The church on the Via Salaria.—The dedication festival of Sept. 29 would seem to have three steps in historical process. The earliest has reference to the church on the Via Salaria, the second to the Apulian church on Monte Gargano, the third to the church on the Castel S. Angelo. The sixth milestone on the Via Salaria is north of the site of Fidenza, between Castel Gandolfo and Casale Mareglialo. The Casale Sette Iigni, which lies on the hill-side north of the little stream of the Allia, cannot be far from the old basilica of St. Michael. The evidence from the Michael shrine at Spoletto, the pre-ambulatory of Monte Gargano, and the third springs, may explain the origin of the dedication.

iii. The church on Monte Gargano.—Monte Gargano, as the third church on the Via Salaria, is the southernmost of the Michael shrines. The church is dedicated to St. Michael from the sixth till the 17th cent. Liutprand refers to it under the year 493 (Annales Eusebii, ed. Mainz, 1806-1807, sub anno xliii.; cf. his Martyr, ii. 39, 30). It was a great church of the 13th cent. Otto iii. visited the sanctuary in 998. The fact rests on the credible witness of the Vita S. Romualdi of Petrus Damianus (F. Gregorovici, Historia della citta di Roma, ital. ed., Venice, 1872-75, iii. 559). This church was dedicated to St. Michael, and to the third spring of water which was held to be a cure for fever:

'Exspectant saxo qua software: sancta ecclesia stet in altitudinis ipsa quod aubaculum: quam fieri locum, velit spectari quae sancta ecclesia.'

iv. The Michael sanctuary in Umbria.—The Antonine itinerary thus notes two stations on the way from Rome to Milan by the Via Flaminia: ' civitas spolitio ... mil. vii; mutatio Saxararia ... mil. viii.' This 'mutatio' is placed at Le Vene, near Spoletto (Itin. Ant. Aug., ed. G. Parthey and M. Pinder, Berlin, 1868, iii. 1849). Itinerarius, Leclercq rejects the theory of P. Clavier that this referred to a sanctuary of Jupiter Cittanum, and accepts that of H. Holstein that there was a Christian sanctuary on this site when the Itinerary was written (P. Wesseling, Itinerario Itinerario, Amsterdam, 1875, p. 613). H. Leclercq states definitely that the sanctuary cannot have been dedicated to the 'God of Angels' before the epoch of Theodosius, or at the latest before the beginning of the 5th cent. The inscriptions at the sanctuary belong to this date. The inscription over the central door reads: 'SCE DEUS ANGELORUM QUI FECIT RESURRECTIONEM.' Leclercq says:

'Ce cimetiere, dont la plus grande destitution n'a pas précédé l'urbanisation, et qui portait primitivement la noms du saint Apparition, a été transformé et dédié au Dieu des anges qu'a époque de Théodose' (BAGL. art. 'Anges,' p. 252).

And again, after examining the theory of H. Grisar that these buildings (i.e., the Tempio di Cittanum and the Church of S. Salvatore a Spoletto) are works of a school of the 12th cent., he concludes:

Nous pensons donc, jusqu'à nouvelle démonstration, que contrairement à l'opinion de H. Holstein, le tempio di Cittanum a été une destination primitivement sacerdotale, le fait d'un de ces sanctuaires qui bordaient en asile la route de Cittanum pour avoir fait donner le nom de Sacerori au site d'église situé entre Spoletto et Trevi (ib. p. 258).
The consecration of the healing water of the Citumanius to the God of Angels suggests a similar origin for the basilica on the Via Salaria, and may perhaps lie behind the dedication on Monte Gargano. The early Christian association of angelic agency with healing springs is recognized in Ju b. Lodereq states that there is evidence of the prevalence of the cult in Umbria in the first half of the 5th century. The Church of S. Salvatore outside the walls of Spoletto is on the site of a small church originally dedicated to St. Michael in 429. There is another in the parish of Mandorletto near Perugia, of the same epoch, called in the inscription: 'basilica sanctorum angelorum' (ib. p. 2148).

2. The Michael churches in the East. — 1. St. Michael of Khonai. — The Church of St. Michael the Archangel was a centre of the cult of Asia. When the hill-station of Khonai took the place of Colossae in the 7th cent., the Church of Colossae became known as the Church of St. Michael of Khonai. The legend tells that St. Michael, with the angels, cleansed the ancient city of Lycus by inundation from clearing the gorge outside Colossae. The miracle of Khonai in its present form is of the 9th cent., but it represents the fusion of legend and of a later dedication of Colossae. W. M. Ramsay has no doubt of the identity of the Church of St. Michael of Khonai with the Church of Colossae. The raid of the Turks in 1189 swept along the Lycus valley. Khonai on the hill-side escaped them, but the threshing-floors along the valley were destroyed, and the great church was burnt (Nicetas Choniates, Annales de Isaac Anglo, bk. ii. ch. 2 [Hist. Byz. Venice, 1729, xii, 210]). The legend also explains the origin of a spring which burst forth on the site of the church of St. Michael. Ramsay (Cities and Bishops of Phrygia, i. 214 ff.) says that St. Michael of Khonai in the later Christian legend takes the place of the Zeus of Colossae of pagan tradition. The power associated with Zeus was transferred to St. Michael. Ramsay sums up the importance of the legend in its bearing on early Christian history: 'The worship of angels was strong in Phrygia. Paul warned the Colossians against it in the first century (Col. ii. 18). The Council held at Locutio on the Lugus in 367, afterwards transmuted as idolatrous (Conc. Lat. Cap. 35), Theodoret, about 230, in his History of the Church, asserts that this disease long continued to infect Phrygia and Pisidia (Interp. Ep. Col. ii. 6). But that which was once counted idolatry, was afterwards reckoned as pietas' (Church of the Roman Empire, London, 1883, p. 477).

ii. Asia. — Michael the Archangel was honoured throughout Asia. His name is preserved in Mikhail near Prynnesmos, in Mikhailitich on the Sangarios, and in other city names (Ramsay, Phrygia, i. 31 f.). He is connected with the introduction of Christianity into Isauria, and is associated with the cities of Akroinos-Nicopolis and Gordium-Endokias. Sozomen speaks of the cures wrought at the Michaelion, a shrine built by Constantine on the north shore of the Boeotrians (Hist. eccl. iv. 17). He was the son of a wealthy citizen named Theoctistus. His father, at whose instance he was consecrated to St. Michael, was transferred to the Church of St. Michael on the island of Lemnos, and is now represented by Armanou near the island.

Procopius describes the rebuilding of this basilica by Constantine, and the building of another under the dedication of St. Michael at Proocheiths on the Boeotian shore (De bellic. i. 8). He built another on the Asiatic coast at Mokadia (ib. i. 9). Procopius also mentions the Michael churches erected by Justinian at Antioch (ib. ii. 111) and at the healing springs of Pythia in Bithynia, with a house of rest for the sick (ib. iv. 3), while at Verna in Pamphylia stood a ptochelon of St. Michael (ib. v. 9).

iii. Constantinople. — There are important references to the Michael churches of Constantinople and the neighbourhood in the Imperius Orientale of Anselmo Banduri (Hist. Byzant., xxii. and xxiv.) and in the Constantinopolitan Churches of C. D. du Cange (Hist. Byzant. xxii.). The latter gives a list of fifteen churches (Const. Christ, iv. 23) in the city and five monasteries in the suburbs (ib. iv. 15). The chief festival of St. Michael in the Eastern Church is kept on Nov. 8. iv. Alexandria. — The Annals of Eutychius of Alexandria (p. 94) have a legend connected with a Michael church in Alexandria. It tells of 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. Sinkler, D.C.A., 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 folklore; the testimony is of 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 folklore, and can be looked for only in local traditions. An association to St. Michael and a site associated with a headland, hill-top, or spring, on a road or track of early origin, is reasonable to look for a pre-Christian sanctuary.

i. Headland and coast churches. — On the French coast are St. Michel near the mouth of the Loire, St. Michel on the Pointe du Rau in Brittany, St. Michel en Greve to the south of Launon, the Ile St. Michel near the Cap de Frehel, and, best-known of all, Mont St. Michel. The legend associated with Mont St. Michael suggests the tradition of an ancient sanctuary of Celtic heathendom. The giant stian by Arthur on the site is said to have come from Spain, the Hades of Celtic mythology (Illus, Celtic Heathendom, p. 90 f.). He is said to have ravished Eluen, who is equated with a goddess of Welsh mythology (ib. p. 161). Thus, by the overthrow of a giant by the champion of Christianity, 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 Lynne Regis, and that of Bere near Seaton, all of ancient origin. There are also St. Michael near the mouth of the Camel on the Devon coast, and Michael's Mount, 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 ancient seat of the bishopric. The bishops of Limoges are also the central church of Castelo-media 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 Pemecromium, a place-name which bears evidence to the worship of the heathen god in the centre of ancient Britain (Illus, Celtic Heathendom, p. 204 f.). It is the Brythonic equivalent of the Irish Cois Cruach, 'the Chief of the Mound,' who bowed before the staff of St. Patrick.
MICHAELMAS

Peakridge was formerly the sanctuary of the Celtic Zeng. St. Michael church may often witness to some pre-historic centre of religious worship.

The story of a bull is associated with the foundation-legend of the Church of St. Michael 'in Monte Cargano.' The legend rests on a 'libellus' written in 1179 by Hermannus, a priest of Sipontum, who missed his bull from the herd:

"Quem domus condita servatorum multitudine per eleva quacia latus hanc tympanum plantato tamen tundere celtibus sollicitum sititium."

Thus transtorn cur solivagia aspernatas: stait myrtis curatus tenuis, et appetit illum sanctum et sanctam quod sancta domus plantum quia quod sancta domus plantum societatem perimetis.\(^\text{(Mobiuniim, Sanctuarium, i. 299; ed. Hereford Diocet in Chapter History, Worcestershire, 15th cent. v. i., p. 229.)}\)

The sanctity of the bull-shrine is here vindicated. The terror is averted by the dedication of the site to St. Michael.

The life of St. Francis of Assisi alludes to the forty days' fast in honour of St. Michael. It was kept 'ad heremum Alvernae.' It was on this occasion of one of these facts that the birds gathered round his cell. They are called his "coruscat," (Mobiuniim, Sanctuarium, i. 299.)

The vision of the stigmata is assigned to the same sanctuary.

"Eunium itaque antequam spiritum rederet caelo...per dormitium in sibilationem acceperat..." (Mobiuniim, Sanctuarium, i. 299.)

The third church.—The dedication of wells and springs to St. Michael may be noted in the Michael churches of Askerwell, at the head of the Askar Valley in Dorset, at Barwell in Lincolnshire, and at Horton-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 Ollhos de Sao Pedro.

There is a remarkable example of a Michael church in association with a spring at Landanghel near Llanvycit Major in Glamorgan. 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 Landanghel churches in Wales.—It has been noted by W. L. Bean (Dioic. Hist. of St. David's, London, 1888, p. 36, ap. Willis Band, The Celtic Church of Wales, p. 336) that the Michael churches in association with the Bishops of St. David's, to the number of forty-five, with one exception, are in the country districts. It has been suggested by Willis Band (p. 336) that they mark a second stage in the spread of Christianity in Wales.

The Michael churches would therefore represent the villages of 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 Pagans (ib. p. 336). The Michael churches of Anglesey bear out this assertion. There are four of them; and they are all in the near neighbourhood of sites of great antiquity, associated with the legend and myth of Wales. Landanghel-yn-Sylwy, on the coast north-west of Beaumaris, is within the pre-historic site of Bedd Arthur; Landanghel-yr-Beirdlıc the name comes from the ancient Cerniadan Trer Beirdl. It lies to the east of Llanerchymlyn. Landanghel-y-n-Nhowyn, south-east of Valley, is near the site of Ger-Elen. Landanghel Eoseling is parochially connected with the old site of Ynys Bere. This group requires the Michael churches of Anglesey, taken together with 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 Celtic heathendom.

v. The Michael church by Cole.—The churchyard of St. Michael's at Lichfield is referred to in the MS Historiae Ecclesiasticae Lichfieldensis in the Cathedral Library at Lichfield. It was erected on site even in the time of St. Augustine.

"Corporibus occidens sepeliiendi insculpunt magnitudinis corporerum quem uno Dei Michaelis alacritate, fertur inveniisse; quem fertur Augustinio, qui Anglorum Apostoli, qui habeat in illis insulae partes inviares, religione venerande ussas" (MS Historiae Ecclesiasticae Lichfieldensis in the Cathedral Library at Lichfield, 1174, p. 14).

A note 'de Cemeteriis' in the same MS speaks of certain national burial-places in the early ages of the Church:


There is a passage in Bede which probably refers to a similar burial-place in the neighbourhood of Hexham:

"Est minusa quaedam secretaria, numerar eae et callo circumdata, non longe a Hugubaldstium ecclesias... habent cemeterum sancti Michaelis archangeli, in qua vir Dei sanctificat, numerar eae pacis, atque deinde eos a peculiis quietem operam dare consecraverunt" (ib. v. 2).

The Church of St. Michael at Bordeaux is on the site of an ancient cemetery, the soil of which has the property of preserving the existing bones.

vi. The Angel Victor in Ireland.—The Genar Patercius, the hymn of St. Faicce 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 seas:

"Asket Victor pri guadal
Mill con tessd for tommas,"


The translation of the Irish gloss on v. 16 reads:

"Victrix, angel comunis Scotticae genitae...quia Michael angelus Eboracensis genitae, vita Victor Secundorum" (ib. v. 129). A.

The name Victor may be traceable to the iubalitos of the Mozarabic Missal for Michaelmas:


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 Mase Murchon in honour of St. Michael, says:

"St. Michael was very popular in Ireland. In the Second Vision of Adamnan we read in section 19: 'The three hostages that were taken on behalf of the Lord for warding off every disease from the 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 Irish Tracts. When these were churches dedicated to him in many localities; the place-name Temple Michael still exists in 0 of 7 counties" (ib. Liber Hymnorum, xiv. 133).

4. 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. 439).

In Herefordshire in 1740, 'one goose B. for the lady'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 1573, alludes to a similar custom:

"At Christmass a capon.
A Miclinashe a goose.
And somewhat else at New-yers title,
For here their lease the loose (ib.)."

Such customs are deep in the folk-lore and religious ideas of a people. Geese have sacred associations. They saved Rome ('anes norr refelore: quibus sacris Junoni') [Livy, v. 47]. The goose-pond, or 'fuente de las ocas,' 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 (ErE 1. 518). Geese were taken to the ancient Britons ('Ieporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fass non putant') [Cas. de Bell. Gall. v. 12]. They also had a place in the story of St. Werburga (in Wuladena's house, quod est iuxta Hamtun... infinita ancora silvatierno... multitudine) [Vener Legenda Anglica, ed. C. Horstmann, Oxford, 1901, ii. 423]. The witness of East and West, the folk-lore and legend of Britain, alike point to the sacred associations of the Michaelmas goose. As the traditional feasts of Christi, of St. Peter, and of St. Agnes, rest, together with the sites of so many of our Michael churches, on a foundation of primitive religion, and in Britain they are no less sacred to Christianity for thus keeping alive the deep-rooted pre-Christian faith, so the Michaelmas goose has become a part of the folk-lore and legend of Britain.

5. The liturgical meaning of the festival: St. Michael and All Angels. — The festival of Michaelmas is specially in honour of St. Michael, but the words of the officium ne introit to the mass in the breviary of Cluny ('hius Michaelis omnes angeli') the festival thus includes All Angels. The English Prayer-Book entitles the festival 'St. Michael and All Angels, The College Breviary of c. 1675 (H. Bradshaw Soc. xxiii. [1912] p. xxxvii) agrees in this title: 'St. Michaelis et omnium Angelorum.' The Dedication of the Great Hall of the Bishops of Dialectian in 1564 under the title S. Maria degli Angeli shows the same idea.

The Collect 'Dens, qui miro orario'—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, oecclerom, and postcommunion are also common to all. The Gospel—'Qui salvet suae præsuæ'—is the theme of the angels, the Offertory—'Stetit Angelus'—to the incense of prayer, the Postcommunion—'Beatæ Archæangéli tui Michaelis'—to the intercession of St. Michael. The Epistle common to the Roman and Sarum and most of the Western uses—significavit Dens quaeritis féri citó'—commemorates the Angel of the Apocalypse (H. Bradshaw Soc. xii. [1897] 1958).

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, called the devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole world.' The Western Infant Missal of 1561 has this Epistle as a First Lesson, followed by the usual Epistle, 'Significavit Dens.' It is a rare instance of two prophetic lessons before the gospel, which of itself shows the influence of Gallican use. This inference is strengthened by its use as the First Lesson in the Mozarabic Missale Mistum (ed. Lesley, p. 389).

It also appears as a Matins lesson in the Milan Breviary (Breviarium Aquinatianum, Milan, 1890, Pars Estiva, ii. Prop. de Tempore, p. 460). Wicliffe Langtree traces it in the Missale 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. [1897] 1958).

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.


MICIUS. — Micius is the latinized form of the words otherwise transliterated Mî Tse, or Mo Tse, meaning 'the philosopher Mî.' His personal name was Tîh (or Tî). 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 'very little 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 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, 1905, p. 67). It is this doctrine of universal love by which he is best known, largely because of the criticism of it by Mencius (p. 67). All social disorders in the empire, and between persons and families, on account of 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 selfishness for the sake of pleasing their sovereign, how much less difficult should they find it to practise universal love, which, moreover, would be recompensed by love. Others would follow if only rulers would lead the way by administering their government on this principle, taking plea-are in it, stimulating men to it by rewards and praise, and awing them from opposition to it by punishment and fines. Micius advocates the ancient kings as examples, for equally with Confucius he builds on the same idea.

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. This is not a plea for friendship, for Micius never prefers his friend to his own; it is merely the statement of the fact that the 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 Mîhist Tî Tse. Taking Micius's doctrine as inculcating equal love to all, he argues from the actual facts of human nature, pointing out that man's affection for his own 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 (Micius, bk. iii. pt. i. ch. 5, pt. 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 1 Tse, though it may be held that 1 Tse represents the logic of his master's doctrine. 1 Tse
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also exposed himself to Micus's criticism by his exaggeration of his master's teaching on simplicity in funeral titubation (Miehus, bk. 1, ch. 5). Midrash did no more than discourage extravagance on utilitarian grounds, as being of no profit to men or gods, while he allowed all that was necessary for a devout interment (Miehus, bk. v, ch. 25). Among other points worthy of notice are these. In bk. iii, on the value of uniformity, Miehus 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 will of God, whose judgment, however, must conform to heaven if heaven-sent punishments are to be avoided. Hence the pietty of the ancient kings. Miehus is firmly convinced of the existence of spiritual beings, the instruments of God's administration, and so far alluring the necessity of religious belief for social stability (bk. viii.). Of two chapters criticizing the Confrancian school one survives, though Chinese editors are inclined to deny this nature to his remarks. The whole body of Miehus deserves Legge's praise of him as 'an original thinker,' who exercised a bolder judgment on things than Miehus or any of his followers.


P. J. Maclagan.

MICMACS.—See Algonquins (Eastern).

MIDRASH AND MIDRASHIC LITERATURE. — The term midrash (from the root davrash, 'to seek,' 'inquire') signifies 'research,' 'inquiry,' 'study.' Applied by the Chronicler to historical writings ('the spirit'), the Midrash of the Prophet Is: (2 Ch 12:3) and the Midrash of the book of Kings (2 Ch 24:7), it assumed later, with the advent of the sif'orim, or scriptures, upon the stage of Jewish history, the connotation of free exposition or exegesis of Scripture, eventually becoming a general term for pure theoretical study as opposed to a practical pursuit of knowledge. From the latter usage the Jewish academy received its name beth ha-midrash, 'house of study.' In a narrower sense, midrash is employed to mean any specific exposition of a Scriptural passage differing essentially from the p'shalim, the literal meaning (the plural form in such ease being midrashot), and the name is then transferred to a collection of such free expositions, known collectively as midrashim, Midrashic works.

The intellectual activity of the Rabbis with regard to this free exposition of the Bible was developed along two different lines, the Haflkah and the Midrash, 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 halakhah, 'way of action,' halakhah, a rule of conduct; haggadah (also known in its Ara'mic form aggadah or agadah), 'narrative,' 'explanation.' The Halakhah confines itself to the legalistic aspect of the Scriptures; the Haggadah to their moralizing and edifying aspect. From the Rabbinic standpoint, the Bible is a microcosm in which is reflected every move and event of the great universe. One teacher comments: 'Turn it, and again turn it; for the all is therein, and the secret of the ages.'

It is prescribed (Neh. 8:8) to derive this word from the toledot mogen sk'it, 'the text explains that,' in use in the earliest Midrashic works.

The deeper aspect of the Halakhah was its teaching of the inner meaning of the Law, as against the p'shalim, and the Midrash is the explanation of the embarrassment; like a hammer which strikes the inherent sparks from the rock, it is possible to unravel all the secrets which lie beneath the surface of the cold letter of the text (Sokh. 54a). The Halakhah 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 Haggadah. The Halakhah relies, for its powers, mainly on the intellectual and logical faculties of the man; the Haggadah on the imaginative and emotional faculties. The Halakhah strives to preserve the letter of the law by insisting on the observance of all the details in the ritual; the Haggadah, by a well-defined analysis of the relation of man to his environment, seeks to preserve its spirit.

Midrashic study, therefore, assumes a twofold aspect. On the one hand, it is concerned with the evolution of legalism—the Halakhah; on the other, it centres about the problems of God, man, and the universe—the Haggadah. The origin of Midrashic study is shrouded in the gloom of antiquity. The Rabbis themselves often assign Midrashic interpretations of Scripture to Biblical personages, but such statements are not to be taken at face value. A noteworthy instance of this occurs in the Mishna (Shabb. 6:6): 'This is the midrash which Jehoiada, the high-priest, taught.' By such assertions the Rabbis probably meant 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 took up the constructive work initiated by the Rabbis. Daniel uses Midrashic exegesis quite literally in interpreting the words of Jeremiah (23:29, 29) 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 sif'orim, or scriptures, 400 B.C.-A.D. 10; (b) the period of the Talmud, 10-500; and (c) the period of the Amoraim, later Rabbinic authorities, A.D. 500-950.

The historical side of the development of Midrashic study has been ably dealt with in the works of L. Zunz, Die gottdienstlichen Chrestomathien, 1892; Z. Frankel, Hesed ut'Hegodes in Mischna, Leipzig, 1859, and Introductio in Talmud Hierosolymitamnun, Breslan, 1870; D. Hoffmann, "Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midrashim" (Buehne des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin), 1887; and especially in the works of W. Bucher, Die Agada der Tannaiten, Strassburg, 1903, Die Agada der babylonischen Amorier, do. 1874, and Die Agada der palastinischen Amorier, do. 1892-99. Only few traces remain of the Midrashim of the early scribes (cf. Mishnah Sheiti, viii.; Malakht Sheti, v. 104). During the second period, the Tannaitic, Midrashic study must have developed to grand proportions, as is evident from the fact that the various schools of Rabbis, beginning...


2 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 was,' it has a deeper meaning; w. H. Gaster, "The philosophical study of the megillot," (Signs of the Jewish Fathers, ed. C. Taylor, Cambridge, 1897, p. 48). On the Elijah character of the prophetic spirit, cf. I. J. Wise's Introduction to the literature of the OT, Edinburgh, 1913, p. 529.

3 Cf. W. Bachor, Die exegetische Terminologie der juedischen Traditionsliteratur, Leipzig, 1899-1900, i. 102.

4 The etymology of this word or phrase is debatable. For the meaning 'definity' (Mishnah, 106), parallel passages on the authority of a number of different teachers are cited (cf. Exeget. xi. 2; Wayikrah, xi. 7; Ruth, iii. 7; Esther, i. 10; P'ukkath Rabba, i. 7)." Estor Rabba, i. 10; P'ukkath Rabba, i. 5. In these periods the meaning of the Babylonian Rabbis is again that of the Midrash (cf. N. Krochma, Morch Nebkhit ha-Zeman, Warsaw, 1894, p. 223).
1. Halakhic Midrashim.—The legalistic exegesis of Scripture did not proceed in an unsystematic manner, but rather as a consequence, the results of its work to the next in the form of rules of legal hermeneutics which were derived from a colation of similarly worded passages in the Pentateuch. Accordingly, the school of Hillel, at the beginning of the lifetime of the Haggadic commentaries, left seven such rules, which, in the school of Rabbi Ishmael, were later amplified into thirteen. These are either based on some logical syllogism or of purely exegetical character. Thus the steps of the school of Hillel embrace the following: (1) the inference from minor and major (at the bottom of which is a fortiori reasoning); (2) the analogy of expressions; (3) the generalization of one special provision; (4) the division of two special provisions; (5) the effect of general and particular terms; (6) the analogy made from another passage; (7) the explanation derived from the context.

From the time of Rabbenu Bahya, a complete commentary on the legal portion of the Pentateuch was issued, the following parts of which have been preserved.

(a) The Meshilta (Aramaic for ‘rule’ or ‘measure’), which is the halakhic work extant, is a running commentary to the legal portions of Exodus. It begins with the injunction concerning the Passchal lamb in 12th, and ends with the injunction concerning the kindling of fires on the Sabbath (69). A large portion of Haggadic material has also been added. In the Meshilta, as well as in all the other Halakhic Midrashim, the activity of the Rabbis in the legal field is analyzed; in the Mishna it is synthesized. The Meshilta went through the hands of later redactors, who work is still traceable. The edition princeps was Constanti- nople, 1515, and the two critical editions are Meshilta . . . von I. H. Weiss (Vienna, 1865) and Meshilta de Rabbi Ishmael . . . von M. Friedmann (1879).

(b) The existence of a commentary to Leviticus from the same school is posited by Hoffmann (‘Einleitung,’ pp. 72-76) from fragments preserved in various places in Rabbinic literature.

(c) The Midrash Rabbah from the same school is the Sifre to Numbers, forming a running commentary to 5-35 with omissions. The work is generally bound together with the Sifre to Deuteronomy, and both were, for a long time, considered of similar origin. The latter work, however, originated in the school of Rabbi Akiba. The name Sifre probably means ‘books.’ The first edition was printed in Venice, 1546, and a critical edition was issued by M. Friedmann, Sifre de Rabbi Akiba (1879).

(d) Fragments, from the same school, of a commentary to Deuteronomy were published by D. Hoffmann, in Jubeschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag des Dr. Israel Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1890, pp. 1-32.

Opposed to the methods pursued by the school of Rabbi Ishmael was the more rigoristic school of Rabbi Akiba. The latter, in expounding the law, followed a method known as explaination and limitation (προσκεκλημένος τον κύκλο), introduced by his teacher, Nahum of Ginzo. According to this system, it was necessary to consider the amplifying or limiting value of certain particles used in the Pentateuch (cf. 1. 371-410), and when considering the question of the passage, in order to include the additions of tradition or to exclude what it no longer sanctions. Thus the particles ‘even,’ ‘every,’ ‘also,’ ‘with’ were considered as amplifying, the particles ‘but,’ ‘only,’ ‘from’ as limiting hand over hand.

Rabbi Akiba’s disciples included the most distinguished teachers of the Law, such as Rabbi Meir, Judah ben Hai, Simeon ben Yoḥai, and Yosé ben Ḥalata. His disciple, Aquila, followed his methods of exegesis in his Greek interpretation of the Old Testament. The school of Rabbi Akiba the following Halakhic Midrashim have been preserved: (i.) the Mehilta of Rabbi Simeon ben Yoḥai on Exodus, contained in the Midrash haGadol, and published by D. Hoffmann (Mehilta de Rabbi Simeon b. Yoḥai, Frankfurt a. M., 1903); (ii.) the Sifre or Tosefta Kōhānīm, ‘the Law of the Priesthood,’ which is a most complete running Halakhic commentary to Leviticus, and was edited by Rabbi Hylah (middle of 12th cent.; cf. Hoffmann, Einleitung, pp. 222); the edition princeps was Venice, 1545, and the standard edition is Sifre, Commentar zu Leviticus . . . nebst Erläuterung des R. Abraham ben David u. I. H. Weiss, herausgegeben von M. Friedmann (Vienna, 1862); (iii.) the Sifre Zatā, the Halakhic commentary to Numbers from the school of Rabbi Akiba, existing only in fragmentary form in various collections, foremost among which is the Toldoth haze-Avot, the concern of which, expression Zatā, ‘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, at the time of Rabbi Akiba, 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 their scope is primarily Halakhic, the Haggadic content in each instance forms no mean proportion, for the Rabbis felt themselves bound by no rigid rules in arranging their material. The later Mishna and Talmud are similar extensive collections which comprise the greatest efforts of the Rabbis in the realm of Halakhah 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 21:23) means a money-compensation. This, however, is a mere assertion; perhaps we are actually to understand the passage in its literal sense. Says Rabbi Eleazar: Scripture unite in one passage (Ex 21:23) the two injunctions, 'he that killeth a beast shall make it good; and he that killeth a man shall be put to death.' For what purpose is this collation? In order to establish a like precedent for the laws of tort in the case of man and beast. Just as the damage inflicted on a beast is punishable by a fine, so the damage inflicted on a human being is punishable by a fine." Rabbi Tarshish adds: "In the case where one's beast had repeatedly inflicted death on several human beings, scripture specifically imposes a fine on the owner to escape a deserved death-penalty (Ex 21:23); in this case, where the Scriptural penalty is only the loss of an eye, there is all the more reason to believe that the intention was to allow a money compensation" (cf. Mehilta of Rabbi Ishmael, Mahpotion, 6).

The binding force of the decisions of the Rabbis with regard to their interpretations of the Mosaic law is clearly expressed in the following:

"Concerning the authority of the words of the scribes. Scripture says (De 16:17): 'According to the IDF unto the end of the day, which they shall teach thee.' It does not say which the Torah

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2 For see see JE x. 311f.

3 Cf. Targ. Saad., ch. 7; Abbot de Rabbi Nathon, ch. 37; and Sifre, introductory ch.

4 Cf. J. Winter and A. Windisch, Die jüdische Literatur, Treves, 1894, i. 371-389; and J. F. viii. 254.

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shall teach thee, but rather which they shall teach thee. . . . Furthermore, when one reads: "Thou shalt not turn aside from the sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left," which means that thou shalt listen to their opinions in reference to what is right and in reference to what is left, if they tell thee that it is right, and concerning the right thee; and if they tell thee that it is left, and concerning the left, thou must yield to their opinion." (Shir ha-Shirim Rabba, i, 2).

2. Haggadah Midrashim. — The Haggadah is the expression of the philosophy of Jewish life, and, as a result, had a wider appeal than the more abstruse Halakhah. With a keen appreciation of the consoling powers of the Haggadah, Rabbi Isaac informs us:

"Generations before, when the penny had a freer circulation, there was a desire to listen to lectures on Mishnah and Talmud; but when the penny is scarce, there is only a desire for Scripture and Haggadah." (Midrash Rabbah, Beshalach hunh-Shelehah).

The Haggadah Midrashim are of two kinds: (1) exegetical, and (2) homiletic. The first form running commentaries to the text of the various books of the OT, and in this respect follow the method of the Halakhic Midrashim. They are, however, frequently introduced by several prayers — opening remarks generally based on some text in the Hagiographa — which is rather a characteristic of the homiletic Midrashim. The latter are collections of homilies or sermons which were delivered during the Shabbath, or other festival services, in the synagogues, and which were based on the portion of the law read during such service. The homiletic Midrashim, therefore, differ essentially, in structure as well as in the treatment of their subject matter, from all the other Midrashic works.

They are regularly introduced by proems in which a passage from the Hagiographa or Prophets is explained and introduced into the context. Several homiletic works (notably the Tanhaimi) also resort to a Halakhic portion of the day is then attached to the opening verses of the portion of the law read during the 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 Messianic era. Two cycles of homiletic Midrashim are in existence: (a) those originating in the three-year-cycle of Sabbath readings, a cycle that begins in the fall of the year in Palestine — the Shabbat cycle — and (b) those based on the readings during the special Sabbath and festivals in the Jewish calendar (occurring before Purim and Passover) and on the festivals and fast-days — the Pesah cycle.

3. Exegetical Midrashim. — Of these the oldest and most important is Bveshith Rabbah, a Haggadic commentary to Genesis. It is the first in the collection known as Midrash Rabbah, or Midrash Rabhah, which comprises ten Midrashic works, one for each book of the Pentateuch, and one for each of the Five Scrolls (the books of Esther, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes). The works included in this collection are of a more exegetical character than the homilies, and each position extends from the 6th to the 12th cent. — the period in which the different Haggadah Midrashim were redacted. Of the Haggadah Midrashim Rabhah is, not only the oldest, but the richest from the point of view of subject-matter. Like most of the Midrashim, it had its origin in Palestine, and was put into its final form no later than the 6th cent. Older authorities ascribe the work to Rabbi Hillel, a Palestinian teacher of the 6th 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 Midrashic works comprising the collection Midrash Rabbah were printed for the first time in Venice, 1545. The standard edition is that of Wilna, 1878—87. The collection was translated into German by August Wünsche in Bibliotheca Rabbinica, eine Sammlung alter Midrashim, Leipzig, 1880—85, and L. Shapiro translated a part of Bveshith Rabbah into English (Midrash Rabbah, New York, 1906).

Ekhah Rabbati, a Haggadic commentary to Lamentations, is also a very early exegetical Midrash, and is included in the Midrash Rabbah. This work (as well as Bveshith Rabbah) 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, Ekhah Rabbati, Wilna, 1899.

Shir ha-Shirim Rabba is an exegetical Midrash to Canticles, included in the Midrash Rabbah. The entire work is an elaborate allegorical rendition of the relation between God and Israel implied in the dialogues between the Lord and Israel in the festival services. Rosh Rabbah (also included in the Midrash Rabbah) is an exegetical Midrash to Ruth. The book is introduced by a series of proems, and the conversion of Ruth furnishes many a beautiful lesson to the Habbinites. Kohelet Rabbah (also included in the above collection) is an almost complete exegetical commentary on Ecclesiastes. The author utilized much of the material found in the Talmud and in various curricula. The lesson ends, and mentions several sources by name, as a sign of the late origin of the Midrash.

Finally, Esther Rabbah is an exegetical commentary on Esther included in the Midrash Rabbah. This is one of a number of extant Haggadic Midrashim to the book of Esther, very popular because of its use during the Purim Festival. The others were published by S. Buber, Sammlung agiadischer Commentare zum Buche Esther, Wilna, 1896, and A. Buber, Abhandlungen zum Buche Esther, Cracow, 1897.

Besides the above-mentioned Midrashim to the Five Scrolls, Buber published several other extant Midrashim to the books of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, in Midrash Sota, Berlin, 1894.

There are still extant several Haggadic Midrashim dealing with the remaining books of Scripture. There can be no doubt that originally such exegetical works existed on all the books, but they have been lost. Foremost among them is Midrash Tehillim, a Haggadic commentary to the book of Psalms. It is also known as Shheker Tobb, "He that seeketh good" (Ps. 147), which are also the opening words of the book. This Midrash is especially rich in the rhetorical devices employed by the Haggadists — analogies, legends, fables, maxims, etc. A critical edition was issued by Buber (Midrash Tehillim, Berlin, 1901). Midrash to the book of Samuel has, likewise, been preserved, known as Midrash Shnunel. 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 S. Buber (Midrash Snimel, Cracow, 1893). Midrash Mikthi is an incomplete Haggadic Midrash to Proverbs. The comments in this Midrash are exceptionally brief, so that the work approaches the character of a Biblical commentary. A critical edition was
issued by S. Buber (Midrashisch, Wilna, 1893). 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 Shim'on Baali, (to Is 61), and in a few other old works. Several fragments of a Midrash to the book of Jonah have been published by A. Jellinek (in Bacher, Midrash, Leipzig, 1883-87, i, 96-145); and by C. M. Horovitz (Sammelband kleiner Midraschim, Berlin, 1881).

Finally, there are in existence a number of works known as Yalkutim, 'collections,' which are in the nature of themasi to all the books of Scripture, and which give (with their proper sources) a wealth of Haggadic material for each of the books. Three of these works are very important: the Yalkut Shim'on Baali, frequently known merely as Yalkut; the Yalkut Meiri; and the Yalkut ha-Maior, ascribed to Rabbi Meir ben Abba Mari, only portions of which have appeared (Buber, Yalkut Meiri. ed., den 150 Paalmen, Berlyczew, 1899), and the Midrash Hagadah on Leviticus, of which the part to Genesis has been published by Schechter (op. cit.), and the part to Exodus by D. Hofmann (Berlin, 1913-15).

4. Homiletic Midrashim.—The purely homiletic Midrashim, according to the Schliem cycle (based on the triennial readings of the Pentateuch in the synagogues of Palestine) are: (1) the Tractatus, (2) Aggadath Bereshith, and (3) the four remaining works in the Midrash Rabbah on the four last books of the Pentateuch. This remains a complete homiletic commentary to the Pentateuch, extant in two versions of two specific families for each of the days of the Pesah cycle. A third version is known to have existed. An important critical edition was issued by Buber (Midrash Tanachuna, Wilna, 1885). Shimon, Rabbah on Exodus, Pirkei Rabbah on Leviticus, Yad Hakohen on Numbers, and Debarim Rabbah on Deuteronomy are four homiletic works of different origin belonging to the same cycle. Of the three homilies to Leviticus are, no doubt, among the most important; a characteristic feature of their conflation of popular sayings and proverbs to illustrate the lesson of the day. The other three works include many homilies that are already found in the Tanhuma collection. Aggadath Bereshith is a collection of homilies on portions of the Pentateuch, which is found in the editions of the Prophets and Psalms, and was edited by Buber (Agadath Bereshith, Cracow, 1902).

Two collections of homilies of the Pesah cycle have been preserved: (1) Pesikta of Rav Kahana, and (2) Pesikta Rabbath. The first consists of thirty-four homilies on the lessons for the special Sabbaths and the feast days. It was edited by Buber (Pesikta, von Rav Kahana, Lyck, 1868). The Pesikta Rabbath is a later work, and also contains homilies for the special days of the Pesah cycle. It was edited critically by M. Friedmann (Pesikta Rabbath, Vienna, 1880).

Style and content of the Haggadic Midrash.

In order to make their teachings most effective, the Rabbis resort to well-known rhetorical devices. Foremost among these is the use of the 'analogy.' The analogy, or extended metaphor, is a well-known figure in literary composition; in the hands of the Rabbis it reached the zenith of its didactic powers. The analogies were drawn from inanimate objects, from the events of everyday 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 *mashal* an interesting volume of notes and extracts was made by P. Wilner, *Die Königsgleichnisse des Midrash bezeichnet durch die römische Kaiserzeit* (Breslau, 1903). On the comparative side, Paul Fiebig has contributed an interesting volume on the differences between the Hebraic *mashal* and the classical *gnomen* (Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu, Tubingen and Leipzig, 1904). The analogy was most helpful in explaining difficulties in the literal narrative, and often in accounting for extraneous matter in Scripture not quite adaptable to teaching purposes. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the use of the *mashal*.

A* matura* once asked Rabbi Yosef bar Hala, "Why does Scripture say: 'He gave wisdom unto them that know understanding' (Deut 32:8)? It must have been that the passage should read, 'He gave wisdom unto the unwise, and knowledge to them that have no understanding.'"

This Rabbi Yosef met with the following: "Let me give you an analogy. If two men, one poor and one wealthy, were to approach thee to borrow a sum of money, to whom wouldst thou lend the money, to the poor man or to the rich?" "Of course to the rich" was very naturally replied, "But, when thou dost do a loss, he still has assets from which I might recover, whereas from the poor man I could not get a penny." Thenceupon Rabbi Yosef replied: "Would that thy ears would hear what thy mouth doth utter! If the Holy One, Blessed be He, were to grant wisdom to simples and fools, they would have received the wisdom from the public baths, the theatres, and at other unseemly places. He therefore granted wisdom to the wise, who confine it to its proper place in the synagoge and the academy (Kolaheth Rabbi, i. 7).

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 *mashal*:

Rabbi Ippah, the son of Simon, explained, on the authority of Rabbi Levi ben Parha. "This may be compared to the son of a deacon who once committed a theft in the public bath, and the keeper of the bath does not desire, for tactless reasons, to reveal his name; but describes him as "a handsome youth dressed in white." Similarly the Pentateuch does not mention the names of all the participants in the sedition of Korah, but merely describes them in the following terms: "princes of the congregation, called to the assembly, men of renown" (Num 16; i.e., Prithakhab Rabbi, loc. cit.).

Another form of the *mashal* was the fable or parable. Collections of parables are already associated in the Jewish world with the name of the wise king, Solomon, who is said to have spoken 'of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes' (1 K 4:23). In the Talmud two collections are mentioned on several occasions—a collection of fox-fables and a collection of date-tree parables (cf. Sukkah, 22a; Britot Bikkurim, 334b). The OT uses the parable in the speech of Jotham (Jg 9:11-15) and in that of Jehoshaphat (2 K 13:14). A casual example will illustrate its use in the Midrash. In the following, the fable of the fox and the fishes is effectively employed by Rabbi Akiba.

During one of the persecutions, when the study of the Torah was forbidden under penalty of death, Pappus discovered Rabbi Akiba hastily engaged in its study. Pappus asked him, 'Rabbi, art thou not endangering thy life in transgressing the royal mandate?' 'Whence dost thou, Rabbi Akiba, reply?' 'Let me give thee an analogy in the following story: Once the foxes, to hide the bank of a river and, beholding the fishes, exclaimed, 'Come out to me, and 1 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 beasts, art nothing more than a similitude of what we depend on the element of water, and thou wouldst have us leave it for the dry land.' Similarly, the life of Israel is wrapped up

1 Besides the collections already mentioned, there are special Haggadic works of didactic import based upon a large corpus of material in previous works, but not arranged in the form of commentaries to the Scriptures. Such are the Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer, Warsaw, 1825; the Ethyok, em. cit. ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1907; and the whole collection known as Smaller Midrashim, dealing with Haggadic on special subjects, such as the Decalogue, the death of Moses and Aaron, etc., scattered in various collections, and especially in the works of Rabbi Yeshua ben Hala ( loc. cit.); M. Friedmann (Qeret Midraschim, New York, 1915). The Midrash known as Lekhah Tovah (ed. Buber, Wilna, 1883), of Tobias ben Eliezer, is not a true Midrash, but rather a commentary on the Pentateuch.
Another means of impressing a lesson is the aphorism, maxim, or proverb. The OT already contains extensive gnomyology in proverbial form. The wisdom of the great Ben Sira later added to this. The collection of the Jerusalem Targum of the Yerushalmi, Be'Rebbi, 33; Thnonnull, xxii; and Mishnah Sotah, 1, 17. Similarly, "Enough for the servant that he be as his lord" (Mt 1032) is found in Tanhuma, Yeh Lekha, 23; Thnonnull, xxi, 5; and in the Talmud (Be'Rebbi, 558). Only a few of these gems can be quoted here.

A single coin in an empty jar makes a loud noise (Thnonnull, i, 21). "I am not the horse and I am not thy servant" (Thnonnull, ii, 21; Be'Rebbi, Rabbai, xx, 10). "Who to the door which thou hast driven in" (Thnonnull, iii, 14). Woe to the woman who implores the aid of the dead, woe to the hero who intercedes with the weakling, woe to the seeing who ask help from the blind, and woe to the generation whose leaders are women (ib. xxii, 20).

Another rhetorical device for impressing a lesson is the pun. This leads into the field of Rabbinic humour. Scripture has set the precedent for its usage in carefully executed word-plays and puns especially on the names of individuals, and shall I not have gotten? (Heb. kenneth) (Gen 44). God shall enlarge (gefo) Rabbai (gefo) (Gen 97). The prophet Isaiah (67) very eloquently says, 'He looks for judg-ment, but behold oppression is (mpenu)'; for righteousness (mpenu), but beholds a cry (mpenu).

Similarly, the Rabbs 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 ruin (destruction). Or. Thatmud, 6, 2. ‘The daughter of Naomi was Orpah because she turned her back (befo) to her mother-in-law. The name of the other was Ruth, because she was hounded (parshah) the words of her mother-in-law’ (Kath Rabbi, ii. 9).

The Rabbs decide from a pun that the language of the creation was Hebrew.

She shall be called Woman (zakah), because she was taken out of Man (beka) (Gen 2). From this it is evident that the Targum was given in the holy tongue. Rabbai Pinnias and Rabbai Rukkh claims the following on the authority of Rabbi Simon:

Just as the Torah was given in the holy tongue, so was the Tanhuma. Later, at Nain, the holy Rabbi Shlomo, that thou ever heard anyone derive a form yonicha from the word yonah (Gr. yonea, 'woman'); for he knew none derive anthropa from the word anthropa (Gr. anthropa, ‘man’), or parshah from parshah (Heb. yonicha (Gr. yonea, ‘man’), or parshah from parshah (Heb. for ‘man’). But one does say ‘parshah’ (Hec. for ‘woman’). From this (Hec. for ‘man’)” (F. Rebbi, Rabbi, xvii, 4).

The Massoretic variations of the Heb. text of the Bible open up new channels for Haggadic exegesis. The Midrash often assigns explanations for the defective writing in the text or for the marginal variations (kere and kethib). The following is an example:

"When it giveth its colour (lit. ‘eye’) in the cup’ (Pr. 239) is rendered ‘the script reads in the verse’ (Hec. kethib), not ‘in the cup’ (Hec. kere). Reference is made to the drunkard, who giveth his eye in the cup; and, on the other hand, to the merchant who fixeth his eye on his purse’ (Tanhuma Shemai, 7).

The Midrash also employs the well-known kabbalist method of exposition, g'matria, which consists in deducting hidden meanings from the numerical value of the letters in the words or, for folk lore, for primitive conceptions of natural science, etc. Only a few examples can be given here. The following pathetic tale is one of a series of anecdotes depicting the events that transpired during the destruction of the Holy City:

The story is told of Miriam, the daughter of Nadabinoz (Nebuchadnezzar), whom the sages had granted an allowance of 300 (tie) gold denarii for her daily outlay and expenditures, and who maligned them for it in the words ‘This mistreat your own daughters’! (Joi.). This Rabbi Shlomo says to her: ‘If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherd’s tent’ (Cai 19) (Rabbai Shemai, 27).

The superstitions of the day were shared alike by Rabbi and priest. Many are the stories told of demons infesting wells and desert places (Tanhuma, Be'Rebbi, 27; ib. Kolhah, 8), often driven out through the opulent intervention of the Rabbi who called magical formula to his aid. Very often the heathen practices of antiquity are recorded. Thus, in Lekh Rabba Shemai (poem 33), it is said, ‘The Arab slays a dog, and in the following year the river is dried for the purpose of anuring future events.’ This practice is well known to students of Kulturgeschichte.

Philosophy, primitive conceptions of science, natural hi-story—all enter to the one end of teaching a lesson in ethics or morals, which is ever the ultimate aim of the Haggadic Midrash.

LITERATURE.—This is given throughout the article.

SOLOMON T. H. HERWITZ.

MIKIRS.—1. Name and History.—The people known to the Assamene by the name Mikir are one of the numerous Tibe-Burman races of Assam. Their own name for themselves is Arung, which (like many other names in Assam and elsewhere) means ‘man’ in general. Their numbers, according to the Census of 1911, were 106,239—a large total for a homogenous Tibe-Burman group in Assam; of these 756 were classed in the returns as Hindus, 1182 as converts to Christianity, and the remainder as animists. The race occupies the central portion of the Assam range, looking north to the Brahmaputra, and the isolated mountainous block south of that river between Nowgong and Sibsagar called the Kangla Hills; a few have settled in the plains of Nowgong and Kainirup, and north of the river in the Darrang district, and follow plough cultivation, but the main strength of the tribe is found in the hilly region of the Kainirup (about 11,000), Khais and Jaintia Hills (15,000), 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 as jhum. Their remembered history, like that of most tribes of the kind, goes back a very short distance in time. There is reason to believe, from the local names of places and streams, that they once occupied the

1 In Heb. they have numerical values.
southern portion of the hill tract north of the Kachar valley, where they are not found. It is certain that they afterward resettled in mass 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 hostile Mahas (lithic) chiefs, they resolved to move into territory governed by the Ahoms, and theremon migrated into the tracts which they now hold in the Nowgong and Sibsagar districts. This migration probably took place, as can be gathered from the Ahom annals, about A.D. 1765. As the figures just given show, large numbers continued to live in the Khâsi and Jaintia Hills and along the Kamrup border, which tract they call Nihang, the territory into which they migrated in the east being called the trien. Here they have a peaceful and unwarlike life, 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 Kachar, or Dihong, in the olden days, and 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 Tiheto-Burmese races of Assam; physically, 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 83-1 and an orbital-nasal of 107.7. The hair is generally straight, and is worn. The front of the head is sometimes shorn; the hair is gathered into a knot behind, which hangs over the nape of the neck. The body is muscular, and the men are capable of prolonged exertion. They have been largely employed (like the Khâsis) 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 shoulders. This, however, is the general method of carriage from Nepal eastwards along the whole sub-Himalayan region, and not peculiar to the Mikirs. The staple food is rice, fish, and the flesh of pigs, goats, and fowls, but meat is chiefly eaten by the Khasis and the Jaintias. The flesh of cows is not eaten, nor is milk drunk. Large quantities of rice-beer are made and consumed, being prepared by each household, and spirit is also distilled. Opium is used to a large extent, as by other races in Assam. Tobacco and betel-nut are also commonly used.

3. Marriage and inheritance. — The Mikir people are divided into three sections, called Chintong, Ronghang, and Amri. These, however, are only local names, the first representing that portion of the tribes 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 Kamrup Hills. The whole tribe, wherever settled, is divided into five large exogamous groups, and these into sub-groups. The five main groups are called Ingdi, Terang, Lekthe or Ingdi, Teron, and Tinoung. Within each of these groups intermarriage cannot take place; hence a child of one of these groups is spiritually, and usually in law, the child of the father's group. The most 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 on-to-on adopted from the Khâsiâs, among whom the strict matriarchal system prevails. Ordinarily the son on marriage brings his wife home to his parents' house; but, if he has to make a payment to his father-in-law, he may stay a year, two years, or even for life, according to agreement, giving his work to the family in return for his bride. There are traces of a former condition of things analogous to that which is found among the Naga tribes, in which the boys of a village lived together in the terang, or bachelors' house, and the unmarried girls are said also to have had their own terang or to have lived in that of the boys, when resolved to move into territory governed by the Ahoms, and thence to move into the tracts which they now hold in the Nowgong and Sibsagar districts. This migration probably took place, as can be gathered from the Ahom annals, about A.D. 1765. As the figures just given show, large numbers continued to live in the Khâsi and Jaintia Hills and along the Kamrup border, which tract they call Nihang, the territory into which they migrated in the east being called the trien. Here they have a peaceful and unwarlike life, 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 Kachar, or Dihong, in the olden days, and to the migration into Jaintia territory, or at any rate to that into the Ahom dominions.

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ness, who declares (after the appropriate incanta-
tions) that Arman-kēthe or Pōng wishes to join the
hostile camp and the warrior his former
victim would generally be satisfied with Hānpāh and
Mukrang.
The village or communal gods are called Rēkānglōng (= 'mountain of the community') or Umlong-pi (= 'great mountain'), and Arman-pāra, already mentioned. The Mikir villages are nomadically,
moving from place to place as the soil in the
neighbourhood becomes exhausted. Rēkānglōng is the
god of the hill on which the village stands, the dēu
bēo, with whom they have to be at peace. He is
worshipped in the field, and only men eat the
sacrifice, which is a fowl or goat per house once a
year. Arman-pāra is the name of a god who
takes a hundred shares of rice, rice-flour, betel-nut, and
the red sphatik of the plantain-tree cut up: the
name seems to be a collective, and to indicate all
the divine powers in the neighbourhood. He is
worshipped with a white goat and a white fowl.
These two gods figure particularly at the Rōng-ker,
or great festival annual, celebrated for the most part
in June at the beginning of the year's rainy-season
cultivation, or in some villages during the cold
weather. The sacrifice is eaten in common by
the men only of the village, and they keep apart from
the women of the night of the festival. The
observances correspond with the custom of genua
(village tabu), which is common among the
neighbouring Naga tribes.
The gods named above are all invoked and pro-
pitiated to guard against an avert misfortune, both
generally and specially. There are, besides,
numerous gods who take their titles from the
special diseases over which they preside or which
they are asked to avert; such gods are called after
tropical, cholera, leprosy, elephantiasis, etc. Each
worship has its appropriate ritual, often of a
complicated character. Among these deities per-
haps a trace of Hinduism may be discovered in the
name for smallpox, pi-dāmar, 'the mother's flowers';
in Assamese and Hindi the goddess of smallpox is
known as 'the mother' (Mātā, or Śītālā Māi). It
is difficult to draw the line which divides the gods,
diseases, and female spirits who are the after-hyranges
of the demons or devils, kēt, 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 Lām-
pāh, 'the head or master of words,' a power proba-
bly of modern origin. He is the deity sacrificed
to by a man who has a case in court; the sacrifice
is a young cock, which should be offered at night,
secretly, by the sacrificer alone, in a secret place.
There is no worship of trees or animals, and the
gods have no visible shape, temples, or shrines.
Idols are not in use. At the time of the sacrifice
the gods to whom it is offered are addressed in set
forms of prayer 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 above with a heavy knife.

Divinities.—The most important person with
reference to the worship is the diviner (nēk, fām,
achē-pi), who decides on the deity to be invoked.
Here, again, there does not appear to be any caste
or hereditary function: any one may be an achē.
The gods are of two sorts, an inferior, generally
a man, called mgang-lehōng-ahom, 'he who ingests
gains of rice,' whose art is acquired by
instruction and practice; and the superior, called
lohet or lohōpi, 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 lohet being inquired of in
the more serious cases.

The hunter practitioner proceeds by arranging grains of
rice, taken at random from those left in the pot, in particular
fashion in small heaps; the grains in the heaps are then
counted, and, if the odd numbers predominate, the omen is good.
Cowries are sometimes used instead of grains of rice. Another
way, apparently borrowed from the Khānas, is to arrange in a circle
equidistant from a point marked on a board, as many little beads
as there are gods suspected in the case, and then called by the name
of a god. An egg is then sharply thrown at the point marked in the
middle of the board, when it breaks and the egg yolk is scattered,
thick which receives the largest splash of yolk, or towards which the largest and longest splash points,
indicates the god responsible for the affliction. Another mode of
procedure is to hold up in the hand a long iron or wooden stick
special form, called the mokir, which is invoked by a spell to become inspired
and to speak the truth. The holder then asks questions of the
mokir as to the probability of the sufferer's recovery and the god
responsible for his sickness, and the mokir shakes at the correct
answer and name.

The lohet is an ordinary woman (not belonging
to any particular family or group) who feels the
divine afflatus, and, when it is upon her, yawns
continually and calls out the names and will of
the gods. Her assistance is invoked when witch-
craft (miqā) is suspected.
She latches her hands, feet, and face in water in which the sacred boil (gomān samāt), the top of a
bubbling water which has been steamed, and begins to shake and yawn. A goblet of rice-beer is brought, of which she drinks some, and begins to
fall out the names of gods, or deities, or answers
now inspired, and, when questioned, indicates, by indecises and
riddling answers, the enemy who has bewitched the sufferer, or the
gods to whom sacrifices must be offered.

Charms are much used for the treatment of disease,
as they are everywhere else in India, and do not
present any special features. Both herbal and
incantations take the place of ordeals, the speaker
inviting evil on himself if he swears falsely or fails to
perform a promise.

Funeral ceremony.—The most elaborate
celebration is the funeral ceremony, of which a long
account, full of detail, is given in Stack and Lyall's
monograph on The Mikir cited at the end of this
article. Much money is spent upon it, and it is
spread over several days. It is the only occasion
on which dances are performed by the young men
of the village or music used, except (to a much
less extent) at the harvest-home. The ceremony is
considered obligatory in all cases except that of a
child who has been born dead, or who has died be-
fore being cut in two, when 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 has been killed, or if the
body or clothes are found, they are buried at a
distance from the village, because the tiger is sup-
posed to visit the burial-place. Such persons
cannot gain admittance to Jôm-ārōng unless elabora-
ted funeral and expiatory ceremonies are performed
for them. Being killed by a tiger is generally im-
plicated to the victim's sin; his spirit is believed to
dwell in the most dreary of the places where dead
men's spirits go. Except in such cases, the dead
are disposed of by cremation, the burnt bones
being afterwards buried.
What is chiefly noticeable about the ceremony,
as described in the work referred to, is the confident
assumption of the continued existence of the dead
person's spirit, for whom food is specially prepared
to be eaten by the nēkpi, or diviner; and the
insistence upon the due performance of the rites
in order to get admission to Jôm-ārōng; and the
use of dancing, which is marked by its name
(ekomāng-khan) as adopted by the Khānas, as
the keynote of the ceremony. If the deceased is a person of
importance, a still more elaborate ceremony is
required, and monumental stones, upon the model
of those erected by the Khānis, are set up.
Ideas of fate of 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' (ārjóna) of a dead man; a sickly or neurotic person catches such glimpses in the house, on the road, etc. Phārīlō, 'spirit,' is both of liminous and disembodied. They say of one deceased, 'Last night in my spirit I saw him,' where phārīlō is the spirit of the sleeping man. When such glimpses are experienced, betel and food are set aside in the house, and after a time thrown away. After a death a chant is composed, setting forth the parentage and life of the dead, and ending: 'You will now meet your grandparents, father, deceased brother, etc., and will stay with them and eat with them.' As already mentioned, food is regularly provided for the spirit until the completion of the funeral; after that there are no regular offerings, but occasionally a man or woman puts aside from his or her own share of food a portion for the dead, as, e.g., when another funeral reminds them of those who have died before. There is said to be no fear of the dead coming back to trouble the living. The Mikirs' conception of Jōm's town is that everything there is different from the earth-life. An Rēs, perhaps borrowed from the Brahmins, is said to be the spirit of the dead. The Mikirs say that the spirits of the dead do not stay for ever in Jōm-ārōng, 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 same principle is given to children born afterwards, and say that the dead have come back; but they believe that the spirit is with Jōm all the same' (Mikir, p. 20).

8. Conclusion.—The unwarlike character of the Mikirs has prevented them from becoming, like their neighbours, the Nágas and Kuki, split up into different units, with hostile feelings towards each other, the community, and with language and habits gradually diverging more and more from the common standard. Their speech is very uniform wherever they are found, and a large amount of co-operation and friendly intercourse exists among them. On the other hand, the group differs very much, in habits, institutions, and particularly in language, from the other tribes by whom they are surrounded. A study of their speech and social institutions has led to the conclusion that they should be classed with those tribes which form the connecting link between the Nágas and the Kuki-Chins, and that the preponderance of their affinities lies with the latter race, especially with those dwelling in the south of the Arakan Rima range, where the Chin tends to merge into the Burman of the Irawadi valley.

LITERATURE.—All that has as yet been put on record about the Mikirs is summarized 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, 1906. C. J. LYALL.

MILINDA.—Milinda is the Indian name for the Greek king of Bactria called in Greek Menander. When Alexander's empire broke up on his death, Greek soldiers on the east of India founded separate States, and the names of about thirty of them and their successors are known by their coins. Of these the most powerful and successful was Menander, who must have reigned for at least thirty years at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. He died probably about 85 B.C., but we know neither the boundaries of his kingdom nor how far he was merely overlord, rather than the actual administrative sovereign over the various portions of his vast domain. He is the only one of the Greek kings of India whose name 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 Pañha ('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 Nāgasena, a wise teacher among the Buddhists of his time. In it, the king submits to Nāgasena the difficulties 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 the subject of the Self.

Having thus brought his reader up to the bracing plateau of emancipation, the author proceeds in the next book, the Anumanā Pañha, 'Problem of Inference,' to describe what is to be found there. In an elaborate allegory of the City of Five Kinds of Life he sets out the various mental and moral treasures enjoyed by the arahant who has reached in this life the ideal state. The next book, the Dhutagun, 'Extra Vows,' is devoted to an exaltation of those who have adopted the ascetic practices so called. The last book, incomplete in our existing MSS., consists of a long list of types of the arahant, showing how he has, e.g., five qualities in common with the ocean, five with the earth, five with water, and five with fire. The details of sixty-seven such similes are given. Of the remaining thirty-eight only the list is given, the detailed explanations being lost.

There are peculiarities both of merit and of defect in this book. The author, or authors, have an unusual command of language, both in the number of words used and in the fitness of the words chosen in each case. There is great charm in the style, which rises occasionally throughout the book to real eloquence; and there is considerable grasp of the difficult and important questions involved. On the other hand, there is a great weakness in logic. The favourite method is to invent an analogy to explain some position, and then to take for granted that the analogy proves the position taken to be true; and quite often, when the right answer to a dilemma would be a simple matter of historical criticism, the answer invented savours of casuistry or is mere play, or 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, and not by a victor, in war, or by a priest, or by a 'monk'—does not stand on the ancient Path. His description of the arahant, whom he calls a yogi (a term not found in the older books), lies more stress on those qualities afterwards ascribed to the bodhisattva (q.v.) than on those belonging to the Path, or mentioned (of the

1 See the authorities quoted in Bühler, Faust, Questions of King Milinda, i. (ASB xxi.) pp. xvii-xviii.
MILINDA

arhat) in the Nāgārjuna. His Buddhology has advanced beyond that of the Nāgārjuna. The ethics of the Aryan path are barely referred to; the doctrine of emanation, the necessity of seeing things as they really are (yathābhūtātmanam yā jñanam), is not even mentioned, notwithstanding its cardinal importance in the earlier teaching. The author devotes a whole book to the dhātāigus, a term not occurring in the Nāgārjuna, and in that book manifests a spirit entirely opposed to the early 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, Buddhaghoṣa. It is the only work outside the Pali canon which he thus quotes. It is also quoted as an authority in the Abhidharmapada commentary (l. 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 passage in Trenckner'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. 92 of Trenckner's text) Buddhaghoṣa seems to have the better reading. Nāgārjuna is also quoted in the Abhidharmakosā-kosāṅgukīya, a Sanskrit Buddhist work which may be dated in the 6th cent. A.D. There are also several incidental references in Chinese 'translations' of Indian books. When we know the dates of the latter, and can be sure that the references really occur in them, these references may have importance.

At the beginning of the work (p. 2 of the text) there is a table of contents giving the titles of the subdivisions of the book. The editor, V. Trenckner, also gives us titles, which differ, however, from those in the table of contents given in the text. Hinayāna Buddhists translate into Sūrābhi's 'likewise seven titles, presumably from the much older Pali MSS which he used. These titles differ from both the other lists. Trenckner, who has certainly made one glaring mistake (p. 96), gives nothing for his titles; and, as he used only three of the seven MSS of the work known to exist in Europe, one would like to be informed also as to what readings are given by the first 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, Trenckner's titles to the divisions of the Milinda cannot be relied on as original.

E. Nanjio, in his most useful catalogue of Chinese Buddhist books, gives under no. 135 the title of one called Nāgā śrīkāla Maṅgala. Nāgārjuna is the Bhikkhu's book. The attempt to reproduce one sound of the words of this title suggests that the words before the translator must have been, not Sanskrit (bhikkhu), but Pali (bhikkhu) or some other Indian dialect akin to Pali. J. Takakusu has discussed the date of the 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. 783-804, and some translations exist. 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 remarkable note that the work was long lost, and we register it as belonging to the Eastern Pāli dynasty (A.D. 317-429).

So we have a book known to have existed at the end of the 8th 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, of the printer, or the two recensions may be considered as really one. This bears to the Pali text the following relation.

The translation into English by the present writer consists of 580 pages. The Chinese corresponds more or less to 90 of these pages (one recension omitting about 34 of these 90). The paragraphs corresponding in Chinese and Pali are those 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 Pali 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 Pali 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 arhat-ship, in which he (or they) took no interest. This would be precisely comparable with the general feeling in the Buddhist literature of India at the period in question—the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. The doctrine of an emancipation to be reached in life by strenuous mental exertion, was not unnatural, yielding place to devotion in the next life through bhakti, personal devotion to a deity. The psychological details of the old system of self-control rather bored people. So the Milinda may, quite possibly, have been reduced to a short and easy book, with the sting of arhat-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 involves great difficulties, and none of the scholars who have written on the subject has so far been able to persuade any other to accept his conclusions. The evidence at present available is insufficient. When the Milinda has been properly examined, when all the quotations from the Milinda in the Pali commentaries are edited, when all the references elsewhere (and especially those in the numerous Hinayāna Sanskrit works still buried in MSS) have been collected, we shall be better able to estimate the value of the external evidence as to the history of the Milinda literature in India. When an adequate compari-

\(^1\) JRAS, 1899, p. 128.

\(^2\) See the comparative table given by F. O. Schrader, Die Vergan des Königs Menandros, p. 129.
MILK (Primitive Religions).

That milk should have become an object of sacred importance in the mythology of early man was inevitable. As food, milk was sacred, and so beneficial in every way, has been accorded a special place among the objects of religious veneration by mankind at nearly all stages of its 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 tame animals, and these are in the lowest stages of savage culture. An observation of O. T. Mason is clearly indicative of where these first stages must be looked for.

Women were always associated especially with the milk and the care of the milking vessels. The observation goes, 'always possessed of the souls of sacrificial animals. Milk taking an important part in their religious belief and ceremonial. It is not clear, however, whether the diverse practices obtaining among the varied races of these continents have any relationship as stages in the evolution of man's religious attitude towards milk. Consideration of the subject from this point of view can be conducted only by the widest survey of the cow and it will be well addressed to the highest form to which religious belief concerning milk has attained and proceed thence to some of the lower forms of the cult.

The use of milk in religion has reached its climax among the Toda tribes of India, in 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 great divisions: 'The most important dairy marks off two great divisions: 'The most important dairy among the Todas is the Tarthali, but their dairymen are Tevaih.' [W. H. R. Rivers, The Todas, London, 1906, p. 680]. The milk of the buffalo is sacred. The ritual connected with the buffalo and with the dairy is 'certainly of a religious character,' and there can be little doubt that the dairy formulae 'are intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into definite relations with the Yoda deities' (ib. p. 299). The dairy are given milk to drink when on the point of death (W. E. Marshall, A Philosopher amongst the Todas, London, 1873, p. 171), and the dead body is taken into the dairy (Rivers, op. cit.). From these facts, carefully marshalled by Rivers, it is clear that these people have developed the sanctity of milk to its highest point. There 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 religions observances. 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 totemistic cult, as among the Todas. Both in Africa and in India these ceremonies reach a high grade in places, but do not attain the Toda level. Perhaps the royal milk-drinking observances of the king of the Chyoro, a section of the Bantu people in Africa, affords the nearest parallel. It 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 blessed. The Kaffir now drinks 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, a portion is always left behind to act as lever' (ib. p. 195). These are clearly religious practices which require further investigation, but in the meantime it is permissible to classify them as less developed in form than the Toda example.

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, i. 1-41), 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 (PR ii. 226-236). This view is confirmed by the use to which the products of the cow were put. According to Vijn, a house is purified by plastering the ground with cow-dung, and land is cleansed by the same process; cows alone make sacrificial oblations possible by producing sacrificial butter, and among six excellent productions of a cow, which are always produced milk and sour milk are included (Institutes of Vijnan (SBE vii. 1900), xxiii. [1883] 56-61).

On the other hand, the evidence from the Panjabis that, when a cow or buffalo first gives milk after calving, the first portions of milk drawn from her are allowed to fall on the ground in honour of the goddess (O. C. J. Ibbetson, Punjab Ethnology, Calcutta, 1853, p. 114). It is also a protective from the evil eye, and has various uses in magic and divination. This suggests that in the Panjabi milk is on its way towards a definitely religious position.

In Europe the once sacred character of milk is indicated by the evidence of folk-lore, which record-
MILK (Primitive Religions)

The protective measures which have to be taken to secure harm from witches and other malevolent powers (GP, pt. i., The Magic Art, London, 1911, ii. 524 f.).

The best examples are found in Russia, where the people on Midsummer eve drive the cattle through the villages, as also the son of the Pomorian Elatha. It is related of him 'that he arrogated to himself the milk of all the hairless dun cows in the land,' and he 'caused a great fire of ferns to be made, and all the cows in Munster to pass through it, so that they might fulfill the necessary conditions, and their milk become the royal property' (H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Irish Mythological Cycle, Eng. tr., Dublin, 1903, p. 95). 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 appears elsewhere in Irish folklore (C. Plummer, Vita Sancta Domini Hiberniun, Oxford, 1910, vol. i. p. 153).

The ritual in custom and ritual in myth are parallels, and it would be well to inquire whether in folklore there is more than this suspicion of sanctity in the attitude of popular belief as to milk. The milkmaid is almost everywhere an important personage in the social fabric of the village, and her unselfish share its importance. The present writer differs from Lady Gomme in her explanation of the famous game of 'Milking Fails' as a mere teasing of the mothers (Dict. of Traditional Games, London, 1894-98, s. v.) in that it appears to be a cumulative estimate of the superior value of the milk-pail as an article of domestic use, and it is pertinent to note in this connexion that the Irish chieftain had 'in his dominion a cow of milk' (Lives of Ireland, Dublin, 1855-1901, iv. 311). That milk was poured on the ground is attested by J. G. Dalvell (Darker Superstitions of Scotland, Glasgow, 1855, p. 183), and W. Gregor states that at death the hero is poured out on the ground (Folklore of N.E. of Scotland, London, 1881, p. 296). 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 Valiny and other islands (M. Martin, Western Islands, London, 1716, i. 67, 159).

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 (Dalvell, p. 183, quoting Gratian, Decretal., p. 111), but it may be surmised that it originated as one of the surviving rites of ancient pagan religion. St. Bridget was in some degree regarded as the special patron of milk; and in the history of Scotland (A. Carmichael, Carmina Gadelica, Edinburgh, 1909, i. 261-275), and she was at her birth bathed in milk (Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore, ed. Whitley Stokes, Oxford, 1890, p. 184, 315). 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. Jamierson (Popular Ballads and Songs from Northern Ireland, etc., Edinburgh, 1886, p. 125), is the verse:

'Tak up, tak up my bonny young son,
Gar wash him with the milk of the cow,
Tak up, tak up my fair lady,
Gar row her in the milk.'

Lady Gomme has analyzed the different versions of the children's game of 'Green 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' (l. 72).

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 his discussion of primitive baptism (Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1903, p. 596 f.), asks 'what was the exact ritual of the falling into milk?' Did the initiate fall into a spring of milk, or . . . is the ritual act of drinking milk from the beginning metaphorically described?' and, in spite of a useful parallel from Egyptian ritual, comes to the conclusion that 'of a rite of immersion in milk we have no evidence.' This, however, cannot be quite true if St. Bridget represents, as there is strong evidence to prove, an early Celtic goddess who has brought into her Christian attributes traditions and rites of pre-Christian origin. There is the further example of the Irish milk-slaying themselves from the poisoned arrows of their Fir-Fidga enemies by taking a bath filled with the milk of one hundred and twenty white hornless cows, where the single colour condition is again repeated. 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. 597 f.), and we must take it that these rites come from early Celtic religion. Milk and honey were made to the nymphs and to Pan (Theoc. Id. v. 53 f. and 58 f.), and to this day in modern Greece they are made to the Nereids (J. C. Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore, Cambridge, 1910, p. 150 f.).

To sum up the evidence—it would appear that in primitive religions there are three stages in the sacred characteristics attributed to milk: (1) where it is a definite part of the dominant religious cult; (2) where it is extensively used in religious ceremonial, but is not an exclusive or predominant element in the ceremonial; (3) where it is looked upon as a religious object, and is, consequently, subject to danger from outside forces, from which it demands various forms of protection. The survey seems to make it clear that the unique example of the Todas is a highly specialized development of the religious conception of milk, and not a normal condition, while the evidence of folklore and of the religion of antiquity leads us to conclude that the endowment of milk with sacred properties arose from its enormous social influences, which led to specialization of its use on solemn and important occasions. This would be the normal position of milk in religion, and the beheading of milk-seers is accounted for 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.

Lituratur.—This is given fully in the article.

1. GOMME.
MILK (Civilized Religions).—1. As food and sacrifice.—Since man is a mammal, milk is universally known; and, as early learned to use the milk of goats, cows, and camels, milk became a natural symbol of nourishment. The ancient Egyptians sometimes pictured the heavens as a woman with hanging breasts, and sometimes as a cow with full udder; thus suggesting that the heavens nourished men. The Babylonians suggested, similarly, that milk is the divinely given nourishment of man by picturing the mother-goddess with breasts so full that she must support them with her hands. Since milk is so universally an element of human diet, it is but natural that it should have been offered at times in sacrifice to deities, as meat, meal, and firstfruits were. Thus in Jud. xv. of the Avesta there is frequent mention of a sacrificial gift of boiled milk, and it was mingled with hoom (q.v.) in sacrifice. Among the Arabs flesh seethed in milk is still a common dish, yet the Hebrews were prohibited from boiling a kid in its mother's milk; W. R. Smith thinks that this was because milk for boiling is usually sour, so that such boiling would involve the offering of a fermented sacrifice, or that possibly milk was here regarded as a substitute for milk. 1

2. In a supposed Semitic myth.—In the OT 'flowing with milk and honey' is a phrase frequently used to designate the fertility of Palestine. It occurs in Ex 3:13; 13:33, Lv 20:26, Jer 11:13, 32:33, and Ezek 36:8. Curdled milk (the modern laban) and honey are also mentioned in 1 Kgs 18:12 as the food of the child that is to be named 'Immanuel.' It occurs again in the same chapter (7:26), where it is more difficult to interpret, and where its occurrence may be due to editorial redaction. The phrase 'flowing with milk and honey' occurs in the document (c. 850 B.C.) and continued to be used till the time of Ezekiel. T. K. Cheyne 2 in 1901 noted that the phrase is more poetical than the context seems to justify, and suggested that it might be a survival of a description of Israel's idealized past. Since ancient poetry is always tinged with mythology, he thought it not improbable that this phrase was of mythological origin. Usener 3 in 1892 held that the phrase was of mythological origin, and that it was borrowed by the Hebrews from Iranian mythology, where, according to him, we hear of heavenly honey and holy cows. The phrase had, he thought, descended by one line to the Hebrews and by another to the Greeks, who described the foundation of the heroism of Crete as curds and honey. Stade, 4 in commenting on Usener's article, claimed that the phrase 'flowing with milk and honey' was not used earlier than the time of Ezekiel, that in the Usener document and Jeremiah it was a later addition, and that Usener was right in claiming that in 5:18 the use of the figure was due to Greek influence. Whether 'curd and honey' could have been a mythological phrase introduced from Assyria, he thought, was a problem for Assyriologists. H. Zimmern 5 in the next year, 1903, claimed from the Assyriological side that honey and curd played a great rôle in the Babylonian cult, and that it was of mythological origin, though he offered little proof of its correctness. Finally, Grossmann 6 in 1905 endeavoured to work this view into an elaborated scheme of Hebrew mythology, which formed, he believed, the basis of the prophetical eschatology.

Before accepting this view, it should be noted that just what part milk and curdled milk, or laban, played in the life of the Hebrews. Milk, like wine, was in early Israel a symbol of prosperity and plenty. An old poet sang of Judah:

'Milk eyes shall be refreshed with wine,
And his teeth white with milk' (Gen 49:11).

Laban was a dish so relished as an article of diet that Abraham is said to have offered it to his guests (Gen 18, and Joel to the tired Sisera (Jud 5)): honey and laban were a favourite food of ancient, barley-meal, beans, and lentils were furnished as food to David and his men (2 S 17, 21). 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 Dt 32, Job 20, 26, Sir 32). The natural uses of these articles of food are 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 4:18 (EV 39) we read:

'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 water-courses of Judah shall flow with water, and a spring shall come forth from the house of Yarakh and water the valley of Shittim.'

In the Sibyline Oracles, iii. 744 ff.:

'For Earth the universal mother shall give to mortals her best fruit in countless store of corn, wine and oil. Yeas, from heaven shall come a sweet draught of luxuriant honey, The trees shall yield their proper fruits, and rich beaks, And kine and lambs of sheep and kids of goats. He will cause sweet fruits to spring from hills and mountains, and white milk to burst forth'; and again, ib. v. 214 ff.:

'But the holy land of the godly alone shall bear all these things.
An ambrosial stream 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 poetical 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 Sib. 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.
From a pure corral they shall 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.
Like that milk may he become pure.'

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 may be given to a woman who has

1 See J. H. Breasted, History of Egypt, New York, 1900, p. 55.
2 See, e.g., M. Jastrow, Bilderzeichen u Erle Religion Babylonica und Asyr, Giessen, 1912, Tab. 7, No. 23.
3 Pictet, v. 12; Nylagias, i. 18; Niebuil in the 70; it is also an offering now in: Tawau, i. 1, 3, 4, 4; Vipartad, x; 
4 Sir. 17, 60, 88.

6 EBZ, ii. 210ff.

7 Rhein. Museum für Phil. vbl. x77-105.

8 ZATT ins., 282-314.


MILK (Civilized Religions)

brought forth a still-born child, in order to effect her purification (see Vandallus, v. 62, vii. 67). The milk of only one of several ingredients—meal, bread, wine, water. As she had first to drink ox-

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

1 'Crown of . . .

2 For the shepherd of the black-headed [people] . . .

3 I pray a prayer . . .

4 A sheep of lamp’s hair may his hand [grasp] . . .

5 For the shepherd the bleached-dawned [is offered] . . .

6 Honey and laden abundantly . . .

7 The mountain bearing produce . . .

8 The stripe, the field bearing fruit . . .

9 On his left hand may the god shin . . .

10 To the king in person may they do honours . . .

This is clearly a prayer for a Babylonian ruler. The petitioner asks that great fertility and prosper-

ity 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 the Babylonians and Assyrians held

mythological views of dairy produce, milk and honey, has been introduced in sacrifice and was used in certain incantations, as noted above. Homage was rendered to it, and it was regarded

as a divinely purified provision in the breasts of females, as was the seed in males; 1 a prosperous

woman was ‘rich in children and rich in milk. 2 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, 3 and the earth is a mother who can pour forth milk for her supplicants. 4 Nevertheless in the Rigveda both milk and honey were employed in the ritual, though they were both subordinate to the all-preva-

uling soma. When milk was used as an offering, it was sometimes sweet and sometimes sour, both kinds of offerings being recognized. As in Iranian ritual, the milk was, in the same way, mixed with soma, the lactant element sometimes being sour. 5 Honey was in the same way used as an offering; sometimes it was mixed with soma, 6 but sometimes with milk. Thus Rigveda, VIII. iv. 8, addresses Indra: 7

8 With honey of the bee is the milk mixed;

9 Come quick, run and drink!'

Milk was offered in kine by Varuna, even as he gave cool breezes to the forests, swiftness to horses, wisdom to the heart of man, lightning to the clouds, the sun to the sky, and soma to the mountains (Rigveda, v. xxxv. 2). This reveals a high estimate placed upon milk and honey. Though the milk lacks any mythical element, 8 as does the passage (X. lxix. 3) in which the sky (dyaus) gives milk to the All-Gods.

The Sanskrit poets often allude to the ability of the swan to separate milk from water; but this, as C. R. Lassen 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. 9 Similarly the religious teachers of India often use as an illustration of a changing existence the relationship between sweet milk, sour cream, and butter, not because they saw any mythical reality in them, but because they illus-trated change in forms of existence. 10

In India, then, it can only be said that milk and honey were so highly valued as food that they

1 Yajur, vi. 17, vii. 26, viii. 1, xvi. 8.

2 Ibid. vi. 17.

3 Ibid. vii. 6; 7; Yajur. xiv. 13, 49.

4 Yajur. vi. 20.

5 Atharvaveda, iv. iii. 16.


7 Ibid. p. 222, note 5; Yajur. xiv. 214.

8 Ibid. p. 238.

9 For the various sacrifices into which milk entered as an element (sacrifices to the deer, new and full moon sacrifices, etc.) see A. H. Sayce, 'Ritual Literature: Yajurveda,' p. 33; and Zucker ('Glpit' ii. 32), Strassburg, 1857, pp. 55, 110, 111, 117, 133, 135, 169, 172, 196.


naturally formed a part of the most valued offerings to the gods. Perhaps the proper mixture of these offerings was supposed to have some magical significance, for one passage (Rigveda, IX. xi. 2) says that even the gods were wont to be satisfied by the offerings; 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, though this was only to symbolize her nurture of her earthly children. If milk had in early Egyptian thought any mythological significance, we should expect to find it prominent among the foods promised to the deified kings to whom the 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 Pe'ep, suckle this king Pe'ep therewith.' The goddess replies: 'O my son Pe'ep, my king, my breast is extended to thee, that thou mayest suck it, my king, and live, my king, as long as thou livest.' But, then, the food of the celestials only during their heavenly childhood. When Pepi was grown, he was promised 'bread which cannot dry up' and 'beer which cannot grow stale.' Later he is given a 'snared for the gods.' Bread and beer, the food of the gods, Pepi is invited to sit down to thy thousand of bread, thy thousand of beer, thy thousand of oxen, thy thousand of geese, thy thousand of everything wherein the god liveth.' Another source of food for the deified king is the tree of life situated in a mysterious isle 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 deified kings, during that part of their celestial life which corresponds to childhood on earth.

6. In Graeco-Roman Literature.—Among the Greeks and Romans, as among the Semites and people of India, milk and honey were delicacies that were much appreciated, and their use goes back to an early time. Lilibations of milk and honey were, according to the Historia, poured out for the Olympic and such libations appear to have continued down to 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 would be offered to Hestia. Milk and honey were also symbols of plenty and prosperity. Thus Findar (\(\text{432 B.C.}\) says: 'Rejoice, my friends! Lo, I send you, though at late hour, this honey mixed with white milk, fraught with the wondrous blending, a draught of song conveyed in the breathing of Aiolian flutes.'

Though these metaphorical for sweet poetry, the metaphor attests the use of milk and honey as delicacies. In course of time both milk and honey became symbols of plenty. Thus Tihmusi (\(\text{18 B.C.}\)) says: 'The oaks themselves give honey, and beyond the sheep Bring odours of milk ready to the hand of the care-free.'

Similarly Ovid:

'Now rivers of milk, now rivers of nectar run,
And yellow honey flows from the green hives.'

With these poems milk and honey have become emblems of the Golden Age, and 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 Tihmusi and Ovid were influenced directly or indirectly by Semitic kins. 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 'Milch (Milk) of the Holy Family.' A legend has it that the Holy Family once took refuge there, and that, as the Virgin nursed the Child, a drop of her milk fell on the floor. Because of this it is still believed that a sojourn in the grotto not only increases the milk of women and animals, but cures them of barrenness. In reality this legend arose to Christianize a grotto that was originally a shrine of Ashtoret.

All about Bethlehem the limestone crumbles and forms little white pebbles covered with green peas. These are accounted for by the story that 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 flecked 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 than the quotation in the Patriotic writers about the Golden Age.

In the early Church the newly baptized were given milk and honey to taste (or, in some Western churches, milk and wine) as a symbol of their regeneration through baptism (cf. 1 Co 3, He 5, P 29). 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.

1 See Hillebrandt, V. Myth. i. 228.
3 See T. E. Miller, in B. ib. i. 1294.
4 T. E. Miller, in B. ib. i. 850.
5 i. 219-251 f.; Breasted, p. 122.
6 H. Stade, Z. v. 841-843; H. Seel, "Die Propheten der Bibel.
7 Barton, Sem. Or. p. 117f.
8 W. Max Muller in a private letter to the writer.
9 xiiil. 176f.
12 Siloas Ital. i. 134.
13 Sem. iii. 76f.
14 i. 341f.
15 Metral, L. 111f.
18 op. cit.
19 See K. Bueheker, Palestine und Syrien (Eng. tr.), Leipzig, 1912, p. 106 f.
21 Cf. O. Dahnhardt, Sagen zum Neuen Testament, ch. xix.
22 P. Ewing, Antiquities of the Ch. ch. xviii.
23 See J. A. Barton, Notes, 1842, iv. 59-53, v. 35.
MILL, JAMES AND JOHN STUART.—
The two Mills, father and son, occupy a unique position in the history of British thought. They were, after Bentham, the greatest figures in the utilitarian school and the leaders of the philosophical revolution in politics.

1. James Mill.—Next to Bentham, James Mill was the force that moulded the early expression of utilitarian doctrine. He was a Scotsman by birth, the son of humble parents (his father a country schoolmaster and his mother a weaver), born at North Water Bridge, on the North Esk, in the parish of Logie-Pert, 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 afterward at Montrose Academy, where he had as schoolfellow 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 ministerial vocation was not long. Being appointed tutor to the only daughter of Sir John Stuart of Fettercairn (Member of Parliament for Kincardine-shire), he came under the special notice of Sir John, and went with him to London in 1810; and was not long in London before he made his presence felt. In 1809 we find him active in originating The Literary Journal and making many contributions to it. In 1819 he produced his pamphlet on the Corn Trade. The next ten 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 result was his appointment in 1819 to be Professor of Political Economy in the University of London. In 1820 he became Professor of Political Economy in the University of London. In 1820 he became head of the office in 1820. Besides a little book on the Elements of Political Economy (1824), 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 1829. This at once raised him to the position of philosopher in chief of the utilitarian school. But it also left behind it the elaboration and multifarious teaching of Bentham. With Bentham himself Mill was on terms of the most intimate friendship, and the master regarded him as his most stalwart disciple. So staunch a Benthamite, indeed, was Mill that it has been doubted whether he was anything more than a brilliant reproducer of Bentham's opinions. That, however, does Mill an injustice. He was no mere echo, but a voice. His psychology alone produced a new and original view of the human mind and character of the human mind. mill on Mackintosh. This is really a vigorous defence of empiricism against intuitionism, though it assumes the form of a vehement criticism of Mackintosh, and is chiefly valuable as presenting Mill's philosophical positions in a clear and condensed light, rendered all the more effective by the polemic setting.

Mill's fame as a psychologist rests on his consistent experimentalism, his thoroughgoing application of association to the phenomena of the mind, and his unceasing insistence on the power of association 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 benevolence is regarded as the supreme virtue. How, then, explain this? In the first place, Mill has recourse to the distinction (of which Bentham had made so much) between motive and result: being able to keep human conduct consistent with 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. From this, Mill argues, that the happiness of a man is itself happiness, and that therefore the happiness of one person is as much a reason for 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 he should feel the joy of others' happiness as his own? There are others who should cause us pleasure; in other words, that their good should be ours?' (Frag. on Mackintosh, p. 294).

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 moral sense, 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 for its own sake. What happens in the case of the miser happens in the case of disinterestedness and benevolence. Although individual pleasure lies at the root of a man's benevolent action, he has come, through continued intercourse with men and the experience of mutual help, to value the act of doing of its own sake and make benevolence itself its end.

What, then, of conscience, with its intuitions and its rationalisations? Conscience to Mill is not a simple and elementary faculty in human nature, but the product of association. That gives to it 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 gain that had been left in the elaborate and multifarious teaching of Bentham. With Bentham himself Mill was on terms of the most intimate friendship, and the master regarded him as his most stalwart disciple. So staunch a Benthamite, indeed, was Mill that it has been doubted whether he was anything more than a brilliant reproducer of Bentham's opinions. That, however, does Mill an injustice. He was no mere echo, but a voice. His psychology alone produced a new and original view of the human mind and character of the human mind. mill on Mackintosh. This is really a vigorous defence of empiricism against intuitionism, though it assumes the form of a vehement criticism of Mackintosh, and is chiefly valuable as presenting Mill's philosophical positions in a clear and condensed light, rendered all the more effective by the polemic setting.

Education occupied a large share of Mill's attention. As a utilitarian, he was eager that the people should be educated—educated so as to develop and improve their intelligence, and render them fit to be worthy citizens. Hence, he took a practical interest in the educational movement of the time, and entered as a keen polemic into the controversy between the Lancasterian and the Bell systems of education; he tried to establish a school of his own, but failed on political forces. In his Chromatograph ("Study of useful things") and was one of the small band of ardent educationalists who organised the University of London. But his claim to honour as an educationalist rested on a passage in his Educational article, where education is shown to be the work of a man's life-time, where
the roots of it are laid in associationist psychology, and where the principles of Helveticus regarding the almost unlimited power of education in transforming the individual are vigorously enforced.

In the realm of jurisprudence Mill made for himself a great name in this lifetime. His Encyclopædia article on that subject is, 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 its handling of the rights of nations in the time of war, and its treatment of the possibility of an effective court of arbitration in international quarrels.

As a philosophical politician Mill achieved fame by his theory of government. It is not a theory that is invulnerable. It lays itself open to objection as to the adequacy of its analysis of human nature; it was attacked by Maccallay on the ground of its deductive method and disregard of the inductive mode of procedure; and Sir James Mackintosh attacked it on the side of its extreme advocacy of popular representation, which seemed to ignore the danger of democratic tyranny, or the irremediable danger on lines of ‘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 by his own energy and, to some extent, also by the labors and labours of others, he is already in a large measure prepared and fitted to gratify his own selfish desires. Hence the need of government, and its meaning: government just signifies keeping out of the way the selfish energies of other men, as far as they may be inconsistent with what belongs to another. But the members of a government are themselves men, with men’s selfish passions and readiness to tyrannize over others, and, consequently, need themselves to be restrained. The restraint comes and only can come from the people; and the only tolerable form of government is a representative government—a government where the people’s representatives act as a check on legislative abuse. It is only when the people are governed by men elected by themselves and representing them that the interests of governers and governed can be identified. Yet this identification of interest is liable to be broken through, if the representatives are not themselves watched. A representative man, if left entirely to his 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. Prisoners and prison discipline, mendicity, the Poor Laws, and such like engaged his pen, and if he is to be credited to 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 the age of 80, on 3rd May 1873). His early education was conducted solely by his father, who, although constantly occupied in literary and exacting work, did not grudge to act as schoolmaster to his son. His method of teaching was altogether of an experimental 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 defining, in order to secure clear concepts and exact verbal expression of them, with a view to truth. At the age of eight, the boy had Latin added to his Greek; and, by the time that he was fourteen years of age, he was indoctrinated into the principles of logic, psychology, and political economy. These were still subjects for a boy of that age; but they were the subjects in which he afterwards excelled.

All the time that these subjects were being set as tasks, the father was making the boy his constant companion, sharer in his daily walks, and, through his conversation and judicious cross-questioning, was gradually developing the boy’s mind and imparting to him clearness and exactness of thought, as well as in thinking. This Socratic procedure was supplemented at the earliest moment by making the boy himself a teacher. He was set to superintend the education of the younger members of the family, thereby enabling him to gain control over himself 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 a youth of seventeen at the age of Bentham, at the age of fourteen. This introduced him to the French language and to French literature and politics; and, through excursions in the Pyrenees and elsewhere, aroused in him an enthusiasm for natural science and a love for botany and zoology. These things all influenced him in later life.

On his return from France, he was further taken in hand by his father. He was now directly introduced to Bentham’s teaching, in the French translation and exposition of it in P. E. L. Dumont’s Trésor de législation (London, 1802). ‘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 I studied Roman law under John Austin, 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 share in the Political Economy Club; thus was the development of young Mill’s thought and mind further aided by a variety of powerful intellectual agencies.

In 1823, at the age of seventeen, came his appointment, by the East India Company, to the post of Assistant Examiner, under his father, in the East India House, and at the Office of the East India Company. His salary was £200 a year. This continued till he reached the position of Chief of the office in 1836—two years before the abolition of the East India Company.

A turning-point in his life was his break-down in health in 1829. 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
nature of the young man, which had been cramped but not destroyed by his father's one-sided training, craving for satisfaction. The end of the crisis was what he himself regards as analogous to a 'conversion.' It came in large measure through study of the poetry of Wordsworth and the philosophic of Coleridge, and was expounded both in his intellectual opinions and in his character. He was no longer the unobserving follower of Bentham that he had been; he was no longer neglectful of the emotional side of human nature. He emerged from the ordeal a new man, with wider mental outlook and deeper and intenser sympathies. The extent of the change may be seen by reference to his two remarkable essays on Bentham and Coleridge, republished in vol. i. of his *Dissertations and Discussions* (London, 1850-67).

Another important factor in his life was the influence over him of Mrs. Taylor, who became his wife in 1851. His work in connexion with literary journals was enormous. He wrote articles almost without number and on an exhaustless variety of subjects (philosophical, political, economic, social). They began with *The Westminster Review* and extended to other magazines—especially *The London Review* and *The Fortnightly Review*. They are valuable as enabling us to trace the development of his opinions, the growth of his views in philosophy, and the gradual modification of his radicalism in politics.

Herbert's great intellectual work was his *System of Logic*, *Ratiocinative and Inductive*, which appeared in 1843. This was followed, in due course, by his *Essays on some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy* (1844), and *Principles of Political Economy* (1848). In 1850 appeared his little treatise on *Liberty*, and his *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*. His Considerations on Representative Government belongs to the year 1850; and in 1863 (after first appearing in magazine form) came his *Utilitarianism*. In 1865 came his *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy* (in 1866; his *Rectorial Address* at St. Andrews University, on *the true line of culture*; in 1868 his pamphlet on *England and Ireland*; and in 1870 his *Tract on Women*). In 1869 also was published his edition of his father's *Analytical of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, with many valuable notes illustrative and critical by J. S. Mill himself, by Bain and Grote, and by Professors and others. His works are his *Autobiography* (1873) and his *Three Essays on Religion* (1874). To these have to be added the two large volumes of *Letters* (ed. Hugh S. R. Elliot) published in 1910.

A phase of Mill's life has still to be noted—his parliamentary career. In the Parliament of 1865-68 he sat as Radical member for Westminster. Three things in chief did he advocate in the House of Commons—women's suffrage, the interests of the laboring class, and Ireland in general. He took his *Political Economy* and his *Utilitarianism* to be taken in connexion with his notes in his edition of his father's *Analytic*. As a logician he stands out as the great empiricist who formulated and elaborated inductive logic, who re-stated and in part revolutionized deductive logic, who made systematic application of logical principles to the study of moral science, and who enforced, in sylleptic form, the power of experience to be the criterion or ultimate test of truth. The brilliancy of his thought and the clearness of his style (including an unmounted aptitude for felicitous illustration, ranging over a wide field of knowledge) cannot be too highly praised. The stimulus to the student derivable from a study of his *Logic* is 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 assessor in a rival *Examination* (1869), 

*In psychology Mill upheld the associationism of his father, but gave a more attractive expression of it as 'mental chemistry.' He carried forward his psychology into theory of knowledge and formulated his doctrine of psychological idealism (founders on Berkeley), which, resting on the empirical genesis of knowledge through the various senses operated by association, issues in the conception of matter or objective reality as 'the permanent possibility of sensations' and of mind as 'the permanent possibility of feeling.' In the case of mind, however, there is a peculiarity: it is conscious of its states. This we must accept, as it is given in our experience, but we must accept it as an inexplicable fact. Mill was unprincipled in his opposition to those who base truth on intuition. Not that he denied the fact of intuition, but he demanded that it should be tested by experience, so that it may not become (as it had 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* (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 (parcely under the influence of Auguste Comte) by infusing into it human feeling and associating it with the doctrine of Humanitarianism. His political principles were now conjoined with their practical applications, and a transformation took place. Not only do we have a minute and scientific handling of such things as labour, capital, rate of interest, money and posthumous; but 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 street science, but also of application, and treated Political Economy not as a thing by itself, but as a fragment of a greater whole; as a branch of Social Science, so interrelated to other branches, that its conclusions, even in its own peculiar province, were only true conditionally, subject to modifications, results, and action from causes not directly within its scope; while the character of a practical guide it has no pretension, apart from the other classes of considerations" (Autobiog., p. 226).

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 glowing politics of character, as it were. Justice has rarely been done to it by 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 all its object, and not merely theoretical; and (c) that,
although it sets forth pleasure or happiness as the standard and test of human conduct, it makes supreme the conception of man as a social being and conditions all by the conception of the general welfare. His view of the human will as determined by character, and of character as formed by a man, and the presidential election 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 is a political thinker is a great subject. As a radical democrat, he loved the people and worked hard for them in parliament and out of it. But he would not submit in any degree or for a moment to the conventional desires and expectations. They had to be led and not followed. He was acutely conscious of their tendency to tyrannise and their selfish disregard of justice. He was exceptionally alive to their readiness to dominate over minorities; hence he powerfully advocated the principle of parliamentary proportional representation. Thus alone, he thought, could minorities of electors get their rights. He saw the people's jealousy and suspicion of the educated and refined classes of society; hence he stood firmly by the principle of plurality of votes, as determined by culture and social position. He was very sensitive to the tendency in the masses to act unscrupulously and in an underhand fashion; therefore he held that nothing by law and tradition could be unassailable. On the other hand, he was a strong upholder of the liberty of the individual; and he gave a powerful defence of individualism in his treatise _Liberty—a defence of the right of the individual to hold his own opinions and to give free expression to them, and his right to live in such a way as seemed fit to himself, so long as his mode of living did not interfere with the 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._

Another object that lay near to Mill's heart was that of women's suffrage. His book on the subject has exhausted the handling of the theme from that point of view. But he added active support to his views by consistently advocating universal franchise in parliament, and by pushing on and personally guiding the Women Movement in London and the provinces. The problems of the universe were constantly in Mill's thoughts. He puzzled himself long and anxiously over the question of the freedom of the will, and ultimately reached the deterministic solution that has just been referred to. The nature of the external world and of the human ego also exercised his mind: and his doctrine of 'psychological idealism' was the result. But there still remained the problem of God. With the conception of the Deity as 'the Absolute,' unknown and unknowable, to whom no knowledge (such as knowledge, mercy, and love) could be applied, he had no sympathy. His criticism of H. L. Mansel's view, as set forth in his Bampton Lectures on _The Limits of Religious Thought_ (London, 1870), is savage. But the strain on the great theme is best given in his supremely interesting posthumous _Essays_. His honesty of character and his 'indifference to truth' (as Locke would express it) here come out in a very striking fashion. Discouraged from theistic thinking by his father in his early training, and not encouraged to it by his utilitarian friends and fellow-thinkers in after life, he yet had that openness of mind that would willingly receive truth to whatever extent it might reveal itself. He fain would have been optimistic in his view of the universe, but he could not; and the most that he could do was to allow a conception of God that conserved His goodness but limited His power. In face of our narrowing experience of Nature to the self-insulation of the cell and ofravin' and of theutterly hard and harsh experiences of life in general, he could not rise to the idea of a Great Power who was All-loving, Omniscient, and Omnipotent. But he was willing, or, at any rate, not unwilling, to believe in the Goodness of God or of Love who would, if He could, subdue evil and put an end to suffering and misery and was only hindered by the recalcitrant circumstances of the world. This admission, combined with his admiration of Jesus of Nazareth as the highest of ethical teachers, shows his power of detachment from early upbringing and from immediate social environment, and his readiness to respond to the light whenever it came. This was the noblest trait of his character.

Mill's nature was, in many ways, an attractive one, characterized by high and sterling qualities. He was generous in his outlook and sympathetic in his theory. He was scrupulous in his accounts, and held doubts. He was eager to be fair in his estimate of others and of their opinions, and always ready to admit that there is likely to be some truth in every doctrine and belief that has been sincerely held; there was nothing by law and tradition could be unassailable. His disinherited regard for truth was unbounded; and he took little care to cloak or hide unpalatable opinions, but expressed himself freely without regard to personal consequences. He delighted in championing persons and causes that he conceived to be unjustly treated by society or by the law of the land. His public spirit was intense; and he never feared to attack legislative or other injustices, and to uphold unpopular views, in the interest of the working classes of the nation and the world. His life was consistently devoted to one end—furtherance of the good and welfare of his fellow-men.


_WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON._

_MILLENIUM.—_See _Eschatology._

**MILTON.**

**MILTON—1. Life.**—John Milton was born in London at the Spread Eagle in Bread Street, in 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's mind was deeply impressed by the example 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
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St. Andrews, and at St. Paul’s School, under the care of his younger brother, a master of Latin, a competent knowledge of Greek, and even some acquaintance with Hebrew. *From the twelfth year of my age I scarce ever forsook my nightly studies for bed before midnight* (Defensio S. Chri- sti apud Angliam, 1633). In English literature he was familiar with Joshua Sylvester’s translation of Du Bartas (1605), Fairfax’s Tasso (1600), and probably Spenser, Drummond, and others. The older Gill was a reader of English literature, but probably Shake- speare and play-books were not welcomed in a religious family like that of the scrivener’s, where ‘last of all, not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity, not to be negligently trained in the precepts of Christian religion’ (Apology for Smectymnus, 1642). Milton was no attracted by the dialectical and theological studies of Cambridge. The lines At a Vacation Exercise and some Latin pieces show that he took his part in the prescribed work, but his favourite studies were literary and classical, ‘grave orators and historians,’ the ‘smooth elegie 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. con- temporary) Homer.’ Milton’s knowledge of classical poets he added now the Italians, ‘the two famous renoveners of Beatrice and Laura,’ the ‘lofty fables and romances’ of Boaard and Ariosto (Apology for Smectymnus, Intro.). On the world of medieval writers, 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 period, both English and Latin, bear witness to the grace of Miltonic elegiac and classical literature and the Biblical Christianity of Puritan 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 divine lines—

Yet I had rather, if I were to choose, The service in some graver subject use, Such as may make thee search thy coffer round, Before thou clothe thy fancy in soft sound: Such where the deep transported mind may soar Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven’s door Look in, and see each blissful deity,’ etc. (At a Vacation Exercise, 29 F.)

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 cermonials,

Where throughs of palace high in the heavens (L’Allegro, 119.), and to enjoy the company of friends, among whom the first place was held by Charles Diodati. A young Italian girl, too, of whom we know only that her name was Laura, 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 degrees. During these years he also extended his knowledge of English poetry from Chaucer and Petrarch to Shakespeare (at Cambridge he had already written his famous lines for the second folio), Jonson, and the later Elizabethans. All the poems written at this period bear witness to this native and Elizabethan influence, and among them, as L’Allegro 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), before again to be written by Milton. But In Comus, or A 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, in his own words, ‘thechoice, the beauty, the nobleness, the infirmities, the convictions, his passionate love of purity, his sense of the dependence of all human virtue on the protecting grace of God. The theme of the second book of the Faerie Queene is rendered by a poet of a higher moral temperament and a less of the more controlled and classically educated, sense of beauty.

Milton had gone to Cambridge with a view to taking orders, and, though he left without doing so, there is no evidence that he had ceased to be, when he settled at Horton, an orthodox Anglican. He was a communicant; he had signed the Articles; nothing had yet betrayed that he was by conviction a Presbyterian in his views on Church government; while on the doctrine of predestination in its relation to the human will his position was always closer to that of the Arminians than to that of the Calvinists. What alienated Milton from the Church of England was less its dogmas than its practice, the rigour of Latin, and the discrepancy between the Church and its arbitrary policy. His intense and ideal love of liberty was awakened, and the first notes of the coming storm were heard in Lycidus (1638), the most passionate, choral, and musical poems which Milton had written. In the same year he went abroad, still intent rather on self-culture and the preparation for the task of writing a great poem than on controversy and theology. In Paris he met the Dutch seuul Hugo Grotius, whose History of Episcopacy, and in a Latin poem addressed to him prays that he may find a like patron when he undertakes to sing of

\[\text{rages,}\]
\[\text{Artorumque eliam sub terris bella novemcent,}\]
\[\text{Ant dicentur invicta soli fidei mensae,}\]
\[\text{Magnanimesque tibi carnem, et amico praebere solius,}\]
\[\text{Prangam Saxonum Brittonum sub Marte plangant,}\]
\[\text{(Sylva, 'Massae,' 59 ff.).}\]

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 Geneva to plunge soon into that long course of controversy, ecclesiastical and political, which determined the choice between 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 Prebatical 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 Episcopacy and English bishops and their ’policy’ from Cranmer and Ridley to the promoters of the war with Scotland, closing with an animadversion, more or less, on the Prebatical Episcopacy (June-July 1641) is an examination of the origin of Episcopacy in reply to a.
tract by Archbishop Usher. Of the other pamphlets two, *Anecdota upon the Remonstrants' Defence against Smectymnuus* (July 1641) and *An Apology against a Pamphlet called a Matched Constitution of the Anonimovers against Smectymnuus* (March–April 1642), were contributions to a controversy on Episcopacy between Hall and certain now little-known Puritan divines led by Thomas Young was one. The most fully reasoned and interesting statement of Milton's ideal Presbyterians is contained in *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty* (Jan.–March 1641–42). Two uncontroversial of the *Tract* was written, rising to the surface from time to time, the one with unmistakable and eloquent distinctness, the other with less obtrusive 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 whose choice of the individual was too hastily determined, and whose decisions were too hasty, for he had, it is fondly anticipated, no intellectual helpmeet, but an 'unconversing inability of mind,' 'a mute and spiritless mate,' begetting 'that melancholy despair which we see in many wedded persons' (*Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*; p. 41). Others have experienced the same misfortune in the end have managed to work along; but Milton was no average 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 and published (anonymously and without licence) before his wife had given any definite ground for the controversy, and an improved edition appeared in February 1644 with a signed introductory letter to 'the Parliament of England with the Assembly.' A second tract, *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce,* followed in 1645. The pamphlet's position against critics; and to the same end he issued in March 1645 *Tetrachordon,* a discussion of four passages in Scripture, and *Colasterion,* 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 Unlearn'd Printing* (Nov. 1644).

The outcry which the divorce pamphlets evoked on Milton and his friends eventually gave birth to the most famous of Milton's pamphlets from the Presbyterian Church which its votaries were seeking to invest with all the divine right and intolerant authority of the crown. The Church Assembly, which Milton had 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 imposer of the Commonwealth, whether of authority or endowment, b'veen Church and State.

On 13th February 1649—a fortnight after the execution of Charles—appeared *The Tenure of Kings and Magnates,* proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so throughout all Ages, for him who have the Power, to call a Tyrant or wicked King, and after due conviction to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or deny'd to do it. And that they may do this, of late, so much blame depositing was that did themselves.' The sting in the tail of this bold title is intended for the Presbyterians, who are roughly handled throughout as hypocrisies and revolters from their own principles. The *Eikonoklastes,* of the controversial 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* (1653–1654). The *Defensio contra Morum* (1655) 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* (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 his rupture with the Presbyterians, led him to disapprove of Cromwell's attempt to combine religious endowment with a wide though still limited toleration; and his own position was expounded in the *Defensio Secunda* (1657–58), *Of the Authority of the Protector* (1659) and his associates) and, after Cromwell's death, in *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Cases* (Feb.–March 1659). When the Rump superseded Richard Cromwell and the question of titles was also raised, Milton published his *Hypostatic Union* (1659), which was in reply to his own pamphlet on the subject. The *Hypostatic Union* (1659) was a bitter onslaught on the clergy, Presbyterian or Independent, who claimed titles or fees instead of trusting to the 'benedictions and free gratitude' of their flocks. 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 divinity *De Doctrina Christiana,* on which he had laboured for many years, but which was not printed till 1685.

Throughout the rule of the Commonwealth Milton's life had been the twofold one of a private student and tutor (to children living in or coming to his house) and of a public servant to the secretary to the Council of State (1649–59). The incidents of his private life are few. In 1653 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 1662 his mind had been full of his great projected work, the *Paradise Lost,* a commonplace-book preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, shows the steady trend of his thoughts towards a drama on the subject of the Fall. Two sketches of the dramatic idea, and 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 or persons and private incidents in the dignified manner of his Italian predecessors in similar poems, 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 practised by Italian poets known to Milton. In like manner, verse and epic, not dramatic, form; was composed to dogmatism, corrected, and completed by 1655; and published in 1667.

It was followed in 1670 by *Paradise Regained*, an epic on *the brief model* of the book of Job, and *Samson Agonistes*. Milton's sole experiment in these "dramatic constitutions" wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign.

2. Thought and works. — Of Milton's early poems no more need be said here. Apart from their lovely shape of existence and delightful purity to the delicate purities and profound piety of the poet's childhood and youth, combining in an effect of unique and too transitory looseness literary and classed culture with the finer spirit of a Puritanism which was not yet heated and hardened by the fires of religious and political controversy. The purpose of the present article is to outline the creed of Milton as it took shape in the years of storm and stress which followed his return to England and to consider the reflection of this creed, and the temper which it at once expressed and intensified, in his longer poems.

In his earliest pamphlets Milton ranges himself on the side of the Presbyterian reformers of the Anglican Church. The Swiss authority for the right government of the Church, which is not a matter that has been left to human discretion and experience to devise. God, who shaped to his minutest detail the government and worship of the Jewish church, should be the guide and standard by himself or by his own prescribed discipline have cast his line and level upon the soul of man which is his rational temple, and, by the divine square and compass thereof, form and regenerate in us the lovely shape of virtue and grace, the sacred device to edify and accomplish that immortal stature of Christ's body which is his church, in all her glorious lineaments and proportions? (Reason of Church Government, i. 2.) But the NT recognizes only two orders, bishops or presbyters (they are the same thing) and deacons — so Paul writes to Timothy (not once naming any other order in the Church). Prelacy is an addition of man's devising and ambition (Lucifer . . . was the first prelate and prince to the reason and end of the gospel) (ib. i. 5 ff.).

But, when Milton came to state the respect in which Episcopal jurisdiction opposes the reason and end of the gospel, he parted company at once (freely and consciously to say) with the Swiss and English sympathizers, and with the actual practice of dominant Presbyterianism. For his objection to Episcopal jurisdiction is the, for Milton, fundamental principle that juridical power in the Church there ought to be none at all. His objection is to the hierarchiads "of the State Chamber. Over the outward man, person, and property, authority belongs to the State, which is not concerned with inward matters but with the outward peace and welfare of the commonwealth, and civil happiness in life" (ib. ii. 3). The authority of the Church is over the inward and spiritual man, and her sole weapons are instruction, admonition, rebuke, and, finally, excommunication, that last to be so used as always to keep open the door of reconciliation to repentance. The motive to which the Church appeals is not terror, but shame, "the reverence and due esteem" in which a man holds himself worthy of the dignity with him and for the price of his redemption which he thinks, is visibly marked upon his forehead, making him account himself a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth than to reject and delude, with such a defame-ment, and such a pollution as is, himself so highly transmuted and enabled to a new friend-hip and filial regard in epic, not dramatic, form; was composed to dogmatism, corrected, and completed by 1655; and published in 1667.

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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 to which Milton never condescends is experience, the difficulties and the 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 reasons, high a priori principles set forth in glowing and harmonious but elaborately Latinized periods; a jumble, at times capricious and wrong-headed, of citation and cross-examination of Biblical texts; truculent polemics, 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 burning with fires that are perhaps not yet altogether extinct but in general have died down; there is little to interest the statesman. If Milton's pamphlets yet live, it is in eloquent arguments of high and abstract ideals, to ignore which altogether is to reduce political expediency to sheer opportunism.

The divorce pamphlets have nothing to say upon the political problems of children and the mutual relations of the family and the State. They combine elevated reflections on the ideal significance of marriage as a spiritual rather than a carnal union (regarded solely from the point of view of the man) with a defence of the political principle that the attempt to reconcile Christ's prohibition of divorce but for adultery with Moses' permission. God cannot have at any time permitted sin. The later command cannot have been intended, therefore, to annul the earlier, but merely to check certain prevalent abuses. Milton was not without apprehension of the fact of moral and religious progress. He went beyond the English Protestantism of his day in asserting that under the new dispensation the Mosaic 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 liberty, which was a right not granted, a fresh emblazonment of the spirit to the letter. Looking at the question exclusively from the man's point of view, he advanced to an assertion of divorce as the private concern of the individual and to a defence of polygamy (De Doctr. Christ. i. 10).

The Areopagitica was an overflow from the divorce controversy, and is a magnificent a priori vindication of freedom of thought and speech as the fundamental condition of the successful quest of truth. The practical difficulties which have beset the attempt to find a solution, other than a compromise varying in different countries, lay outside Milton's ken. He could foresee all the evils that have attended the freedom allowed to a Chauvinist or a commercial press to deceive and to pervert.

The same lofty but a priori idealism combined with 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 O.T. history, and heated by the fires of civil war:

There can be but one sacrifice to God, and that is... than an unjust and wicked king. (Seeemus, Fecit, Pro. 192, 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 Holmes saw them, of how somewhere government in every society there is and must be an authority against which no rights can be pleaded, Milton shows no suspicion. He was at work reasserting with the greatest of dignity 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 a priori reasoning, and conception of the Bible as the sole oracle of God, of authority in all fields of thought and experience. His Latin quotations and English elucidations attempt to reconcile the political thought of the 17th century.

Milton's demurrer to an endow up a clergy—a subject on which he found himself at variance with his hero Cromwell—and his demand of all religious differences of opinion 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 and his claim to use the privileges and intolerance of their Anglican predecessors, and of the purely individualistic character of his philosophical Christianity. From rejecting ecclesiastical discipline and authority Milton was driven onward by a ruthless logic to the denial that any regard 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 heretics are those who follow a Church against their conscience and their convictions based on Scripture. Congregationalism or Presbyterianism is the product of the enmity of 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.

* We have not all our 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 man. (The Oldest Means to remove Hesitancy.)

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 theme of his poem. For a study of that thought as finally articulated we must go to the De Doctrina Christiana, Joannes Milton Anglus Universis Christi Ecclesias Neon Omnium FulCan Christiianam Dulcanque Gentium Profligentibus. 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,
Milton's higher the original and, not for I In fleshy Faith Under a religious 12 and will the the the is the gone. which ideit, the the the is anticipated, the promise religious not Milton's 3rd Pilgrim's of 

A Milton's divinity extends the redemption, which the ardor of love which throbs in Dante's *Divina Commedia* or Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* or Thomas' Kemps Musica Ecclesiasteria, or many others of the great distinc
tively Christian works of feeling and imagination. A humanistic monotheism is of the innermost texture of Milton's soul.

The same high, not to say proud, soul is revealed in Milton's refusal to accept the Calvinist doctrine of predestination and the complete corruption of man. Here is the Fall—refusal to sacrifice the reality of human freedom, the intrinsic worth of human nature. Predestination, he declares, extends to election only, not to reprobation. It did not determine man's fall, but the means of his redemption, since God foreknew that of his own free will man would fall:

> *For man will hearken to his glowing lies, And easily transgress the solemn command, Sole pledge of his obedience: so will fall He and his faithless progeny. Whose fault? What is his own? Ingrate, he had of me All he could have; I made him just and right, Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.*

*Milton, Paradise Lost, iii. 93 ff.*

The redemption purchased by Christ is in the same way freely offered to all, not to an elect, predestined number. To all, God gives grace, 'though not in equal measure': yet sufficient for attaining knowledge of the truth and final salvation:

> *For I will clear their senses dark What may suffer, and soften stony hearts To pray, repent, and bring obedience due, To prayer, repentance, and obedience due, Though but endeavoured with sincere intent, Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut* (ib. 185 ff.).

Nor — and here again Milton diverged from orthodox Protestantism—is all apprehension of 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 observation to a great extent of that right reason which enabled man to discern the chief good', that despair subjection 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.

This is evident, not only from the wisdom and holiness of many of the heathen, manifested both in words and deeds, but also from what is said Gen. iv. 2 the deed of you shall be upon your head, v. 16, whom man's blood by man shall be shed; for in the image of God made He man. These vestiges of original excellence are visible, first, in the understanding, as in the *Divine Compendium* or in *Milton's Natura of Literature*. Take away from either of these poems the high purpose that shines through them, and half their beauty is gone. It is its symbolic, mystic character that gives sublime to
deavour after righteousness, at least to make him responsible for his sins, though its power is so small as to afford him no subject for boasting.

In accordance with the same high regard for the will, for conscience, for the test of the good life, 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 words 'of the law.'

> *For Paul does not say simply that a man is justified without works, but without the works of the law alone, but "by faith which worketh by love," Gal. v. 6. Faith has its own works which may be different from the works of the law. We are justified therefore by faith, but not by a living not a dead faith; and that faith alone which acts is accounted living. James ii. 17, 20, 25."* (ib. 12, 33.)

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 Decalogue (ib. i. 25 f.), the place of which is taken by a higher law: 'written not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart,' the law of love given in our Lord's words, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all that is in thee, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself' (Lev. 19). In the Decalogue is included the Fourth Commandment (ib. i. 10, ii. 7), on which English Puritanism laid so much stress. In his poem *Paradise Lost* and joined in the general condemnation of the Book of Sports and its instigation to 'gaming, jigging, wassailing and mixed dancing' on 'that day which God's law, and even our reason, hath consecrated.'

'So the day of the Sabbath, the seventh day is not moral, but a convenient respite of worship, in fit season, whether seventh or other number.' Our rigid observance is an unnecessary cause of separation from the Reformed Churches of the Continent. The argument, (e.g., of the Westminster Confession) that the Jewish law of the Sabbath had been transferred intact to the first day of the week is invalid (*De Doctr. Christ., ii. 7*). Under the gospel no one day is appointed for divine worship in preference to another, except such as the church may set apart of its own authority for the subsistence and assembling of its members, wherein, relinquishing all worldly service, we may dedicate ourselves wholly to religious services as far as is consistent with the duties of charity and work. Such are some of the most important divergences of Milton's creed from the creed of the Protestant Churches around him. Of this creed *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* are the poetical setting forth. Like the *Divine Comedy*, 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 dryly in the *De Doctrina* and the purpose which Milton declares he has in view:

> *To justify the ways of God to men—* is theologically conceived. His poem is not an attempt to reconcile the heart and the imagination to truths already accepted. It is a restatement in poetico form of these doctrines in such a way as will finally justify God and indict man. 'Thereof short art inexorable, O man, whatsoever thou art that judgest' (Ro. 9).

Looked at steadily from this point of view, it cannot justly be said that *Paradise Lost* will bear comparison with the *Divina Compendium* or the *De Doctrina*. Take away from either of these poems the high purpose that shines through them, and half their beauty is gone. It is its symbolic, mystic character that gives sublime 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 confidence, much less with a spirit of criticism, the doctrine of heaven and earth as it is the function of poetry to beget, his justification of God's way to men, this stern and harsh rendering of Paul's 'as in Adam all died.' The time is past in which Milton's poem was read almost as if it were the Bible. It is no longer the poetic presentation of those momentous events as if they actually occurred, to judge 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 'cleft of gold' energized with all the barbaric spell of his multifarious learning—and by the miracle of his verse harmonies. But, when we look beneath this dazzling surface, we see that the unity is not so complete as we imagined, that a magnificent epic story is troubled and rendered abortive by the cramping theological purpose. All that is gained in Paradise Lost is the product of Milton's creative, mythopoetic faculty working as freely on the scanty material of Biblical record and ecclesiastical tradition as did Homer or any primitive poet when shaping and embroidering popular material. But there is nothing in the poem that is essentially Christian. The splendid scenes of the opening books—Satan and his companions debating in hell, Satan voyaging through chaos or descending through the heavenly bodies in the first freeness of his creation—in Eden, the wars in heaven—all 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 reference to our own religious traditions and feelings, without having to ask ourselves 'Is this our God? Is this the Second Person of the Trinity?' For, as Milton approaches his proper theme, in the theological disquisition in heaven, in the story of the Temptation and what follows, we cannot but feel, despite frequent beauties, a steady subsidence of the creative power of the opening; the didactic displaces the epic poem. The magnificent promise of the opening books is not fulfilled. The noble characters there 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 damned, passionate soul we should have expected some action larger, more significant, than this rather over-eloquently treated temptatio 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 gain. The poet, with the utmost perfection and chaste yet rich in texture, is none of the wonderful creative power of the great episodes and characters in the longer poem; and its austerity of tone marks its limits as a religious poem, for obedience, temperance, and unworldliness are Christian virtues only as they flow from or lead to charity, and but little of the radiancy of Christian love illumines and warms this severe and stately poem.

The passion which sleeps under Milton's most interesting 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 Paradise Lost and is the product of Milton's poetic diction and of criticism upon Scripture. His discovery is the artificial mould of classical tragedy all the more passionate feeling with which he reviewed the course of his own life and the history of the cause with which he had identified himself; but with all heartfelt. The never-closed wound of his first marriage, the loss of his sight, the defeat of the high hopes which he had conceived for his country as a chosen people, a Kingdom of God on earth, the triumph of the hated prelates and the despised sons of Bedouin with tenderness and wine. All found no utterance in the severely measured lines and choruses of this tragedy, not a lament, as the French called it, but the last utterance of Milton's indomitable will, that unmistakable self-confidence which he called faith in God—a fitting close to the career of the loftiest soul among English poets:

'Samson hath quaffed himself
Like Samson, and heredily hath finished
A life heroic' (Samson Agonistes, 1704.)

Of Milton's supreme greatness as a poet there is no question. In sustained loftiness of soul, elaborate magnificence of language, and mystery of varied cadence of power movement, there 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 naturalis. Christ 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 failing (Purg. xiii. 186 f.) It is the absence in all his poetry of the note of passionate self-surrender to the love of Christ that separates him, not from Dante, but from the Paritan like Bunyan, an Anglian like Herbert, a Roman like Crashaw and Vondel, among his contemporaries. It was on another side that Christianity claimed Milton. His work begins and ends in the idea of liberty and its correlative duty, human freedom and the responsibility that it carries with it of living

'As ever in the great Taskmaster's eye.'

God is, for Milton, indeed the great Taskmaster, but he rejoices in the tasks; 'the victories of the conscience are gained by the commanding charm which all the severe and restrictive virtues have for him' (Emerson, in North Amer. Review, xvi. [1885] 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 imparts that, in the words of a recent French writer,

'God is for Milton the all in all of life. There is no more terrible evil than sin which separates us from it, and no more sublime mystery than the Redemption which reconciles us to God' (P. Chaquet, La Religion de Milton, Paris, 1885, p. 241.)

All his acts and writings were inspired by his desire that the Kingdom of God might come on
MIMAMSA

Coleridge, first termed W. T. com-
exen. Milton, in reality T. A. Arthnsoifjraha, cer-
monial 'Mitha' text-book which is the title of one of the six systems of
orthodox Vedic philosophy. The Minimamsa is the
most mystical and philosophical of the six systems of orthodoxy. It
is concerned with the system of knowledge, the Vedanta
system, the system of Vedanta, the system of Vedanta, the system of Vedanta,
the system of Vedanta, and is the system of Vedanta.

The Mimamsa system is divided into two parts: the
part of the representation of works and the part of
the representation of words. The first part of the
representation of works is the representation of
the works, and the second part of the representation
of words is the representation of words. The
representation of works is divided into two parts:
the representation of words and the representation
of works. The representation of words is divided
into three parts: the representation of words, the
representation of words, and the representation
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Vedanta system, the system of Vedanta, the system of Vedanta,
the system of Vedanta, and is the system of Vedanta.

It has been already reached that the form in
which the Mimamsa is presented may have contri-
buted towards its being regarded as a branch of
its own. That the Mimamsa is presented in the
form of a branch of its own is generally regarded.

Mimamsa

Mimamsa is Sanskrit for "investigation", and is also
the term used in the vernacular language for
the study of the Vedas. It is the branch of
philosophy which most closely resembles logic.

The Mimamsa system is divided into two parts:
the part of the representation of works and the part
of the representation of words. The first part of the
representation of works is the representation of
the works, and the second part of the representation
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representation of works is divided into two parts:
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form of a branch of its own is generally regarded.
MINÆANS.—See ARABS (ANCIENT), SAK-ANS.

MIND.—Questions of empirical psychology and of the relations between body and mind are discussed in other articles (see Body, Body AND Mind, Brain AND Mind). The present article must be limited to a discussion of the metaphysical theories of mind. Owing to the peculiar position which these problems occupy in philosophy, as well as in the study of ethical and religious systems, it is advisable, first of all, to make explicit some of the epistemological problems which especially confront the student of the nature of mind; and, in order to do this, we must consider certain traditional conceptions 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 accurate 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, we shall proceed to apply it to actual 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 conclusions 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 individual 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 explicitly mentioned, was first distinguished with sharpness, for epistemology by the American logician, Charles S. Peirce. We shall speak first of the two well-known types of cognitive process, perception and conception.

The name 'perception' is used in psychology with special reference to the perceptions of the various senses. We are here interested only in the most general characteristics of perception. William James has used, for what is here called perception, the term 'knowledge of acquaintance.' He distinguishes 'knowledge of acquaintance' from 'knowledge about.' In the simplest possible case one who listens to music has 'knowledge of acquaintance' with the music: the musician who listens in the light of his professional knowledge has not only 'knowledge of acquaintance,' but also 'knowledge about': he recognizes what changes of key take place and what rules of harmony are illustrated. A deaf man who has learned about the natural tones of the fixed notes, as far as he 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 by the name already used, 'conceptual knowledge.' Conceptual knowledge is knowledge of universals, of relations, or of other such 'abstract' objects. The Socratic-Platonic theory of knowledge called attention from its very beginning to universals and relations, and consequently made this type of knowledge specially prominent.

No doubt, even if one is disposed to cling to this merely dual classification of knowledge, one may well question whether it is a sufficiently explicit. The merely 'knowledge of acquaintance' is of the grade of conceptual knowledge. For there is much 'knowledge about' concerning which we should all hesitate to say that it is knowledge of universals. Socrates himself did not distinguish the knowledge of universals from the knowledge of particulars. In the classical theory of universals, met at the start with the fact that much of our knowledge of universals is confused in our minds. But if, for the moment, we reject the intermediate cognitive states in which we more or less lose our 'knowledge of acquaintance' and conceptual knowledge, or possess conceptual knowledge in imperfect degrees of development, we may readily admit that this traditional dual classification of cognitive states is sufficiently adequate to call attention to a distinction which is of the utmost importance, both for empirical science and for metaphysics.

While the distinction between perceptual and conceptual knowledge is of great importance in determining the distinction between the deductive and the inductive methods in the sciences, the classification of these two modes of cognition does not of itself suffice to determine what constitutes the difference between inductive and deductive science. When we speak of conceptual knowledge, we are in general prepared to undertake 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 (q.v.). Whether accepted as necessarily true or used merely as hypothesis, these propositions, either alone or in combination, may, after all, 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 knowledge of acquaintance, on the other type. In what sense and to what degree a '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 not the knowledge in reaching results which are true about 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 form 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 that hypothesis is previsional. When the hypothesis is tested by comparing the predictions based upon it with experience, the test involves appealing at some point to perceptual knowledge, or 'knowledge of acquaintance.' The concept of experiment used in an inductive science might seem to be typical cases of processes 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 dual classification of fundamental processes of cognition, the questions which most come to our notice, regarding both knowledge and its objects, concern (1) the relative value of these two cognitive processes, and (2) in which of these processes, or in ideal cognitive processes (such as we may ascribe to beings of some higher order than ours), the two can ever be separated. These two questions have proved especially momentous in the discussion of knowledge and the concept of reality.

(1) Regarding 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 of an expression of reason. Conception knowledge gives truth; perceptual knowledge gives illusion or appearance. The same is true, on the whole, of the Platonic doctrine. In recent discussions 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 'credul value'; perceptual knowledge furnishes the 'cash of experience'; concepts 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' whose limits and imperfections we had no occasion to be aware of, but our knowledge had no imperfections, then concepts 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 the characteristic of the contrast which is here in question. Of course all the philosophers admit that, in practice, our knowledge makes use of, and from moment to moment consists in, a union which involves both conceptual and perceptual processes.

(2) On the question whether the two foregoing types of knowledge, however closely linked in our normal human experience, can, at least in ideal, be separated—i.e., whether a knowledge by 'pure realization' is possible on the one hand, or a knowledge of 'pure experience' on the other hand—the historical differences of opinion are closely related to well-known metaphysical controversies. For Plato, as in another age, and in a largely different metaphysical context for Spinoza, it is at least to say that, for the conceptual philosopher, to attain a purely intellectual insight into the realm of 'ideas' or into the nature of the 'substance.' For various forms of mysticism, as well as for theories such as the one set forth in the Kritik der reinen Erkenntniss (Leipzig, 1888-90) of B. H. L. Avenarius, there may be a mental transeuntment which involves either a practical or a 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.

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 which is denoted by a sign, or expression of an idea or meaning, which in general belongs to the mind of some fellow-man. When this sign or expression is understood by the one who hears or who reads, what is made present to the consciousness of the reader or hearer may be any combination of perceptual or conceptual knowledge that chances to be in question. But, if any one cries 'Fire!', the sort of knowledge which takes place in my mind when I hear and understand this cry essentially depends upon this fact: I regard my fellow man's cry 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 fact 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. 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 lend me to regard an expression as my own even therby lead me to regard my fellow's perceptions as never present within my own field of awareness. My knowledge of my own physical pains, of the colours that I see, or of the sounds that I hear is knowledge that may be called, in general terms, perceptual. That is, these are objects with which I am, or upon occasion could be, acquainted. But with my fellow's pains I am not acquainted. To say this is merely to say that, whatever I mean by 'my own physical pains,' the very distinction between the two is so bound up with the type of cognition that is in question that whatever I am acquainted with through my own perception is in sapp facto my own object of acquaintance, and hence that perceptual knowledge has not as its object what is
at the same time regarded as the state of another mind than my own.

But, in the kind of my fellow, in particular his ideas, his feelings, his intentions, are never objects of perceptual knowledge for me, so that I am not directly acquainted with any of these states, must we regard our knowledge of the mind, of the ideas, of the purposes, feelings of our fellow-man as a conceptual knowledge? Is our fellow-man's mind the object of a concept of our own? Is the fellow-man a universal, or a relation, or a property? Wherein do he differ from a mathematical entity or a law of nature? Unquestionably we regard him as possessing conceptual knowledge of his own, and also as engaged in processes of knowledge which may be conceptual, or which may involve any union of percept and concept. But the fact remains that neither by our own perceptions can we become acquainted with his states of mind, nor yet by our own conceptions can we become able to know the objects which constitute his mental process. In fact, we come to know that there are in the world minds not our own by interpreting the signs that these minds give us of their presence. This interpretation is a third type of knowledge which is closely interwoven with our perceptual knowledge, very much as they in turn are bound up with it, but which is not reducible to any complex or combination consisting of elements which are merely perceptual or merely conceptual.

Knowledge is the relation of both man and man, or (what is still more important) every process of inner self-comprehension carried on when a man endeavors to 'make up his own mind' or 'to understand what he is about,' involves this process of conceptual interpretation, and cannot be reduced to perception or to conception. It is to this third cognitive process that, following the terminology which Peirce proposed, we here apply the name 'interpretation.'

In order to distinguish more clearly the three types of cognition, we may say that the natural object of perception is some inner or outer datum of sense or of feeling, such as a musical tone, a color, an emotional state, or the continual flow of the natural life which Ferguson much insisted. For these are typical objects of perceptual knowledge, i.e., of 'knowledge of acquaintance.' The typical objects of conceptual knowledge are such objects as numbers, and relations such as identity and difference, and qualities or properties. The objects of interpretation are signs which express the meaning of some mind. These signs may be expressions of the meaning of the very mind which also interprets them. This is actually the case whenever in memory we review our own past, when we reflect upon our own meaning, when we form a plan, or when we ask ourselves what we mean or engage in any of the inner conversation which forms the common expression of the activity whereby an individual man attains some sort of explicit knowledge of himself.

The form of cognitive process involved in the social relations between man and man is essentially the same as that involved in the cognitive process by which a man makes clear to himself his own intent and meaning. For, despite well-known assertions to the contrary on the part of Bergson, nobody has any adequate intuitive 'knowledge of acquaintance' with himself. If such perceptual or intuitive knowledge of the self by the self were possible, we should not be obliged to acknowledge that the world of human beings is dominated by such colossal and often disastrous ignorance of every man regarding himself, his true interests, his real happiness, his moral and personal values, his intents, and his powers, as we actually find characterizing our human world. In brief, man's knowledge, both of himself and of his neighbor, 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.

That the type of knowledge involved whenever signs are interpreted is a fundamental type of knowledge which cannot be represented either to perception or to conception can be exemplified in many manifold ways, and will appear more clearly through the illumination given us by the following early statement. It may be useful to point out here that, while all our interpretations, like all our perceptual and conceptual knowledge, are subject to the 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 his world some meaning, 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 talking 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 just then I can think of for the 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 divides, or at least distinguishes, that part of the objects, ideas, or meanings in question into two distinct provinces, or modes of mental activity. One of these regions is interpreted at the moment as 'my own present idea,' 'my own purpose,' 'my own meaning'; 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 neighbor's meaning,' or perhaps as 'a meaning that belongs to my social order,' or 'to the world,' or, if I am religiously minded, 'to God.' In each case there is a method which may prove to be a wrong one. Interpretation is fallible. So, too, is conception, when viewed as a cognitive process, and so is perception, whose character as 'acquaintance with' is no guarantee of its accuracy. But typically, objects of interpretation are signs which express the meaning of some mind. These signs may be expressions of the meaning of the very mind which also interprets them. This is actually the case whenever in memory we review our own past, when we reflect upon our own meaning, when we form a plan, or when we ask ourselves what we mean or engage in any of the inner conversation which forms the common expression of the activity whereby an individual man attains some sort of explicit knowledge of himself.

There is another way of expressing the distinction of these three kinds of knowledge which is 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, or to the mind whose sign this is, the interpretation is the reading or rendering of the meaning of this mind by another mind. In other words, every interpretation has so far a dual aspect: it at once brings two minds into quasi-social contact and distinguishes between them or contrasts them. In the light of this contrast and with reference to the direction in which it is read, the two minds are known each in the light of the other. As has already been seen, 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 process in question has not only a social character, but what one may call a directed 'sensation': a sensing for the 'cash,' in the form of sense-data, such as may, when found, meet the requirements, or 'calls,' made by the conceptual aspect of the very idea which is in question. This concept has, in Bergson's phrase, its 'credit value.' 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 'yonder path leads me home,' he makes an active synthesis of his concept of home and of his present sense-data. This active synthesis, expressed in his idea, 'I am homeward bound,' is a leading, which, if he is successful, will result in furnishing to him, when his wanderings cease, the perceptions of home which constitute the goal.

Thus, in brief, knowledge by interpretation is (1) an expression (by an 'interpreter') of (2) the idea or self-consciousness, involving a definite sequence of plans of action, and dealing with long stretches of time, has this tripartite character. The present self interprets the past self to the future self; or some generally still more explicit social process takes place in which one self or quasi-self has its meanings stated by an interpreter for the sake of some third self.

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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 when he is in the midst of his own past self, past and future. In the inner life of an individual man this third mode of cognition, therefore, appears at once in its most fundamental and simplest form as the cognitive process whose being consists in a comparison of ideas. The ideas compared here belong in one sense to the 'same self'; but they differ as the ideas of 'past self' and 'future self'; or, in various other ways, they belong to different quasi-minds.

A mode of process is, indeed, irreducible to pure perception, to pure conception, or to that active synthesis of the two which James has in mind when he uses the term 'idea,' readily becomes manifest if we consider what takes place when two 'ideas' are 'compared,' whether these two belong to men who are 'different individuals' or to the same individual, 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, but is a mere conception, whether simple or complex. It is, for James and his allies, a 'leading,' an 'active tendency,' a 'fulfilment of purpose,' or an effort towards such fulfilment, an 'adjustment to a situation,' a seeking for the 'cash,' in the form of sense-data, such as may, when found, meet the requirements, or 'calls,' made by the conceptual aspect of the very idea which is in question. This concept has, in Bergson's phrase, its 'credit value.' Eventual sense-data may furnish the corresponding 'cash.' The idea is the seeking for this 'cash.'
of 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 ideas in advance, 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 of reality is mine'). In any case two comments may 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 possible, and unless, in at least some rudimentary form, it took place, we could never make even a beginning in forming a coherent view of our own past and future, of our own selves as individuals, or of selves not our own. Our ideas both of the Ego and of the Alter depend upon an explicit process of 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 third self or idea.

A view 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 cognitive processes appears of special importance as a means of distinguishing some of the principal theories about the nature of mind which have played a part in the history of philosophy. Newrout how does the theory of knowledge show itself of more importance in preparing the way for an understanding of metaphysical problems than in the case of the metaphysics of mind. No attentive student of the problem of mind can easily fail at least to feel, even if he does not very explicitly define his feeling, that in dealing with the philosophy of mind both common sense and the philosophers are accustomed to combine, sometimes in a very confused way, a reference to different more or less hypothetical beings, while the ideas that are proposed with regard to the nature of these beings are of profoundly different types.

Thus it may be a question for common sense or for a given metaphysical doctrine as to whether or not there exists a so-called soul. Now it makes a great difference for the theory of mind both common sense and the philosophers are accustomed to combine, sometimes in a very confused way, a reference to different more or less hypothetical beings, while the ideas that are proposed with regard to the nature of these beings are of profoundly different types.

whence 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 is speaking of the soul as a possible perception, or is treating it as if it were, in its inmost nature, an object which can be known only through some adequate conception. If one has called to his attention the fact that he is speaking in conceptual and not 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 not necessary a 'working hypothesis' about the nature of the soul, that it is, of course, in part stated in conceptual terms, but that the concepts are true only in so far as they prove to be somewhere directly verifiable in terms of immediate perception.

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, or can consistently anticipate, that his neighbour's mental states or activities which essentially belongs to the inner life or to the distinct mind of his neighbour, can ever become, under any circumstances, a direct perception of his own. For, if my neighbour's physical pains ever become 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. And I can have at most only a greater or less probability, to interpret correctly the meaning, the plan, or some other inner idea of the mind of my neighbour; but I cannot hope to go beyond such correct interpretation so far as to perceive my neighbour's mental states. For, if my neighbour's states became the immediate objects of my own acquaintance, my neighbour and I would so far simply melt together, like drops in the ocean or small pools in a greater pool. The immediate acquaintance with my neighbour's mind which 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 hypotheses' about the interior reality of myself of my neighbour's mind 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 an abstract and universal idea. The one sort of knowledge for which recent pragmatism has no kind of place whatever is a knowledge, storable in pragmatic 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 our neighbour's mind depends upon the argument from analogy. Because of similar behaviours of our organism we regard it as an analogy for ourselves that both neighbour's organism and our own are vivified by more or less similar mental lives, so that we have similar experiences. But to regard or to believe in the mind of our neighbour as an object whose existence can be proved through an argument from analogy raises a question whose answer is simply fatal to the whole pragmatic theory of knowledge. Surely an argument from analogy is not its own verification. For pragmatism the truth of a hypothesis depends upon the fact that
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 which we assert that the 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 a part of fact at 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 mind is a actually future. This, however, is precisely the type of truth with 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 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 banknotes into perceptual cash, i.e., into immediate data of experience. For interpretations are not verified merely through immediate data, nor through the analysis of conceptions. This is true whether I myself or the object of my interpretation begins with the metaphor, and is that which the neighbour of a metaphor already used, furnishes the means of indicating wherein consists the relative, but never immediate, verifiability of the truth of an interpretation.

When I interpret, whether my own purposes or intents of the ideas of another man are the objects which I seek to interpret, what I first meet in experience is neither a matter of acquaintance nor a matter of interpretation. 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 not in the temporal process of my mental life, that ideas have come to me which are not now my own, and which need further expression and interpretation, but which 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 is a sort of knowledge about. This is the form of the hypothesis that this expression makes more manifest to me both the meaning of this sign and the idea of the mind or self wherein 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 where interpretation, while the interpretation which at the moment we offer is itself incomplete, but requires further interpretation.

In literal conversation our neighbour utters words which already express 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 do not fully know what they mean. Hence, in general, our neighbour has addressed us, we can reply ask him, 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 conceivable 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 perceptible fact attributable to the neighbour. 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 conversational situation, as a whole, essentially 'coherent,' despite its endless novelties and unexpected incidents.

Our whole knowledge of mind, in so far as we mean intelligent mind, not only depends upon, but consists in, a consistent series of interpretations, which we obtain, merely through interpreting '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, reasonable, comprehensible system of actual ideas and meanings. The essence of the mental interpretation which underlies this experience of intelligent mental life and of all spiritual relations—only not depends upon, but consists in, this coherent process of interpretation.

Or, again, an interpretation is not a conceptual hypothesis which is verified in 'practical 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 that my hypotheses about these facts 'work,' in so far as the experiment on that hypothesis turns out to be successful. But, when I deal with another mind, I do not merely expect to get deducible 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, and 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, by their very novelty and surprises, retain genuine coherence. Thus, in dealing with other minds, I am constantly enlarging my own mind by getting new interpretations, both of myself and of my neighbour's life. The 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 turn constantly interpret it, and even in and through this very process of interpretation never recognize 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 a merely single or separable or merely detached or isolated body dual, but is always what 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 concept and coherent unity, tends, in the most significant cases, to become essentially such as the unity which the apostle Paul attributes to the ideal Church: many members, but one body; many gifts, but one spirit (Ro 12:5).--an essentially social unity, never to be adequately conceived or felt, but properly the object of what the Apostle viewed, in its practical and religious aspect, as the spiritual gift of charity, in its cognitive aspect as interpretation, may rather that ye may interpret (1 Cor 12).

5. Metaphysical theories of the nature of mind.—(a) Predominantly perceptual theories. The nature of mind may be defined by a given metaphysical theory mainly in terms of which we regard mind as best or most known through possible perceptions or through possible acquaintance with its nature. Such theories have been prominent throughout the whole history of human thought, and, as an isolated body dual, but is always what 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 concept and coherent unity, tends, in the most significant cases, to become essentially such as the unity which the apostle Paul attributes to the ideal Church: many members, but one body; many gifts, but one spirit (Ro 12:5).--an essentially social unity, never to be adequately conceived or felt, but properly the object of what the Apostle viewed, in its practical and religious aspect, as the spiritual gift of charity, in its cognitive aspect as interpretation, may rather that ye may interpret (1 Cor 12).

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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 an emphatic the assertion that this theory of mind once and for all be stated in expressly ‘pluralistic’ terms. It has, consequently, been freely asserted that we ‘immediately know’ our own self to be independent, to be distinct from all other selves, and thus to be given. Since it is also sometimes asserted that we know, or that ‘we know intuitively,’ upon occasion, the fact that we can never be directly acquainted with the conditions of our neighbour’s mind, such perceptual theories have given rise to the so-called problem of Solipsism. For, if we know mind by perception only, and if we are sure of it only when we perceive it, and if each of us can perceive only his own mind, then what proves for any one of us that there is any mind but his own? The analogy which primitive animism so freely and so vaguely used becomes, for the critical consciousness, questionable. In consequence, the problem of Solipsism has remained in modern times a sort of scandal of the philosophy of mind.

The solution of the problem of Solipsism lies in the fact, upon which Feirce so well insisted, that no one of us has any purely perceptual knowledge of his own mind. The knowledge of mind is not so immediately given as the case either of our own or of the neighbour, in terms of merely immediate acquaintance. If the truth of this proposition is once understood, the entire theory of mind, whether for metaphysics or for empirical psychology, is profoundly altered. Until this inadequacy of knowledge through acquaintance to meet the real end of human knowledge is fully grasped, it is impossible to define with success either the mind or the world, either the individual self or the monistic world.

(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 rational’ metaphysical theories; and (2) the more inductive conceptual theories based upon the more or less highly developed ‘empirical psychology’ of the period. With the period in which these theories have flourished. We need not enumerate these theories or give their history.

Of principal importance in their history have been (1) that type of view, the monistic, 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 in, regarding them both as the same in substance and (3) the various types of monadology, which are characterized by the assertion of the existence of many real and more or less completely independent 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 these various important theories which are expressed in the predominantly conceptual view, that of Aristotle is very deeply and interestingly related to primitive animism on the one hand, while, on the other hand, it looks towards that development of the idea of the distinct individual self upon which modern formal systems of monadology have depended.

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 in time in question related to the sorts of experience which the psychologists, the students of the natural history of mind, have by a process of knowledge discovered or may yet hope to discover? From the point of view of modern pragmatism, conceptual theories of mind might be entertained as ‘working hypotheses’ if they led to verification in perceptual terms.

In fact, the modern physical sciences, in conceiving the nature of matter, deal with manifold problems, but use conceptual hypotheses regarding the nature of mind which are in a larger measure, subject to pragmatic tests. Molecular and atomic, and, of late, various other types of conceptual physical entities, which were formerly supposed to be incapable of being objects of physical experience, now appear to come within the range of the experimentalist’s verifications. Therefore the processes of the experimental verification of physical hypotheses are, on the whole, a direct relation to the sort of knowledge upon which the pragmatists 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 case, there is a tendency towards such direct verification. Hence physical self or of the world, as 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 difference it would make to an observer of mental processes and, in particular, his own mental processes, whether the so-called ‘soul substances,’ or Leibnizian monads, or not, or whether the introspective observer of his own sensations or feelings is or is not himself a Leibnizian monad or Aristotelian ‘entelechy’; or, again, whether he is essentially persistent and indestructible. Thus, from the pragmatic point of view, the majority of these conceptual hypotheses regarding the nature of mind show little sign of promising to prove more verifiable than they thus far have been. In consequence, the views regarding the real nature of mind has been, for many reasons, on the whole sceptical. In fact, the whole nature of mind cannot be adequately conceived, and could not be so conceived even if our observational 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 interpretation. 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 conceptual theory of mind would fail precisely as a perceptual theory fails. Such theories would fail because they do not view the cognitive processes to not take account of that which is most of all needed in order even in the most rudimentary fashion to grasp the nature of an intelligent mind.

(c) Theories making use of the cognitive process of the interpretation.—In the development of the doctrine of interpretation thus 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
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 clear that will, even through itself, as a monad or a substance, but in essence a mode of self-expression which progressively makes itself known either to its fellows or to such minds as above or below its own grade.

That theory 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 consultation of oracles, discovery of the future or will of the gods through divination, or, in fact, any such more or less superstition 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 merely because its hypotheses correspond in a manner to certain diseases does not 'work'—is in this case fairly adequate to express the situation both epistemologically and metaphysically.

Moreover, as we have seen, animism, in its more primitive form, has a predominantly conceptual theory of mind, and whether such a theory, either of mind or of the relations between mind and the physical world, is held in some simple form by the medicine-man of an obscure tribe or is fascinatingly placed in the setting of a modern evolutionary theory by Bergson, makes comparatively little difference to the essential views of the philosophy of mind which are in question. But that view of the nature of mind which gained, apparently, its earliest type of expression when men first consulted, and hereupon more or less cautiously interpreted, the oracles of their gods has (as befits a theory of mind which is founded upon a fundamental cognitive process) persisted throughout the history of human thought. This way of viewing mind has, in fact, persisted in a fashion which enables us to distinguish its expressions with sufficient clearness from those which have had their origin either in the conceptions of primitive magic or in the perceptions which guided primitive animism.

From the point of view of the cognitive process of interpretation mind has, at all times, 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 as reducible either to purely conceptual terms or to purely perceptual terms. If the self were a mental term, 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 ends 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 this idea is united with the practically objective 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 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 interpretation is carried on in the spirit which the relation of Israel first made central in what undertook to be a world religion, and which the apostle Paul laid at the basis both of his philosophy of human history and of his Christology.

Modern idealism, both in the more vital and less formal expressions of Hegel's doctrine and in its recent efforts at a social interpretation of the self, of the course of human evolution, and of the problems of metaphysics, has already given a partial expression to a theory of which we tend to become clearly aware in proportion as we recognize what the cognitive process of interpretation is, and how it contrasts with, and is auxiliary to, the processes of conception and perception. Only in terms of a theory of the field of knowledge can we hope fully to express what is meant by that form of idealism which views the world as the 'process of the spirit' and as containing its own interpretation and its own interpreter.

LITERATURE.—The epistemology of Charles Peirce is discussed at length by the present writer in The Process of Philosophy, London, 1913, ii. (In Index, e.g. 'Peirce,' references will be found which will serve as a guide to Peirce's theory of knowledge, and its relation to the metaphysical theories of the nature of mind).

Josiah Royce.

MIND AND BODY.—See BODY AND MIND.

MIND AND BRAIN.—See BRAIN AND MIND.

MINERALS.—See METALS AND MINERALS.

MINIM.—Certain persons of Jewish origin mentioned in the Talmud and contemporary Rabbinical literature, usually with severe disapproval, are called Minim. Considerable difference of opinion has existed upon the question who the Minim were; but the view is now generally, though not universally, held that they were mainly Jewish-Christians. This theory has the apparent support of Gutzkow, of Welsch, of Bacher, and of Levi; the chief opponent is Moritz Friedländer. The writer of this article, from an independent study of the evidence, deduces for the Jewish-Christian interpretation, while admitting a wider 'pure subject' 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
MINIM

Christianity in Talmud and Midrash, to which the reader is referred for details which cannot be given in the short space of this article.

Parker, p. 113, quoting Nu 15:32, "And ye shall not walk after your heart," says, "This is Minim"—meaning that this is the state of mind, or principle of conduct, characteristic of the Minim. This is the earliest attempt at a definition of the term, though the word itself was in use earlier. It amounts to saying that a Minim (singular of Minim) was one who followed the dictates of his own selfish nature as against those of the lawful authority. The result of doing so is, inevitably, the rejection of beliefs and practices enjoined on those who hold the true religion. A Minim, accordingly, disregards the authority of the Rabbis, as teachers of religion and exponents of the Torah both written and unwritten, and also maintains doctrines and practices which are not those of the true religion. Tos. Sanh. xiii. 4 f. has the following censure on the Minim:

"The sinners of Israel, and the sinners of the nations of the world, descend into Gehenna, and are judged there twelve months... But the Minim, and the Apostates, and the betrayers, and the Apostrophes... Gehenna is shut in their faces, and they are judged there for generations of generations."

If the term Minim denoted all unfaithful Jews, there would be no need of four descriptive names. The distinction between the four is as follows. The Apostates (Apostrophes, Mischorchers, "delators") are political informers, "traitors." Apostates are those who wilfully and openly transgress some part of the ceremonial law, thereby proclaiming their disloyalty. Apostrophes are "Epicureans," free-thinkers, whether Jewish or Gentile. The Minim, 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 fact 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 mere fanciful guesses. The best explanation seems to be that proposed by Bacher (in REJ, xliii. 45, and xxviii. 205), according to which min (ミン) is at first the ordinary word for 'sort,' 'kind,' and is translated in the LXX, 6ν τεραμονι, by γέρος. Figuratively the word is used to denote a 'sort' (αξπεραξια), and more particularly the sort of διάδησιν (γέρος) in Jos. Ant. xiii. 6, where η διάδησις αξπεραξια is used. Gradually the term lost the meaning of 'sort' and took on that of 'sect,' the Jew who separated himself from the community and adopted false doctrines. If this explanation is correct, it throws light on the fact that in the Rabbinical texts the reading sometimes varies between Min and Saddâki (Sadducee). It is usually said that the latter word is due to the Christian censor, who objected to the word Min, but in some cases the reference is certainly to the Sadducees, while yet the word Min, or possibly both words, may have been read. The writer of this article proposed another derivation of the word Min (op. cit. p. 352), but now surrenders it in favour of the one just set forth.

The Minim, then, were Jewish heretics of some kind. The question is, Of what kind? The answer resolves itself into a choice between Jewish-Christian and Jewish-Gentile. As a Jew is beyond dispute, for a Gentile is never called a Minim, unless in one or two instances through ignorance or inadvertence. The only conspicuous advocate of the Gentile interpretation is Fried-
MINISTRY (Early Christian) — An attempt will be made in this article to collect the more important facts in connexion with the ministry of the first five or six centuries of our era are concerned. The facts themselves there is general agreement; but the interpretation of the facts has been disputed. A summary will be made, as briefly as possible, of the theories that have been formed from the facts as to the institution of a ministry by our Lord, and its development in subsequent ages. But a discussion of these theories is not part of the present 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.

The hostility towards, and dread of, the Minim went on, that the Temple had been destroyed ten years before. As long as the Temple stood, Jewish-Christians in Jerusalem appear to have taken part in the ritual observances equally with non-Christian Jews. After the destruction of the Temple, however, it was possible to argue that the ceremonial law was not merely de facto suspended (as the Jews admitted), but de jure abrogated; and this is the link which connects the original Jewish-Christians with the Minim. The latter appear, from the notices of their doctrines, to have held a theology closely akin to that set forth in the Ep. to the Hebrews; and, if so, the inference is ready to hand that it was the symbolic in nature of the ceremonial law that opened the way for a Christology more highly developed than that of original Jewish-Christians.

The hostile feelings towards, and dread of, the Minim went on, and the work of the 2nd cent.; afterwards they declined, till in the 3rd cent. there was a comparatively friendly relations with them. The Minim of Cesarisae applied to R. Ahab to find them a teacher, and he sent them R. Saphra, a Babylonian Jew of unquestioned orthodoxy (Bab. Abodshith Zaraah, 44). 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 length of the Christian movement, there was the less reason to dread it; there was less danger to Judaism from a Gentile Christianity than from a Jewish form of it. Of Gentile Christianity the Rabbinical literature speaks, as Jews say, with horror, but does not allow of illustrations of the polemics between Minim and Jews, or of the anecdotes which represent the former as being not only apostates but licentious. It must suffice to say that they appear to have been a dwindling sect, in Judaism but not of it, spurned alike by Jews and by Christians. In their theology they departed from the strict monotheism 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 Ep. to the Hebrews. No mention is made in any of their polemical discussions of the Messianship of Jesus, nor is there more than one very slight trace of the doctrine of the Trinity (Jews, Ebr. 129, 130). Jerome identifies them with the Nazarenes, and the name, Nērōnia, is found in two passages (Bab. Abodshith Zaraah, 66; Bab. Teuan. 27b). The name Ebonite does not occur in the Rabbinical literature.

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Barthabas and Saul, also Symeon Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, and Manac (Ac 13: 3); Judas and Silas (15: 2); and an unmentioned number in 1 Co 12: 26 (see § 2). Epis. 5th-6th (see § 2), possibly in 1 Th 2: 3; also in Rev 18: 22. They are coupled in Epis. and Rev. with apostles. They are described as receiving revelations (1 Co 12: 9). Christian prophets are also mentioned (Ac 21: 8, 11). But it may be doubted if 'prophets' ought to be described as a class of the ordinary Christian ministry. Their office was purely charismatic (see below, § 8).

It is otherwise with 'evangelists.' These are mentioned in Ac 2: 10. (Philip), Eph. 2: 20. (Paul, possibly in 2 Th 4: 1 Timothy). This name would seem to be that 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. Eusebius (HE III. 52) gives the name to those who 'occupied the first place among the successors (ἐπίσκοποι) of the apostles' and were itinerant preachers of the gospel. He says that, when they had only laid the foundations of the faith in foreign places, they appointed others as pastors (τρισκλεῖς) and then went on to other countries and nations. A few lines later he talks of 'pastors or evangelists,' and seems to mean by the former the local, by the latter the itinerant, ministry.

Also related to the men of the same class are the deacons mentioned in the Didache (§ § 10-13), a manual probably of the beginning of the 2nd century. These were normally itinerant officials, and were perhaps identical (see Did. § 11). The value of this evidence is discounted by J. A. Robinson (in Philo. 1102) of, who thinks that the writer does not describe the conditions of his own day, but those which he thought had been in force at an earlier time. This theory, however, is very doubtful (for Robinson's earlier view see his Com. on Ephesians, London, 1894, p. 98, n.).

The function of the itinerant ministry was evangelistic (cf. 1 Th 2: 7, 1 Th 2: 1). 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 (§ 10).

II. THE LOCAL MINISTRY. — Under this heading are included in the NT 'bishops,' 'presbyters,' and 'deacons.' For other names of these officials see § 2. The functions of the local ministry were administrative and pastoral. Thus baptism was first to be administered by local officials (cf. 1 Co 14: 3), and perhaps 19: 4 (ct. v. 6). 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 Phillipi (Ph 1), at Ephesus (Ac 20: 17, 1 Th 3: 1), in Crete (Tit 1: 7). So St. Peter, writing to the churches in most of the provinces of Asia Minor, uses the participle εὐαγγελιστὴς, 'exercising the bishop's office.' The word has been specially entrusted to them (cf. 1 Co 14: 3), and perhaps 19: 4 (ct. v. 6). 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).

1 In Eph 2: 20 the Church is said to be built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets (so a note before 'prophets'). But there are at least 20 names of apostles that are not mentioned in the New Testament. All the apostles were probably prophets, though all the Christian prophets were not apostles.
that the Seven were the prototypes both of the diaconate and of the presbyterate, and that at some later date the office was divided into those two branches. Another view is that the appointment of the Seventy (or Seventy-two) in Lk 10:2 is the foundation of the presbyterate. The Seven of Ac 6 were appointed in the expectation of the coming of the Holy Spirit (v.5), but that they were also preachers of the gospel is seen from the history of Stephen and Philip, and might be inferred from their solemn ordination with prayer and laying on of hands.

iii. The Position of James the Lord's Brother at Jerusalem.—Christian antiquity agrees in giving St. James a local ministry at Jerusalem, and yet in making him, in a real sense, equal to the Twelve, and in ascribing to him a 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 12:1 Paul bids those who are assembled in Mary's house tell of his escape 'unto James and to the brethren.' In 13:2 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 at Jerusalem, and he presides at a formal meeting. In 1Cor 1:10 he is, perhaps, called an apostle (see § 2); he and Cephas are visited by Paul at Jerusalem. In Ac 15 he is named before Cephas and John, and the three are 'reputed to be pillars.' In 1Cor 9:2 Paul describes his commission to the Gentiles as coming from James. Of the Fathers the earliest to bear witness to St. James's position in Jerusalem is Hegesippus, known as the father of Church history (c. A.D. 160). He says that James, the brother of the Lord, was the head 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 includes Hegesippus, says (iii. 11) that they pronounced Symeon to be worthy of the throne of that diocese (βασιλεύων), and (iii. 32) that Symeon was the second bishop of the Church of Jerusalem; in the former passage he says that this was at 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 directions to the apostles. The fact that the second 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 also preferred by our Lord, strove not after honour, but chose James the Just (bishop of Jerusalem). . . . The Lord after His resurrection imparted knowledge to James the Just and to John, and they imparted it to the rest of the apostles, and the rest of the apostles to the Seventy, of whom Barnabas was one.

The phrase about imparting knowledge to James in this passage is probably to be considered as a reference to 1 Co 10.5. The description of him as 'bishop of Jerusalem' is an anachronism of nomenclature, but it roughly describes his position. His office at Jerusalem is a favourite theme in the 'Clementine' literature, but the date of these works is uncertain.

iv. Angels in the Apocalypse.—The 'angels' in Rev 12:7-122 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 attention can be built upon it.

v. There is no certain trace of any local officials in the NT inferior to the 'bishops and deacons.' Interpreters are mentioned in 1 Co 12:28 for those who speak with tongues (cf. 1Co 12:29). But there is no indication that an ecclesiastical office is intended.

2. Fluidity of Phraseology.—It is important to remember that the names of Christian ministerial offices were not stereotyped in the Apostolic Age. Many theologians of the church have suggested that 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 were in a fluid condition, and if the functions and duties of these were fixed, which is doubtful.

(a) The name 'apostle.'—This is used in the NT of the Twelve (see above, § 1). It is also used of certain other persons who had equal authority with the Twelve in the early Church — Paul, Barnabas, probably James the Lord's brother (see Lightfoot, Galatians, pp. 84, 95; cf. 1Co 15:23), probably also Andronicus and Junias, who were 'of note among the apostles' (Ro 16:1; 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 2:2; cf. 1Co 4:14). Timothy might have been included under the same designation but that he is excluded from the list only by 2 Co 1:1, and we have seen Christ (see § 1). The name is also used in the NT of messengers simply (2 Co 8:20, Ph 2:20), and of our Lord Himself (He 3:1; cf. Jn 20:19). In the Syriac-speaking churches it was given to any missionary; and in the Latin ChurchGeneric definition' is also used (I.e., lv. xx. 1): 'After the twelve apostles, our Lord is found to have sent forth seventy apostles.' Tertullian (adv. Marc. iv. 24) gives the name to the Seventy as well as to the Twelve ('the chosen and also seventy other apostles of the Lord,' which Note that St. Luke (10:1), in describing the appointment of the Seventy, says that Jesus 'sent them forth' (απαθανευον), whence the name ἀπαθανευον comes at once. It means 'one commissioned.' Certain persons, called 'false apostles,' arrogated the name to themselves (2 Co 11:15, Rev 2:2).

(b) The names 'bishop' and 'presbyter.'—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 was the phraseology with regard to both 'bishop' and 'presbyter.' Our Lord is called a 'bishop' in 1 P 5:2; St. Peter a 'presbyter' in 1 P 5:1 (ἐρασαρποι), St. John in 2 Jn, 3 Jn. In the 2nd cent. the name of presbyter was used somewhat as we use the term 'the Fathers.' We may also notice how easy was 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 5:2 St. Peter, who has been addressing the presbyters, suddenly says: 'Likewise, ye younger [men], be subject to the elder' (ἐρασαρποι). Clement of Rome (Cor. 1) says: 'Submitting yourselves to your rulers (ὑπακούων), and reverend to the presbyters [Lightfoot: '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 Philippians to subdue 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 (Bohairian version), where it is said that presbyters should live 'after the manner of the men' (§ 18). Interpreters in Coptic, London, 1848, p. 20. The ordination prayer of a presbyter in the Testament of our Lord (c. A.D. 350) speaks by a paronomasia of the Spirit ['minas'] of the presbyterate who doth not grow old (I. 26). Pseudo-Polycarp (4th cent.) in the Life of Polycarp (§ 17): Lightfoot, Apost.
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Fathers, pt. ii., 'Ignatius and Polycarp,' iii. 447 f.) unhistorically makes Polycarp to be an old man before he is ordained presbyter. So perhaps Hermas, Tit. ii. 4 (2nd cent.), where the presbyters are the officials of the προέδρον ("aged worried presbyters") and the hierarchs the priests, is not as late as the Church of A.D. 110. Tertullian at the end of the century speaks of the bishop as 'high-priest' ('summanus sacerdos,' de Bap. 17), and, in reference to the Christian ministry, speaks of 'functions of priesthood' ('sacerdotalia munera, de Pler. 41). Hippolytus, early in the 3rd cent., uses similar language (Herm. i. pref.): 'We being their [the apostles'] successors and participators in this grace of high-priesthood,' etc. In Cyprian the bishop is frequently called 'sacerdotes,' and his office 'sacerdotium.' The Older Didascalia (3rd cent.) calls the bishops 'high-priests' (Funk, Didasc. et Const. Apost., Faderborn, 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 'priests' and 'levites' for the presbyters and deacons respectively, were frequently used in the 4th cent. and onwards, and are often found in the Church Orders (for references see Maclean, Church Orders, pp. 405-6). In the ordination prayer for a presbyter in the Apost. Const. viii. 16 (c. A.D. 370) and in the Epitome known as Constitutions through Hippolytus, § 6 (Funk, ii. 89), his functions are called ἵππος, 'priestly duties. Of other terms we may take as an example Epiphanius, who uses ἵππος for a Christian priest (Exp. Pud. 17), and whose 'priesthood' (ἱππόσην) includes subdeacons, but not readers (ib.). Jerome calls his famous treatise on the ministry 'Concerning the priestly dignity' (Hisop. hipostas, 4th cent.) the Coronation of Cyprian (c. A.D. 390, can. 27, 30). 'Hierarchs' (ἱεραρχεῖς) are the bishops, priests, and deacons, as opposed to the 'clerics' (εὐρήκον), who include the minor orders. In Apost. Const. iii. 15, and in the Apost. Constit., c. A.D. 400, the minor orders are included among the 'hierarchs.' In the Syriac-speaking Churches the word βαβυλήθα (which is the translation of ἵπποσην) is used for all orders of the ministry.

The use of this language does not mean that a new conception of the ministry was entertained 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 he was not described as a priest. He was a 'priest' without considerable confusion. When 'hierarch' language was first used in the Christian Church, it was a new nomenclature, but did not imply any new functions. It is a failure to describe some 2nd cent. Christian writers as unsacerdotal, and some as sacerdotal. The use of 'hierarchic' 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 'hierarchic' 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 χάρισματα ('gifts') in 1 Co 12 or simply τέκταγμα (spiritual things) in 12:4; but it is conveniently used for those who had 'extraordinary' charismata. We must distinguish between the 'charismatic' and the 'sacerdotal' offices. The long, holy, extraordinary charismata continued, the two went on side by side. Yet the same person might be of...
both ministries; thus St. Paul was an apostle, and yet he received tongues more than all (1 Cor. 14:8). The charismata enumerated in 1 Cor. 12:1-30 include wisdom, knowledge, faith, healings, tongues, prophecy, discerning of spirits, tongues, interpretation of tongues. Of these probably the most prominent is tongues, which Christian prophets are mentioned as speaking.

Thus his gift is recognized in the passages which Christian prophets are mentioned as speaking (cf. 1 Cor. 14:18). Thus those whom we shall call 'prophets,' as not being of the official ministry, spoke in the Christian assemblies (ib.). But women were not allowed to do so (v. 34), though they might be prophets (Ac. 21:9). In 1 Cor. 14 the charisma of tongues is somewhat disparaged as compared with prophecy.

Prophecy long continued. For the prophets in the Didache see above, § 1. Quadratus, early in the 2nd cent., was renowned for his prophetical gifts (En. HE iii. 37). Polycarp is called in the letter written by the Smyrneans 'an apostolic and prophetick teacher' (Mart. Pol. 16; A.D. 155 or 156). However, it is said that his Shepherd of the Church (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 the chosen of the Lord, the prophets, presbyters, widows, and by any Christians (i. 21, 23, 29, 31 f., 40); gifts of healing or of knowledge or of tongues are referred to as being a possible endowment of any Christian (i. 47). Such a one was not to be ordained ('a hand is laid on him'), but to be in 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 have seen, might overlap.

4. Bishops, presbyters, and deacons from the 2nd cent. onwards.—(a) Bishops. In the Epistles of Ignatius (c. A.D. 110) we find bishops in the later sense of the word 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 begins no question as to the relation of the bishop to the presbytery; the phrase 'monarchical episcopate,' which is used by many writers, is open to this objection.

The establishment of bishops in the later sense in the Churches of the province of Asia and elsewhere is ascribed by a steady tradition to John the Apostle. Clement of Alexandria (Quis dives, 42) says that 'after the martyrdom of John, (c. 110) he turned 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. There is similarly said (I ad. Marc. 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. As all the Muratorian Fragment (c. A.D. 180) says that John was excommunicated by 'his fellow disciples and bishops' to write his Gospel, Ignatius speaks of bishops being established all over the world (Ep. 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. 88) likewise does not make any allusion to the episcopate in his letter to the Corinthians. It is, of course, possible that the office at Philippi and Corinth was vacant at the date of these letters; but this hypothesis cannot be proved, and the deduction has usually 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 considered doubtful. Clement writes in the name of his Church (not of the presbyters), 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 that he held the first place in it. The Irenaeus makes the third bishop of Rome in the list which he gives of bishops of that city up to his own time (Herm. III. iii. 3). He says that Linus, the first bishop, received the office from the apostles Peter and Paul, and that Anacletus succeeded him, who in turn succeeded by Clement. Before Irenaeus, 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. Parch., p. 153). The alternative (rejected by Lightfoot but accepted by Harnack) of διακοψα for διακοψει 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 (Introd. to the NT, London, 1892, p. 519, n.), all through the first two centuries the importance of the bishop of Rome is merged in the importance of his Church. Dionysius of Corinth (c. A.D. 170) writes to the Church of Rome, not to Soter his bishop, though he mentions him in the third person.

Long before the end of the 2nd cent. the diocesan episcopate was universal. It has been seen that 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., and the information reference may be made to Lightfoot, 'Dissertation,' in his Philippians. But it is desirable to refer to the conception of the episcopate which we find in the works of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage in the middle of the 3rd century. Ignatius and Irenaeus had described the bishop as a centre of unity, and Cyprian emphasizes this still more in his treatise de unitate ecclesiae and in his Epistles. In this connection he dwells strongly on the sin of schism from the visible unity symbolized and guarded by the bishop. It has been said that he 'magnified his office,' and extended its claims to autocracy; yet no one emphasizes more than he the necessity of constitutional action on the part of the bishop, and his obligation to carry his clergy and laity with him (see below (b)). He also dwells on the election of the bishops by the people (see art. LITY, § 4). There is no real foundation for Hatch's view, from which it is inferred, that the rule of the 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, compare, e.g., G. E. W. Brooks, The Church and 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 the opening words declares: 'Appoint (εἰςπροφυρίαν) 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 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 with the bishop who has just ordained them, in consecrating the Eucharist. (In the early ages concelebration was not confined to ordinations.)

When the custom, which also survives in a newly-ordained deacon reading the liturgical gospel, that being one of his functions which he immediately begins to discharge. In this connexion we may notice that the bishop and the presbyters exchange (like the bishop and deacons) the kiss of peace after the Eucharist is celebrated, and in the Councils 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 with the bishop who has just ordained them, in consecrating the Eucharist. (In the early ages concelebration was not confined to ordinations.)

The Council of Nicea enacted that bishops were not to be translated from one see to another (can. 15; A.D. 325). But this rule was almost immediately disregarded by Athanasius. The Nicene Council applied it also to presbyters and deacons.

(6) Presbyters.—In early Christian literature the presbyters are frequently recognized as the counsellors of the bishop. Ignatius, who says that the presbyter is attuned to the bishop as strings to a lyre (Eph. 4), bids the people submit to the bishop and presbyters (Eph. 2, 20, Tract. 13, and do nothing without them (Magn. 7, Tract. 21, 7); he speaks of 'the bishop presiding (εἰςπροφυορίαν) after the likeness of God, and the presbyters after the likeness of the council (φωνησίας) of the apostles' (Magn. 6); in Smyrn. 8, the bishop is compared to our Lord, and the presbyters to the apostles (cf. v. 4). With young and revered bishop and with the fifty-wreathed spiritual circlet of your presbytery, and with the deacons who walk after God.

In the same way, more than a century later, Cyprian says (Ep. xiv. 4, vii. 4), 'To the presbyters and deacons, and all the people,' (Epp. 133, 155). He was determined from the beginning of his episcopate to do nothing without the advice (consilium) of the presbyters, and the concerning feeling (consensus); see art. LAITY, § 8 of the people. The presbyters are here recognized as counsellors of the bishop in a higher sense than the laity. This is not quite the same position as in Ep. xxxvii. (xxvii.) I ("To the presbyters, deacons, and people"), where Cyprian speaks of consulting them all before he ordained clergy. This is the equivalent of the more modern Si quis or public intimation of a proposed ordination. Origen likewise compares the 'counsellors' and 'rulers' of the Church with those of the city, clearly meaning the presbyters and the bishop (c. Ces. iii. 30). A similar state of things is seen in the Older Didasc. (ii. 26, 3rd cent.; Funk, i. 108), where it is said that the presbyters are 'honoured as apostles and counsellors of the bishop, and the crown of the Church, for they are the council and church, the presbyters and deacons.' (Apost. Const. ii. 26) 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 Syrian text and tr. see JThSt iii. [1901] 59) the presbyters are appointed by the bishop, and sit on either side of him, the one 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 Council 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 with the bishop who has just ordained them, in consecrating the Eucharist. (In the early ages concelebration was not confined to ordinations.)

The presbyters were charged with celebrating the Eucharist, at least when the bishop was absent (see above), and with pastoral duties to the flock.

In the 4th cent. the Apost. Const. thus sum up the functions of bishops and presbyters (viii. 28):

'The bishop blesses, but does not receive the blessing; he lays on hands (εἰςπροφυορίαν), ordains (εἰςπροφυορίαν), offers (the Eucharist), receives a blessing from the bishop and other bishops; the bishop exercises discipline (κατασχημα) over every cleric who deserves discipline, except over a bishop, for alone these cannot (do this). The presbyters pray in the name of the bishop (i.e. the younger ones; see above, § 2) for the last-mentioned blessed and for the presbytery 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. 32.

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An interesting feature is that the presbyters are allowed to confirm, for this seems here to be the meaning of εἰςπροφυορίαν, blessing and ordering being mentioned as different actions. Ordinarily the presbyter baptized, and brought the neophyte to the bishop for confirmation; this is the regular practice in the Church Orders and was the earlier custom in both East and West. In the East the presbyter has for many centuries confirmed, both in the Orthodox and in the Separated communions, but he uses chrisma consecrated by the bishop. The same thing is also found in the West, but only in exceptional cases. Innocent I, in his Epistle to Deaconus (§ 3; A.D. 416) shows that Western presbyters had the power by custom, though he did not approve of their exercising it. The Council of Orange (A.D. 411) and the Council of the Lateran (A.D. 433) confirm similarly. The absence of a presbyter may receive penitent heretics, marking them with the chrism and benediction, i.e. (apparently) confirming them. Still earlier the first Council of Toledo (A.D. 408) shows the same thing by implication. In the West it had determined from the beginning of his episcopate to do nothing without the advice (consilium) of the presbyters, and the concerning feeling (consensus); see art. LAITY, § 8 of the people. The presbyters are here recognized as counsellors of the bishop in a higher sense than the laity. This is not quite the same position as in Ep. xxxvii. (xxvii.) I ("To the presbyters, deacons, and people"), where Cyprian speaks of consulting them all before he ordained clergy. This is the equivalent of the more modern Si quis or public intimation of a proposed ordination. Origen likewise compares the 'counsellors' and 'rulers' of the Church with those of the city, clearly meaning the presbyters and the bishop (c. Ces. iii. 30). A similar state of things is seen in the Older Didasc. (ii. 26, 3rd cent.; Funk, i. 108), where it is said that the presbyters are 'honoured as apostles and counsellors of the bishop, and the crown of the Church, for they are the council and church, the presbyters and deacons.' (Apost. Const. ii. 26) use nearly the same language.

1 One good MS reads: 'ordinis, does not lay on hands.'
2 It has, however, been interpreted of the baptism of penitents. C. H. Turner (JThSt xvi. [1911] 61), who adopts the alternative reading, interprets this 'laying on of hands' of 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 negated (see below, § 8 (a)).
tion,' p. 231) makes the surely strange error of supposing that this 'consignatio' means 'ordination.'

There are traces in our period of a very close connexion between presbyter and bishop. Thus in the Canons of Hippolytus, which in their present form appear but a portion of the 4th cent., but which adhered very closely to their 3rd cent. source, we read that a bishop and a presbyter are ordained with the same prayer except for the name of the office, and except that in the case of the presbyter enucleation is omitted. 'The bishop is in all things put on an equality with the presbyter, except the name of the throne and ordination, for the power of ordination is not given to him,' i.e. to the presbyter (can. iv.; ed. H. Aelius, Leipzig, 1891, §30–32). So 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., Ireneon, H. E. III. ii. 2, 'successions of presbyters,' which in ii. 2 he explains as 'successions of bishops'). In his letter to Victor Irenaeus speaks of 'the presbyters before Soter who presided over the Church which thou rulest' (Eus. H. E. v. 24). Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (c. 250), speaks of 'the bishop and the presbyters' (Eus. v. 334). For Clement of Alexandria see above, § I (b), and for Firmilian see below, § 8 (a).

(c) Doxology.—This was a numerous and important group of the early ages. The deacon's functions are summarized by the author of the Apost. Const. (viii. 28), by saying that he does not bless or baptize or offer [the Eucharist], but that, when a bishop or presbyter has offered, he gives the sacraments to the people. He is a priest (episkopos) but as one who ministers to the priests. He is described in the oldest as well as in the later liturgies as assisting at the Eucharist, and especially as saying the short exhortations and the catechesis, or litany (see, e.g., the liturgies in the Test. of our Lord and in the Apost. Const. viii.). He keeps order in service time (Test. i. 34; Oldier 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 art. LITANY, § 5); he often reads the liturgical gospel at the Eucharist. (Sozomen, H. E. vii. 19; Test. i. 27), as at this day in the West; he administers the eucharistic gifts in Justin Martyr (Apol. I. ii. 44), and in the Church Orders (for details see J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, Test. of our Lord, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 223; for Apost. Const. see above); he has many pastoral duties, such as visiting the sick (Test. i. 34, Apost. Const. ii. 42, 44, iii. 18, Eppg. Ch. of. Gather. iii. 23, etc.), entertaining the bishop for burials (ib. and Eus. H. E. vii. 11). The deacon also attends to the eucharistic offerings and is often the almoner of the Church (Oldier Didasc. ii. 57; Apost. Const. iii. 19). In some authorities the bishop and presbyters exercise the discipline of the laity through the deacons (Test. i. 361; Apost. Const. ii. 16; Ethiopic Const. § 4). At this time the deacon has relegated several of their lesser functions to the minor orders. We find several writers representing deacons for this reason—e.g., Cyprian (Ep. iii. [ivix.] 13, 'ad Rogatannum'), the Council of Arles (can. 15; A.D. 314), which says that many deacons attempted to celebrate the Eucharist, that of Nicaea (can. 18; A.D. 325), and almost all the Church Orders, the Test. of our Lord being a solitary exception, for in that manual the position both of deacons and of 'widows who preside' is greatly extolled.

(d) Number of the clergy.—Cornelius, bishop of Rome, writing to Fabian or Fabius, bishop of Antioch, A.D. 251 (the letter is given by Eus. H. E. vi. 43), enumerates the various orders and classes at Rome as follows: one bishop (about this he is emphatic), 46 (vnr. locv. 36) presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers, and more than 1500 widows and clerics (Christians in the city). We have (i. 34), besides the bishop, 12 presbyters, 7 deacons, 14 subdeacons, 18 'widows who preside' (the Greek original no doubt had ρησθησάντια). Seven was a very ordinary number for the deacons, because of the Seven (the Episcopa), and the number of the 16. On this day (56th cent.) there were only 7 deacons in Rome, though 'in other Churches the number of deacons is a matter of indifference.' The Council of Neo- Cesarina, appealing to Acts, says that even in the largest towns there are not to be more than 7 deacons (can. 15; 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. Eutychus (10th cent.) describes Alexandria in old days as having had twelve presbyters; but his evidence is quite untrustworthy (see below, § 8 (d)).

(e) Age of ordination.—At Neo-Cesarina it was enacted (can. 11) that no one was to be ordained a presbyter or deacon when in the Church Orders (for details see J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, Test. of our Lord, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 225; for Apost. Const. see above); he has many pastoral duties, such as visiting the sick (Test. i. 34, Apost. Const. ii. 42, 44, iii. 18, Eppg. Ch. of. Gather. iii. 23, etc.), entertaining the bishop for burials (ib. and Eus. H. E. vii. 11). The deacon also attends to the eucharistic offerings

1 The present writer can find no good instance of 'consignare' or its Greek equivalent ἀποστείλειν, or their substantive, being applied to ordination. The Greek ἀποστέλλειν is a 'missionary' or 'mission' to the Egyptian mystics (see also Lightfoot, Apost. Fathers, pt. i., 'Clement,' ii. 226, n.; Maclean, Test. of our Lord, p. 109). In the former Latin Fragments (ed. Hauler, p. 150) 'consignare' is used to confine ordination to the part played by the presbyters at a presbyter's ordination (see below, § 8 (b)).

2 It has been suggested that the 'young men' of Act 5:19 (see above, § 8 (d)) were the bishops ordained by the bishop-elect (episkopos ordinarius); the deacons and subdeacons (diacones et subdiacones) were the deacons and subdeacons of the terms in this respect. For the episcopi or 'grave-diggers' (mentioned by Epiphanius, Exp. Fid. 21), and the 'president of the sick' see J. Wordsworth, Ministry of Grace, p. 106.

3 Development of the supervisory officers.—(2)
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Metropolitans,—The name is first found in the 4th cent., before which there is no certain trace of provincial organization, the 'eparchy' in the Apost. Ch. (see above) being apparently without a chief. At Nicea metropolitans are mentioned by that name (can. 4, 8), and the word 'eparchy' is apparently used of an ecclesiastical province, though, as the civil and ecclesiastical provinces normally coincided, this is not quite certain. Bishop Antioch in Eusebius (A.D. 341) metropolitans are recognized in effect, though the name is not given to them (can. 9, 19); * the bishop presiding in the metropolis (i.e. in the civil capital) is the phrase used, and the corresponding verb is employed in can. 19. The word 'metropolitan' is used at Laudanum (can. 12; c. A.D. 380). On the other hand, there is no mention of a metropolitan in the Church Orders, and this is a cogent argument against their being dated later than the 4th cent., and for their not being assigned to any of the great centres like Alexandria or Antioch. In these manuals the neighbouring bishops come together for the election of a bishop, and the whole assembly of clergy, and laity elect, just as they do in Cyriac (4th cent.) and elsewhere in the East (canon 4, c. A.D. 162). In these circumstances, there is perhaps just a faint trace of a primacy in Apost. Const. viii. 4, which speaks of *one of the first bishops* saying the ordination prayer of a bishop; and so in the Canons: *the bishop among them*. But this is all. A rather stronger trace is to be seen in the Apost. Canons (can. 35 [also numbered 34 or 33]; c. A.D. 400). After the 4th cent. metropolitans became practically uniform in the East.

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 neighbouring bishops. We see this in the case of Cyriac. At Nicea the authority of the bishop of Alexandria and Rome is spoken of as an ancient custom, and no one is made bishop of the province without the metropolitan (can. 6). Alexandria is to have, as before, authority over Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, i.e. over more than one civil province (ib.). The growth of this influence was promoted by the holding of synods, when external circumstances permitted. Synods would ordinarily be held in the chief city of an ecclesiastical 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 Carthage, 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).

In spite of his position at Carthage, Cyriac affirms that all bishops are equal. Thus in de Unitate, 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 *unius a singulis in solitudinibus presbyteris* and *in ejusdem* (Eus. iv. 24; ad Antiochium), he says that every bishop dispenses and directs his own acts, and will have to give an account of his purposes to the Lord. Cf. also Epp. ivii. (iii.) 5, lxiii. (iv.) 14, both to Cornelius; Cyprian says that appeals are not to be carried outside the province in which the cause began.

The custom of giving the pallium to metropolitans hardly falls within the limits of this article (see DCA ii. 1174).

(b) Patriarcha.—The name 'patriarch' was probably borrowed from the Jews. In the LXX of 1 Ch 27:2 they were used—the head which tributereal the West 241 and some MSS of 9 23b for the head of a *patriarch*, or subdivision of a tribe. In the NT it is used of David (Ac 228), the sons of Jacob (725), and Abraham (He 79). In 4 Mac 710 (ed. W. R. Charlton, Eusebius and Agrippa, London, 1884) it is used of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and others. In the early centuries of our era a Jewish 'patriarch,' or representative of the nation, is several times mentioned—e.g., by Cyril of Jerusalem (Cath. 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. 1341) refers to the Jewish patriarch in his letter to the consul Servianus about religion in Alexandria (see Lightfoot, 'Dissertation,' p. 225). Hadrian vives the term in the same way, and the historian Gregory of Nyssa's *Funeral Oration on Melitian*, bishop of Antioch († A.D. 381), when he exclaims 'Behold these your patriarchs,' is perhaps purely oratorical; he is referring to the bishops who attended the second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople. Gregory of Nazianzus explicitly uses the term of senior bishops (Orat. xliii. 29); 'aged bishops or, to speak more accurately, patriarchs.' But it came to be used of the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, though not by canons of councils till long after our period—not before the 9th cent.; the whole subject is treated in detail by Hatch in DCA ii. 1573 (art. 'Patriarch'). The growth of the authority of these sees is shown by the 6th can. of Nicea, and the 28th of Chalcedon; the latter was rejected by the bishop of Rome. The ultimate result was the joining together of several provinces or eparchies, each of which was governed by its own metropolis, or eparchy, the jurisdiction of which was somewhat loosely defined, just in the same way as in civil affairs several 'eparchies' were grouped together into one 'diocese,' which was a very different thing from our 'diocese.'

(c) Archbishops. A bishop successively holding the positions of bishop, metropolitan, and patriarch, became the customary title of metropolitans, was not so used in the East. It was a title of honour conferred on bishops of some of the greatest sees, though its application was not always uniform. In the 4th cent. Eusebius says of Bishop Macrobe (Early Church), bishop of Ancyra, that the title of archbishop was applied to him (Ep. clii. 18); 'He is the bishop of Ancyra, the patriarch of Asia, and the chief of the bishops.' The title is not considered to be a canon proper; see Hefele, iii. 422.

(d) Chorepiscopi.—These 'country-bishops' were assistants to the diocesan bishops 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 Syriac-speaking Churches, at a later date, they were often counted among the *superi*, or visitors, and were presbyters. They stood next to the diocesan bishop as assistant ('suffragan') and conductor bishops of the present day, in that they worked under the direction of the diocesan bishop, though their
functions were not entirely the same. They are first mentioned at Ancyra (can. 15 [see below, §§ 32, 33]; Neo-Lycia [can. 14; A.D. 354 or a little later], Nicea (can. 8; A.D. 325). From the 10th can. of the Council of Antioch in Ecumenis (A.D. 341) we may perhaps gather that not all chorepiscopi were bishops, for it uses the expression 'the ruler of the diocese,' and its phraseology is similar to that of the 'leader of a chorus of deacons, although it may have been assigned to that date, though some place it later; but even there it is not the name of a distinct office. Neither the name nor the distinct office is found in the Church Orders, though in the Text of our Lord, xxxvi (see Appendix) it is referred (He 2, 25) calls Athanasius the 'leader of the chorus of deacons, though a young man.' There is no archdeacon in Corinna's list of Roman officials (above, § 4 (a)) Jerome (Ep. xxvi, 'ad Evangelum') mentions archdeacons as an order, and after this time they were common in both East and West. In the Ordo Romanae Prima the archdeacon plays a very important part in the enochaistic liturgy at Rome (e.g., §§ 18, 29, ed. E. G. C. F. Atchley, London, 1905). But this work is probably of the 8th cent., though founded on a similar document of the 6th (Atchley, p. 7). The archdeacon was at first a deacon, and in some cases the senior deacon succeeded automatically to the office; but later the deacon was not always appointed Sarapion as archdeacon, and therefore he could not have succeeded automatically. There was only one in each diocese in the time of Jerome (loc. cit.). For the later development of this office see UDC i. 198.

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 as an influential position for the son of an 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, deaconesses, doorkeepers, acolytes, exorcists. There was also a ministry of women—widows, presbyteresses, deaconesses. It must be noted, however, that some of these offices were not always and in all places regarded as having the same rank or long considered to exercise a charismatic ministry, and were reckoned as being outside the ordinary roll of the clergy.

(a) Readers (ἀναίσθητοι, lectores).—This is probably the oldest of the minor orders. In Justin Martyr's description of the Enucharii (Apd. 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. 200) he comes before the deacon, and Harnack thinks (Sources of the Apost. Canons, Eng. tr., London, 1895, p. 71 f.) that his office was at first a charismatic one, and that he was not originally included among the clergy. Stress is laid in the manual just named on the necessity of the reader being learned. He must be 'able to instruct' or 'narrate' (ἐπισταμένος), and he 'fills the place of an evangelist.' This qualification is not always insisted on in the case of a bishop who was not specially ordained. For the ordination of 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 he had, at first, the duty of expounding what he read; but, when he

office of an archdeacon is found before the end of the 4th century. The name is found in the Fil.

functions were not entirely the same. They are first mentioned at Ancyra (can. 15 [see below, §§ 32, 33]; Neo-Lycia [can. 14; A.D. 354 or a little later], Nicea (can. 8; A.D. 325). From the 10th can. of the Council of Antioch in Ecumenis (A.D. 341) we may perhaps gather that not all chorepiscopi were bishops, for it uses the expres-
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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 readers are chasmed with the exorcists and doorkeepers, below the acolytes). In the other Church traditions they are called acolytes, before, and sometimes after, the subdeacon. In Sarapion's Sacramentary (§ 25; e. A.D. 330) the minor orders are 'subdeacons, readers, and interpreters,' There are indications in some of the authorities that readers were not numberless. In the Older Didasc. and the Apost. Const. (i. ii. 28; Funk, i. 108 f.) 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 (Mucian, Ancient Church Orders, pp. 141, 87). Readers come below deacons in Tertullian (de Præscr. 41). They are frequently mentioned in Cyprian; and they often had the important duty of reading the liturgical prayer at the Eucharist; this they did from a desk, or asbò (Ep. xxxix. [xxxiii. 4], 'About Celerinus'). In the Diocletian persecution they had the custody of the Scriptures (J. Wordsworth, Ministry of Grace, p. 159).

(i) He says (ποιάντες, ἐπιτραπέζιον, συνεξορεύοντες, ministri).—Those 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 also by Euseb. in Asia Minor (Ep. 67), that the presbyters and deacons: he speaks of two subdeacons by name and a certain acolyte), and in the Older Didasc. (E. Hauler, Vernon Latin Fragments, Leipzig, 1909, p. 49; Funk, i. 116; see below, p. 50). In the 4th cent. we find them in Spain; at Elvira (can. 30; c. A.D. 305; no other minor order is mentioned in these canons), in Egypt in Sarapion's Sacramentary (§ 25), in the Church Orders (but not in the Apost. Ch. Ord.), at Neo- Cæsarea in Cappadocia (can. 10; A.D. 514 or later), at Antioch in Eusebius (can. 10; A.D. 341), at Laodicea (can. 20–22, 25; c. A.D. 380), and in Athens (Hist. Arion, ed. Monouchos, 60; A.D. 538). At Neo-Cæsarea and Laodicea, and in the Apost. Const. iii. 11, and elsewhere the subdeacon is called ἐπιτραπέζιον or 'minister.' The existence of subdeacons in the East before the 4th cent. has been disputed, and it has been thought that the passage in the Didasc. where they are mentioned is an interpolation; yet it is found in the Latin, and in the Syriac versions. Eusebius (HEE viii. 6) makes their existence in most parts of the East during the Diocletian persecution certain. He says that a royal edict directed that the presidents (ἐπισκόπηται) of the Church everywhere should be imprisoned, and that the priests were filled with bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists; he omits any mention of subdeacons here. In the Canons of Hippolytus (can. xxxvi. [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 a mere clerical error.

(c) Acolytes, or acolytes (ἀκολούθοι, ἀκολύθι, acoliti, acoliti).—These are first mentioned by Cornelius (above, § 4), and by Cyprian (loc. cit.). They are also mentioned in the Gallican Statutes (as J. Wordsworth has conveniently named them [Ministry of Grace, p. 159]), in Statum Ecclesiae antiquae, a collection of canons which used to be ascribed to the so-called 'Fourth Council of Carthage.' (can. 6; Helde, ii. 410; their real date is c. A.D. 500). Acolytes assisted at the Eucharist, and performed various minor functions. 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 of the Apost. Can. i., p. 95). An acolyte was sent by Cornelius as a messenger (Cyprian, Ep. 49; see below, p. 96). (d) Singers (ψαλται, ψαλωται, cantores, psalteri, etc.).—In the earlier Church Orders singers are mentioned, but not as a separate order. They had, however, already become such in the Apost. Const. (iii. ii. vi. 17; c. A.D. 375), at Laodicea (can. 23), in the Apost. Canons (can. 33 [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 Gallenian Statutes (can. 10). (e) Interpreters (ἰεραπότης, ἑραπότης, interpreters).—These are not mentioned in the Church Orders. They naturally are found only in bilingual countries. Eusebius mentions them in Palestine (Mart. Pal. cit. longer version, § 1, tr. A. C. Metcalf, xiv.; see above, § 3), and in Egypt in the 3rd cent., and also in the West, as in the Apost. Const. (ii. 57, iii. 11), and the Ethiopic Didasc. (§ 10), but not in the other Church Orders, which retain (as indeed do also the Apost. Can., rather inconsistently) the old direction that deacons are to guard the doors. For the devolution of the deacon's functions see above, § 4 (c).

(f) Deacons (ὁ διάκονος, deacon).—These are mentioned in Cornelius's list, and in the Apost. Const. (ii. 57, iii. 11), and the Ethiopic Didasc. (§ 10), but not in the other Church Orders, which retain (as indeed do also the Apost. Can., rather inconsistently) the old direction that deacons are to guard the doors. For the devolution of the deacon's functions see above, § 4 (c).

(g) Exorcists (ἐξορηταὶ) in the NT, Josephus, and elsewhere, but ἐξορηταῖοι in Apost. Const. viii. 20, and Epiphanius, Exp. Fid. 21, exorcist).—The Jewish exorcists are mentioned in Lk 11' (where 'your sons' can hardly mean the disciples, but must be the Jews), Ac 19', and Jos. Ant. viii. 5 (he is speaking of the time of Solomon). Christian exorcists are used both in the Latin Church, and in the Syriac versions. Eusebius (HEE viii. 6) makes their existence in most parts of the East during the Diocletian persecution certain. He says that a royal edict directed that the presidents (ἐπισκόπηται) of the Church everywhere should be imprisoned, and that the priests were filled with bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists; he omits any mention of subdeacons here. In the Canons of Hippolytus (can. xxxvi. [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 a mere clerical error.

(h) Ministry of women.—It is not very easy to distinguish between the 'widows' who were on the Church roll for relief and those who were, in some sort, in the ministry. The widows in Ac 6' come under the former category; those of 1 Ti 5' perhaps under the latter, in order to imply ministering. A deaconess, Phoebe, is mentioned in Ro 16', though Hirt (Christian Ecclesial, p. 208)
thinks that ἵδαξων (fem.) is here used in a non-technical sense, and thereby means that Phebe ministered to the needs of the church. Many think that 'women' in 1 Ti 5:10 (προῖκες without article) means deaconesses; note the qualifications for the office, however, given Deut 4:20. We held a paper by Prisca (Priscilla) joining with Aquila in his evangelistic work (Ac 18:24); this was no doubt in private teaching, as St. Paul forbid a woman to speak in church (1 Co 14:1, 1 Ti 2:12). In the Church Orders of the West from about 300, we find frequent mention of a ministry by women. In the Apost. Ch. Ord. one of the 'widows' is to visit the sick, while the other two are to pray and receive spiritual revelations (see above, § 3). In the Test. of our Lord the 'widows who preside' (πρεσβιτέραι) are an important order; they are also called 'presbytresses,' as corresponding to presbyters, while deaconesses are mentioned as corresponding to deacons; deaconesses carry the Eucharist to a sick woman (ii. 20), just as a deacon does to a sick man (cf. Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 65). At Laodicean presbytresses (πρεσβιτέραι) are identified with those who preside (can. 11); and their appointment for the future is 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 deaconess is sometimes called ἵδαξων (Ro 16:1), but more often the expression (Nic. can., 2. v.); Presbyt. Ch., viii. 19; Epiphanius, Exp. Fid. 21). For further details see Maclean, Ancient Church Orders, p. 83 f.; J. Wordsworth, Ministry of Grace, ch. 1.

It may be interesting to give here Epiphanius's list of clergy and other classes of Christians in Exp. Fid. 21. He mentions bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, widows, virgin; those who marry deaconesses (especially for baptism), exorcists, interpreters, grave-diggers (or speciand, see above, § 4 (69), doorkeepers; and see add. a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h (i) 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' (ἀρνύν καίνα) see § 8 (g) of 1 Ti 3:2 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 in Ac 21:1 is called 'the Evangelist,' that is (probably) one of the 'apostolic men' like Timothy and Titus, though he has not apostles, yet shared the apostolic office (above, § 1 (d)). But, at any rate from the 4th cent., perhaps earlier, promotion from the lower to the higher offices became common. Those of readers and subdeacons are referred to in the Test. of our Lord (i. 44 f.), Apost. Const. (vii. 22, readers), and are implied by Basil (Ep. canon. tert. ccxvii. 69). Cyprian (Ep. xxxix. [xxxii.] 5, 'To the clergy and people') speaks of promoting readers to the presbyterate—this was because they had been confessors (cf. § 7 below). The promotion of deacons is mentioned in the Apost. Ch. Ord. 22 (to the episcopate), Apost. Const. viii. 17 f., Ethiop. Ch. Ord. 24, and probably in the Test. i. 88; explicitly in the Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Africanae (can. 31; Hefele, ii. 470). Polycarp is said by the 4th cent. pseudo-Pionius (see above, § 2 (b)) to have been successively deacon, presbyter, and bishop (§§ 11, 17, 23); and the Council of Sardica (A.D. 343) says that a bishop must have been a reader, deacon, and presbyter, some time before becoming bishop.

7. Honorary 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 confessor (ἰδαξωνικόν) had the honour of the presbyterate by his confession (Epp. Ch. Ord. 34; Ethiop. Ch. Ord. 25; Canons of Hippolytus, v. 1. [ed. Ashlin], 45-47). The text is not clear. It is, however, enacted in these manuals that, if a confessor is wanted for a bishop, he must receive the laying on of hands, or ordination. There is no evidence that confessors would ever be 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 presbyterate was possible in the churches, where there were many presbyters in each place; but an honorary episcopate was not possible, both because there was only one bishop in each see and because the bishop had the duty of ordaining others, which an unordained person could not do. It is noteworthy, and a sign of the earlier date of the Church Orders above mentioned, that the Apost. Const. (vii. 23; c. A.D. 353), while giving honour to confessors, yet repress their undue claims. This work says that 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 presbyterate.

That confessor (Ep. 19) in some cases entitled to an honorary office is not the same thing as saying that confessors were preferred to others for the higher offices of the church when they became vacant. Tertullian (ad. Valer. 4) tells us that Valentinus was a presbyter, when he expected to become a bishop, because another was preferred before him by reason of a claim which confessorship (προεσχοπεία) had given him. It is not said that the confessor who was preferred was made a bishop without being ordained. Eusebius (HE v. 28), quoting an unlearned writer about the heresy of Artemon, mentions a confessor Natalius who was chosen by the heretics as their bishop, apparently because of his confessorship (early 3rd cent.). Hippolytus (HE, ix. 7) relates how Callistus, having been imprisoned in Sardinia, succeeded Zephyrinus at Rome as bishop. Asclepiades, a confessor, became bishop of Antioch (Eus. HE vi. 11). But these and other instances prove nothing as to confessors becoming bishops without ordination.

8. Transmission of the ministry. — In this section we enter on the consideration of a series of facts whose significance is much disputed. An endeavour will be made to state the whole of this subject as they are relevant to the early period with which this article deals. For a description of rites used in transmitting the ministry see art. Ordination.

(a) In the NT we find, in the case of the Seven (Ac 6:5-6), that the people 'elect' (v.2 ἐκλέκτοι), while the apostles 'appoint' (v.3 καταρτίζουσι) and set apart by prayer and imposition of hands (v.4), a self-asserting 'confessor' is to be cast out; confessor (προεσχοπεία) presbyters 'for' the people of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, etc. The word used is a general one, and does not necessarily imply laying on of hands. It is used for election by a show of hands, for (as here) to set apart for any office, and simply for appointment in the case of the elders (presbyters) at Ephesus, Hort (Christian Ecclesia, p. 90) remarks that there is no indication that St. Paul appointed them. Yet the phrase the Holy Greek 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 6:6, 14* will lead us to suppose that, though
the people probably elected their presbyters, St. Paul appointed them. St. Luke is not accustomed to repeat details of this nature. In 1 Ti 3:2 the presbytery are said to have laid hands on Timothy, and in 2 Ti 1st St. Paul is said 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 Ti 5:2 Timothy lays hands on, though it is doubtful if ordination is here referred to. In Tit 1:7 Titus ‘appoints’ (καταφέρει) presbyters in every city in Crete. We may notice, by way of analogy, another laying on of hands: Ac 8:19, which is not ordination; this is reserved for the apostles in those passages, though ordinarily they did not baptize (St 10:19, 1 Co 10:6). 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. 'Baptizing everywhere in country and city, appointed their first bishops, when they had moved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons. . . . They, appointed (καταφέρειν) the aforesaid persons (the bishops and deacons), and afterwards they provided (καταφέοι) that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministry. Those therefore who were appointed by them (the bishops), or afterwards by other distinguished (Διδακτοί) men who were not bishops, were to be considered as to be unjustly thrust out from their mission' (Clement 45,46).

That we have popular election, and ‘appointment’ (καταφέοι; for this word see art. Ordination) by ‘distinguished men,’ i.e., not by the ‘bishops and deacons,’ but by such viri apostolici as Timothy and Titus.

For the 3rd cent. we have evidence that only a bishop (in the later sense) could then ordain; for Novatian had to get, by a disreputable trick, three bishops to ordain him (see below (c) and (f)). Firmilian of Cappadocia, writing to Cyprian about the re-baptizing of heretics (Cyprian, Ep. lxxv. [Ixxiv.] 7.1), denies that heretics can be baptized, 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 (vitæ) 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 means of this laying on of hands alone give the Holy Spirit (c.e. by confirmation). His argument is against admitting heretics without re-baptism, because of St. Paul’s action in Ac 19; but his words necessarily mean that none in his day but bishops could receive heretics by means of this laying on of hands, as they used to give Baptism. And though he says that he does not mean to say that bishops must alone have the power of the Holy Spirit, he certainly means that the bishop is the only person who can be said to have that power. We have here another instance, besides those mentioned above in § 4(b), of bishops being still called ἀποστολεῖς.

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 Conones of Hippolytus, though not in the present form of the 3rd cent., reproduce very faithfully the language of their source, which probably goes back to Hippolytus’s time, and may even have been written by him, it seems likely that this explicit rule also goes back to Hippolytus’s time at least (see above, Conones, § 22): ‘the power of ordination is not given to presbyters’ (§ 317).

In and after the 4th cent. (we have no earlier evidence on the point) we find a custom which is still prevalent in the West, that at the ordination of a presbyter the bishop should lay on hands together with the bishop, though he alone says the prayer of ordination. This is found in the Epig. Ch. Ord. (§ 32), the Ethiop. Ch. Ord. (§ 32), the Test. of our Lord (I. 30), the Gallonio Scriptures (§ 3; Hefele, i. 441). The ordination of a presbyter is the same as that of a deacon; the presbyter lays on hands with the bishop, and the bishop says the prayer of ordination. This is found in the Early Latin Fragments (Haller, pp. 108-110). These manuals emphasize the fact that the bishop acts alone in ordaining a deacon. This (as the last manual says) is because the deacon is ordained for the service of the bishop, and does not take part in council with the clergy, while ‘on a presbyter the presbyters also lay (their) hands, because of the common and like spirit of the clergy (ελεημ.), for a presbyter can only receive, he cannot give (this spirit), and therefore he does not ordain the clergy, but at the ordination of a presbyter he signs when the bishop ordains’ (see above, § 4(b)).

The custom of presbyters joining in the laying on of hands when a presbyter is ordained, does not appear to be known to the writer of the Apost. Const. He says (viii. 16): ‘When a presbyter is ordained, a bishop, lay the hand upon his head in the presence of the presbyters and deacons. And this act uses almost exactly the same words about the ordination of a deacon, while he does not, as the other Church Orders do, emphasize the fact that a bishop acts alone in ordaining a deacon. So in ii. 38 we read, according to the best MSS: ‘A presbyter and a deacon [are to be ordained] by one bishop and [are] the other clerks.’ Three MSS here read ‘by one bishop and the other clerks;’ but this cannot in any case be the right reading, for deacons were never ordained by bishops and presbyters jointly, and moreover ‘clerks’ must here mean the minor orders. See also above, § 4(b).

The limitation of the power of ordaining to bishops is found in a large number of writers. For the Conones of Hippolytus see above. The Apost. Const. say that a presbyter cannot ordain even the minor orders (iii. 11, 29, viii. 28). So also the Ethiopic Didasc. (§ 14) limits ordination to bishops. Jerome, who energetically emphasizes the closeness of the relation between bishop and presbyter, yet denies that the latter can ordain: ‘What does a bishop,’ he writes, ‘that a presbyter does not except ordination’ (Ep. cxxi. 4, ad Evagnemum). The case of Ischyras, who is thus quoted by Isebut (see above), is important in this connexion, and is related to Athanasius (Apol. c. Arius. 111. f. 76). Ischyras had been ordained presbyter by Colluthus, who was, Athanasius tells us, never other than a presbyter. When after the 4th cent. Cyprus passed to Egypt at the beginning of the 4th cent. Alexander (bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 313-326) admitted the presbyters who had been ordained by Meletinus (bishop of Lycaon), Ischyras was not even numbered among them, and therefore he did not receive ordination in that quarter (§ 11); but he was ordained presbyter by Colluthus, and all ordained by that man were, after the schism, reduced to the rank of laymen: and, Athanasius adds, no one doubts it (§ 12). The same writer quotes (§ 76) a letter of the clergy of Mareotis (in Egypt) saying that Ischyras was no presbyter; that he had been ordained by Colluthus who preceeded to the episcopate [this is significant for the point of view of the clergy of Mareotis]; and that all ordained by Colluthus resumed (at the end of the schism) the same rank that they had before, and so Ischyras proved to be a layman. Alexander himself, in a letter quoted by Athanasius (Hæ 5. 3), accused Colluthus of ‘making a trade of ordination here,’ and says that he set up his seat before Arius’s separation. Colluthus was declared by the Council of Alexandria (A.D. 321) to be only a presbyter. We must notice that the refusal to
recognize Isaias' ordination was not due to the fact that Callistus was in schism (as also Meletius was), but to the fact that he was only a presbyter, and therefore could not ordain (on Callistus see also Epiphanius, Hist. Hier. 27). We may now consider certain possible exceptions to the above-named rule.

(b) The 13th canon of Ancyra (A.D. 314).—This canon, according to one reading, seems to say that under certain circumstances a presbyter was allowed in Galatia to ordain. It runs thus:

'It is not permitted to episcopi to ordain presbyters and deacons, unless permission is granted by the bishop in writing in every case, (i.e., diocese) where episcopi are given the permission to ordain in every case, (i.e., diocese).

The words left untranslated are uncertain both as to the reading and as to their signification. The dative ἐπισκόπων is adopted by Lightfoot, who translates 'nor even to city-presbyters, except permission be given in each parish by the bishop in writing.' This would recognize that city-presbyters might, if allowed by the bishop, ordain. On the other hand, Routh, Gore, and Rackham read the accusative, and the last writer has gone into the readings with great care (in Studia Böld. et Eccles., iii. [Oxford, 1891] 139, 194). This would forbid episcopi to ordain city-presbyters without leave. If so, there is still a doubt as to the meaning of ἀλλὰ χωρὶς χειρός. Routh renders 'unchless,' not, as Rackham follows Lightfoot here and translates 'not even'—he takes the middle clause as a parenthesis, and understands the canon to say that episcopi may not ordain presbyters and deacons in another parish, even if the bishop had given them his permission (in their own parish) without the bishop's permission. On the whole, the readings of this canon are so uncertain that no argument can safely be built upon it. It is a decided objection to Lightfoot's general interpretation that, if it were the true one, this canon would stand absolutely alone in 4th cent. literature; the Alexandrian case (see below) is quite different. Another objection is that it would place the city-presbyters on a higher level as to powers of ordination (cf. 'not even') than the episcopi, who at any rate were normally bishops. For detailed discussions on this canon see Lightfoot, 'Dissertation,' p. 232f.; Gore, Church and Ministry, note 2). This was argued by [ed. Archib.] § 10] with regard to the ordination of a new bishop that 'one of the bishops and presbyters, who lays his hand on his head,' is to say the ordination prayer. This canon has sometimes been quoted as if it were (as generally) 'one of the bishops (and presbyters)' that is to say the ordination prayer. As we have seen, the Connors say that a presbyter cannot ordain, and therefore this is clearly not a possible interpretation. But what does the canon mean? Gore (p. 135, n. 3) supposes that in the original (we have the text 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 Connors (see above, § 4 (b)). Yet this explanation does violence to the grammar of the text as we have it; for all the verbs are in the singular. Another explanation may therefore be preferred, that ' unus ex episcopis et presbyteris' means 'one who has both the episcopate and the presbyterate,' for we have already seen (in § 4 (b)) that a bishop was not considered to cease to be a presbyter when he became bishop. The facts of the transmission of the Connors, unless it proceeds simply on an interpretation of a single translation of the words; but they cannot be adduced as an exception to the rule which we are considering.

(d) The succession at Alexandria.—Much more important than the above is a peculiarity said to have existed at Alexandria in the earliest ages. (The matter is full of difficulties and may be studied in detail in Lightfoot, 'History of the Church,' ii. 129 ff., and in JThSt ii. [1901] 612f. [E. W. Brooks, Turner], iii. [1902] 278 [Gore]). Jerome says (Ep. cxvii, i [180] that at Alexandria till the middle of the 3rd cent. the presbyters nominated (nominabant) as bishop one of their own number, and placed him in a higher grade, as if an army were to appoint (dictavit) a general, or deacons were to choose from their own body one whom they knew to be diligent, and to call him archdeacon. He does then goes on to deny that the presbyterate was ordained in the way in the words cited above (a). Somewhat similarly, Severus, Monophysite patriarch of Antioch in the 6th cent. (we have his letter only in a Syriac translation), says that the bishop of Alexandria used in former days to be appointed (the Greek verb was doubtless ἀνακοινώτατος) by presbyters, but after the solemn (or mystical?) institution of their bishops has come to be performed by bishops. The word rendered 'institution, or consecration' (Istitutione, or 'ordination' (R. A. Payne-Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, Oxford, 1870-1901, ii. 275). Jerome may mean, as some later writers understood him, that the Alexandrian presbyters elected their bishop (their bishop) and in that paper, the bishop, 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 apocrypha of the Egyptian monk Poemen (JThSt ii. [1901] 613) it is said that certain heretics accused the archbishop of Alexandria (probably Athanasius or his successor) of having his ordination (ἐξορισμὸς) performed by presbyters. This was in the 3rd 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 pope (cf. Acts or presbyter) in a general council. Poemen, in his meekness, made no reply; but, though the accension was doubtless a pure calumny, it may probably be an echo of some former peculiarity at Alexandria. The third writer is Eutychius, an Arab patriarch of Alexandria in the 6th cent., who says that twelve presbyters of Alexandria, when the patriarchate was vacant, chose one of their number, and the remaining eleven laid their hands on him, and blessed him, and created him patriarch, and that this lasted till the time of Bishop Alexander (A.D. 313-326). Those who are familiar with the late ecclesiastical histories of the Eastern Churches, which are full of fables and of impossible statements, will hesitate to accept Eutychius' testimony as an independent confirmation of Jerome. He probably depends on Jerome at third or fourth hand, and it is not surprising that he flatly contradicts him. We are, then, met with a perplexing series of contradictory statements. But they can hardly be all dismissed as entirely devoid of truth. Probably there was at Alexandria in very early times some peculiarity in the appointment or in the
ordination of bishops, whether it took the form of the presbyters electing him or of their ordaining him. A great difficulty in the way of the latter supposition is the fact that the change to have taken place in the time of Origen. Yet Origen, who suffered much from the autocratic authority of the bishops of Egypt, and especially of the bishop of Alexandria, and who was prompt to denounce 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. 121), as the whole passage (JThSt 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 Paphnutius, a presbyter and hermit in the Scectic desert in Egypt in the 4th cent., is said by his younger contemporary Cassian, the historian of Oriental hermits (Conferences, iv. 1), to have 'ordained' 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 'constitutere,' 'ordinare,' and the like. We read, e.g., of kings 'ordinating' bishops and popes (see Gore, p. 341). To suppose that he would have in a 4th cent. a presbyter in Egypt had hands to ordain, and that Cassian, writing at Marseilles in the 6th cent., mentioned it without surprise, would indeed be an anomaly.

Another instance is the statement by Cyprian that Novatus, a schismatical presbyter in Africa in the 3rd cent., appointed (ep. iv. 11v., 'ad Cornel.'). The meaning here is capable of being tested. A few lines later on Cyprian says that Novatus, who had 'made' (feci) (Novatian) a bishop. But Cyprian tells us (Eus. HE vi. 43) that Novatian got three rustic bishops from a remote part of Italy to come to Rome, and when they were drunk to appoint them to the episcopate and to invest them with hands of ordination. Thus 'making a deacon or bishop here means 'ordaining.' (Kühner calls Novatian 'Novave'; on this see DCC iv. 58.) The story of Aidan lies outside our period, but it may be here briefly referred to. Bede says (HE iii. 1) that the sons of Iona, A.D. 634 or 635, 'ordinating' (ordinantes) Aidan, bishop, sent him to their friend King Oswald to preach the gospel. Here 'ordinating' can only mean 'procuring the ordination of.' We know that the Irish and Columban monks had a bishop with them for episcopal acts, though they had no system of diocesan episcopacy. But in any case it is impossible to believe that Bede, the ardent upholder of the customs of Rome, would have accepted (as in fact he did accept) Aidan 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 Arles in Gallican Gaul (A.D. 314), which says that at any rate not fewer than three, bishops are to take part in the ordination of a bishop (can. 29). The 4th canon of Nicea says that a bishop is to be appointed (constituere) by all the bishops of the episcopal province; at any rate shall meet and ordain, the other bishops giving their assent in writing. The Apost. Const. (iii. 26) says that a bishop is to be ordained (χορηγάω) by three bishops, or at least by two, and is not to be appointed (constituere) by one; so A.D. Canon. 1, Ethiopic Didasc., § 16. But this rule must have been in force long before the 4th century. Cornelius was ordained by 16 bishops (Cyprian, Ep. iv. [II.] 8, 24, 'ad Antonianum'), Novatian was ordained by 20; he must have 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 bishops who took part in his own election (see art. § 15). 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 (Heide, ii. 408).

An exception to the rule is found at Rome, where in the election of the Cononards, 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 comprimordial 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 discrepency 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 bishops who were ordained without it from those in orders ('τεμπετός, Ep. can. tert. ccc. C. H.'). Furthermore, Origen (82 [81]) speak of τὸ διάκονον βάπτισαν, meaning 'ordination to the higher ministry.'

In the Test. of our Lord (i. 44 f.), Canons of Hippolytus (vii. [ed. Achelis, § 48 f.], Epig. Ch. Ord. 53 f.), Eth. Ch. Ord. (27), subordinate and readers 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 ordination of an acolyte, exorcist, reader, doorkeeper (§§ 6-9). On the other hand, the Apost. Const. (viii. 21 f.) prescribes the laying on of hands, and appoints it for the ordination of both subdeacon and reader. The Const. through Hippolytus appoints it for a subdeacon (§ 19).

In many of these manuals persons holding charismatic offices 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, though without imposition of hands. In the Test. widows "who preside" are ordained (i. 41); in the Canons of Hippolytus (vii. [ed. Achelis, § 53 f.] one who wishes to be ordained because he has the gift of healing is not to be ordained; the meaning has made clear that the gift of God is not to be obtained, i.e. merely for that reason; in the Gallican Statutes (§ 7) an exorcist is ordained, and a book is given in which the exorcists are written. Virgins (ascetics) receive a blessing on their profession, not from presbyters, but only from the bishop, in Gallican Statutes (§ 11) and the 3rd canons of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 399 (Heide, ii. 399).

9. The institution of bishops &c. 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, and an attempt will be made to summarize them, without going into quibble at least till now, 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 distinct commission from our Lord Himself. The ministerial questions, as a whole, were not bestowed till after the Resurrection; but our Lord foretells the gift in more than one passage. Whatever be the true expression of the promise to St. Peter after his conformation, it must mean "Upon this rock I will build my Church," the
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 then given, but a promise that it will be given; and the promise was fulfilled, not here promised to the Church as a whole. On the other hand, in Matt. 28:18-20, the Church is directly spoken of as exercising discipline, and our Lord then gives (apparently to the Twelve, but this is disputed) that promise of binding and loosing which had already been given to St. Peter. The supernatural authority does not lie 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. 267). A distinct stage in the development of the Church is the powers promised to the whole flock, is foreshadowed in the parable of Lk 12:32-45. This parable, as F. Godet remarks (Conn., Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1887, ii. 108), assumes that the apostolate will be perpetuated till Christ returns, and that the ministry of the Church is established by Christ. The same writer adds that the theory which makes the pastorate (and the Church as her representative) not Biblical; this office is one of the essentials of 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 until the Lord comes.

The more probable conclusion seems to be that the special ministerial commission was given to the apostles to hold 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 edition) pp. 673, 737.

(b) A very different view is taken by Hatch (Organization of the Early Christian Church) and Hort (The Christian Ecclesia). Hort holds that the commission was given to the Church as a whole, and that the Church as a whole appointed the apostles, whose authority was due to the spontaneous homage of the Christians in 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 if they had any authority outside Judea. An indefinite authority grew up round them because they were personal witnesses. 'The Ecclesia itself, i.e. apparently the sum of all its male adult members, is the primary body, and, it would seem, even the primary authority (p. 229). With regard to the mission in the apostles, besides the apostles were probably present, and that, though perhaps the charge was 'directly and principally' spoken to the apostles, yet it was spoken to them as representing the whole community (p. 32 f.). [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 in An 2:36-38, with the gift of the Holy Ghost (i.e. πνεύμα ἡγεμόν 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. 31). This was not divine commission: 'As the Father hath commissioned (ἐξοικονόμησεν) me, I also send (σταυρισμός) you.' But it is uncertain whether others were present on this occasion besides the Ten. 'The disciples' are mentioned (v. 35), but this often means the apostles. In the description in Lk 24:48, which seems to refer to the same 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, and this passage was possibly written after the 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 therefore, etc.' It has been suggested by H. Alford (Conn. in loc.) that others besides the Eleven were then present, because 'some doubted.' But this is against the grammar. The 'some' must be the apostles, as in the case 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 St. Mark gave of the ministerial commission; but the author of the Appendix certainly conceived the commission as having been given to the Eleven ('Mt 16:20').

1 This word 'marks nothing more than the immediate relation of the sender to the sent,' while the other verbs denote a delegated authority (see B. F. Westcott, Conn. in loc.).
the one hand, the second view is compatible with the highest doctrine of apostolic succession, such as Jerome himself held. And, on the other hand, the first view is compatible with the belief that the apostles derived all their authority from the people.

Whatever view be taken of the matters touched on in this and the preceding section, it is important to notice a point on which all are agreed. The Christian Church is in its origin and purpose the church of the people, and in its organization, though most of the decisions are made in the places of worship, the decisions are not made by the people from its own representatives. The members of it do not form a class having a closer relationship to God than the laity, for every Christian holds personal communion with the divine Head of the Church (Lightfoot, pp. 11, 12; Evans, p. 76). And all have direct access to God, and the minister 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 sacraments are administered. But he is not a barrier between God and the people.


**MINOTAUR.**—1. The myth.—Minotaur (Δημητέριος, Δημητέριος καὶ Δίκαιος, "the Minos-bull" or "bull of Minos") is in Greek myth 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,2 her husband, Minos, had become king of Crete through the good will of Poseidon; after telling the people that the god had called 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 to it his herd and offered a substitute on Poseidon's altar. To punish him the god inspired Pasiphae with an unnatural passion, gratified through the artifice of Daidalos, who concealed her in a wooden cow. She bore a child, Asterios, surname '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 Daidalos. Moreover, the bull from the sea was made savage by Poseidon, and it was one of the labours of Herakles to kill it, and carry it to the Peloponnesus; thence it wandered to Marathon in Attica, and ravaged the country. Androgeus, son of Minos, having come to Athens and beaten all opponents at the games, King 'Egues challenged him in single combat. He killed him, and Minos, to avenge his son, made war on Athens, and exacted as a condition of peace that every year every ninth year, according to Phutarch, *Theseus,* 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 by lot to be one of the victims. When he landed in Crete, Ariadne, daughter of Minos, fell in love with him, and, on his promising to take her to Athens as his wife, contrived with Daidalos that he should escape from the labyrinth, giving him a clew of thread which he was to make fast at the entrance. Holding the thread, he penetrated to the Minotaur's lair and slew him with his fists. Then he made his way out and escaped by night with Ariadne and his comrades, but lost his way home.

Apollodorus omits the incident of Minos' ring and Poseidon's recognition of Theseus as his son.3 The story is further rounded off by Pherecydes;4 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 him in a wise law-giver and founder of Hellenic civilization. The Attic version shows an intrinsic connection with the Daidalos which Daidalos was almost as much the hero as Theseus. It credits Athens through him with the miracles of Minos' craftsmanship. It emphasizes Minos' fraud on Poseidon, because the god's son, the Attic minster 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 Ithaca.

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 Minotaur Empire in a Sicilian expedition (cf. Herod. vii. 170). The break between prehistoric and Hellenic Crete was in many respects complete, but the coins make it probable that the legend of a bull-monster clang to the pre-historic palace at Knossos, and was adopted by the Dorian settlers. A. J. Evans, the excavator of the site, has shown how the complex of ruined walls, adorned with frescoes of bull-fights, in which boys and girls took part, and processions of tribute-bearers, must have been preserved as a living story.4 The name of the labyrinth is explained with the help of *Ασύρ, the Lydian word for 'double-axe', as meaning 'house (or place) of the axe', a sacred emblem which stood in shrines within the palace and was often engraved on the 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. *EGYPTIAN RELIGION*, 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, where the ancients located at Knossos. Diodorus mentions 'the foundations of Rhea's house and a cypress-grove

2. *Ig., P. I. 97 (PIG.)*—schol. to Od. xii. 229 (Theseus is told how to surprise the Minotaur as he sleeps in the mausoleum, evidently the central point of a conventional maze; cf. § 3 below).
3. *This view is discussed in the Platonic dialogue* *Hyp.,* 510a and 510d, which is against the *Thes.* 15. Both writers remark that Minos made a mistake when he quarrelled with a city like Athens, whose tragic poets could make or mar a reputation.
5. *Hist. Quot. Græc. B. 2.* A cypress would be called the *Labraunda, the Carian town where an axe-wielding Zeus was worshipped.*
The Minotaur is one of the most significant figures in Greek mythology. It is often depicted as a man with the head of a bull and a body of a man, usually associated with the Labyrinth, a complex of underground chambers and passages. The Minotaur was said to be the offspring of Minos and Pasiphae, and was raised by Pasiphae's nurse. He was kept in the Labyrinth and fed on the boys and girls from Crete sent in tribute to Medusa. The hero Theseus was sent to destroy the Minotaur and was guided to the Minotaur's lair by Ariadne, who gave him a thread to help him navigate out of the Labyrinth.

The Minotaur is often represented in art and literature, and its story has been the subject of many works of art, including paintings, sculptures, and literary works. The Minotaur has also been the subject of much scholarly study, with many theories proposed about its origins and significance in Greek mythology.

The Minotaur's story is a complex one, involving themes of morality, hubris, and the consequences of actions. It has been interpreted in a variety of ways, and continues to be a source of inspiration and fascination for scholars and artists alike.
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the overthrow of Cretan rule. Herakles, who goes to Crete to capture the bull, stands for the Doric colonists: Theseus, who overcomes the same monster and Attica, deliver the country from the Cretan conqueror. 1 On somewhat different lines 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 primitive "point de repère" round which ultimately crystallised the complex figure of Poseidon.

(c) The solar interpretation. — Pasiphae'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 Cnossus was the seat of a great worship of the sun, and that the Minotaur was a representation or embodiment of the sun-god, 2 and suggests that Arindle'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 sun was conceived as a bull and that the labyrinth was "an orchestra of solar pattern presumably made for a ministic dance," goes on to suggest that the dancer who impersonated the sun masqueraded in the labyrinth as a bull—the Minotaur. 3 The bull-god, says the Kossonian Prince wearing a bull-mask, a piece of ritual borrowed perhaps from Egypt. 4

(d) The suspicion of human sacrifice. — The Minotaur, like the horses of Damole, is a man-eater; the native traditions that it was necessary to feed Pasiphae to gratify this appetite. W. Helbig 5 saw in the story another version of Kronos devouring his children; Kronos was banished by Zeus to the under world, the Minotaur by Minos to the labyrinth. There was a tradition that did not make a bull in Crete the Kouretes had offered human sacrifices to Kronos, 6 and the "feast of raw flesh" 7 which Euripides mentions in the famous chorus from his tragedy The Cretans, as part of the initiation to the service of Minotaur, was open to a similar suspicion; in a recently discovered fragment of this play Pasiphae taunts her husband in terms which leave no doubt as to the charge. 8 Euripides probably had in mind the Cretan mysteries in which the votaries tore with their teeth the living bull in commemoration of the eating of the boy Zagreus by the Titans. 9 But these mysteries stand in no direct relation, so far as can be seen, to the substratum of Minoan religion; they explain the cannibal 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. 10

Phoenicians and Cartaginians sacrificed children to a bronze image of Kronos (= El), so contrived that victims laid on its outstretched hands fell into a furnace beneath. 11 Rabbinic writers describe Moloch's image in similar terms, and add that it had the head of a calf. 12 Now Tulos, the brazen coast-guard of Crete, who killed strangers by lunging them to his red-hot breast, was by some called Taurus (Apolloed, i. ix. 29), and a gloss of Heirsichy makes him a by-form of the sun-god. A tradition


2 Bull. Pontif. Ital., 1900, p. 159-177; Mom. Ant. dei Littori, xxiii. (1910) 313-326. These temples may be the very buildings in which Greek writers attested to biaduns; see pseudo-Arist. de Mirab, 190 (2); Dod. Iv. 49, v. 16.

3 G. Murray, Hist. of Greek Religion, Oxford, 1911, p. 156 f., thinks that Minos' periodic visits to the cave of Zeus imply a ceremony of sacrifice and propitiation, and adds that children—"triumphal—children" may have died with, or for, the king in the cave of the bull-god.

4 Cf. also la Vasilion (Mt 219), la inda (Lk 197), apothesia (Lk 259).

5 It is a fact that psychic gifts are often possessed by unattractive and bad people.

3. The miraculous in the ethnic religions.—

Miracles occur plentifully in religions at a higher level than those of savagery, and are freely ascribed to the great men, or, in the case of savages or ascetics in those religions. Asceticism and austerity are, in fact, sometimes a necessity as well as a guarantee of miracle, as they are also in the case of Christian saints.

1 For wonders ascribed to holy men, it should be clearly noted that they themselves made no claim to work miracles. This statement is supported by their own sayings in most cases, or it may be proved from the early writings describing the origin of these religions. In the Gatha, the earliest part of the Avesta, there are no miracles, and no very high place is ascribed to Zoroaster. Concinus was largely indifferent to spiritual matters and avoided anything dealing with the supernatural. He is most unlikely to have made any claim to miracles, and in fact he said:

"To search for what is mysterious, and practise marvellous arts, in order to be mentioned with honour in future ages: this is what I do not do."

Lao-tse was opposed to all magic, and was a man of humble mind. Buddha himself protested against miracles, and, though he knew of miraculous powers, he was inoffensive to them. When a disciple gained an almsbowl by a display of miracles, he caused it to be broken and forbade these. Some sayings of his point to his dislike of miracles:

"There is no path through the air, a seemly way by outward acts—perhaps reference to the supposed gift of walking on air. When an ascetic flew through the air, Buddha is represented as reproving him: 'This will not endure either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted, but rather to those who have not been converted remaining unconverted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.'" He also said: "I commanded my disciples not to work miracles, as a sign of sorcery, not as divine acts. God's revelation to the Prophet was the true miracle, and the Qu'ran contained it."

Nor did any one of the great ethnic teachers lay claim to divine, or, if in some of this and of their own utterances about miracles, miracles are freely ascribed to them, sometimes even in the actual works which contain such disclaimers. How soon this process began it is difficult to say, yet probably it was no very long time before the growth of miraculous legend. In many cases, however, as in similar instances in Christian hagiography, it is possible to trace the growth of a miraculous story in successive versions of the same incident. The magical and supernatural events associated with the lives of these men are either connected with their conception and birth or acts alleged to have been performed by themselves. The miracles of the former class are invariably lacking in lives contained among the Dalai Lamas in Tibet, see SBE xxiv. 46; L. A. Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet, London, 1895, pp. 247, 249; and for those connected with future beings in Zoroastrian belief, SBE xvi. 115 ff., 111 ff., 115.

In the miracles of the second group beneficial acts are extremely rare, i.e. miracles performed to benefit others. As a rule, the miracles merely exalt their worker, and sometimes they are of a kind to force belief in him. Lao-tse is said to have raised the dead, and Buddha to have healed wounds; but these are occasional, and are in a minority compared with the great number of thaumaturgic acts. These largely consist of power over nature and complete control over its processes, and are often of a most
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I. Buddha

Frequent levitation, flying through the air, ascent to heaven, transformation, and walking on water, are some of the miracles associated with Buddha. These are said to prove his divinity and to confirm the truths of his teaching.

II. Muhammad

Muhammad is credited with performing many miracles, such as raising dead animals and even whole flocks of sheep to life. He is also said to have healed the sick and healed the sick of lepers, bringing them back to normal health.

III. Jesus

The miracles of Jesus are numerous and diverse. They include healing the sick, raising the dead, calming storms, walking on water, and feeding thousands with a few loaves and fishes. These miracles are seen as evidence of his divine nature and his authority.

IV. Mohammed

Mohammed is said to have performed many miracles, including turning the shadow on his face into the image of an angel, healing the sick, and even raising the dead. These miracles are seen as proof of his prophetic nature and his mission to reveal the truth.

V. Allah

Allah is said to have performed many miracles, including the creation of the world, the parting of the Red Sea, and the sending of the Prophets. These miracles are seen as evidence of his power and his sovereignty.

VI. Other religions

Other religions also have stories of miraculous events. For example, the Gospels of Islam describe the miracles of the Prophet Muhammad, while the Gospels of Hinduism describe the miracles of Lord Rama. These miracles are seen as evidence of the divinity of their respective prophets.

VII. Modern miracles

In addition to these ancient miracles, there are reports of modern miracles, such as healings, visions, and apparitions. These miracles are seen as proof of the continued presence of divine power in the world.

VIII. Conclusion

Miracles are a common theme in many religions, and they serve as evidence of the divine nature of the prophets and the power of the gods. They are also used to inspire faith and to strengthen the beliefs of those who seek to understand the mysteries of the universe.
great wonders to relics of gods or heroes. Some of these were multiplied exactly as mediæval relics. They were miraculously found, and various places disputed their possession. 1 Healing also took place at certified of heroes, common sources of miracles by human wonder-workers. Tacitus speaks of Ve-spasian curing blindness and lameness, 2 and the fictitious life of Apollonius of Tyana byHospitalius 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 modelled on the NT miracles. Others are told by none but Philostratus. 3 The existence of the imposture of Abonutschis (g.e.), according to Lucian's life of him, credited him with healing and with raising the dead. 4

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 healings—rather of the whole science of healing, for 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 external value is thus small. Some of the miraculous events are doublets of each other, and in those of Elijah and Elisha a kind of artificial parallelism is to be observed. The narratives are in some cases composite, and a more or less non-miraculous substratum is to 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 no uncommon thing 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 not impossible that they had some gift of healing, it is more likely that the point of departure of the miraculous legend attached to their history—it is remarkable that in the case of the greater prophets, save once with Isaiah (2 K 20:22), there is no thaumaturgic element. The idea of God who performs the miracle story is the loftiest kind, but rather that of men at a lower spiritual level. The spirit animating some of the miracles resembles that which animates barbarous men. There is aggressiveness, ruthlessness in dealing with human life where men do not know or worship God, and intolerance. Few of the miracles have that beneficent aspect which we find in the majority of the NT miracles. Again, there is a certain materialism in the method of describing the miracles—e.g., in the idea of speaking face to face with God. Some of the miracles are magical, and are alleged to have been copied by pagan magicians (Ex 7:11-23 $\S$). Others seem to reflect the traditional beliefs of the nations, e.g., that God's manifestation in fire—or the spirit of God leading to—beings in the presence of which they grope. 5 As a result, some of these miracles are not miracles of power to God, as He does His teaching (Jn 14:19). There is a real divine working being done (Lk 11:2, Mk 5:39, Lk 9:18; cf. Jn 9:11-40, 14:19). So also the witnesses of the miracles regard them (Mk 2:2, Mt 9:18, Lk 7:9 (4.18)). Yet power is inherent in Christ, as the method of the miracles shows, or the definite 'I will' (Mk 6:5). Here also the people recognize this inherent power (Mk 7:5). All power is delegated from God, as Christ taught. Hence the power to work miracles is not necessarily confined to Christ (Mt 12:27), though He has that power in a supreme degree. 6

7. The miracles of Christ.—(c) When the documents composing the Gospels are examined, it is found that even in the earliest there is no non-miraculous substratum; all alike contain miracles. By every one Christ's teaching is admitted to be marvellous, yet authentic. This raises a presumption that the marvelrous deeds are also authentic. The date of the documents is sufficiently near to the events reported in the points of authenticity, and the evidence is as good as anything short of actual scientific evidence is likely to be. The writers were men who knew themselves to be witnesses, and had regard for truth.

(c) Christ as sinless is a moral miracle without an a priori like of the sinless. Christ as sinless is 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 perfection—an instructive contrast. The sinless to Elijah—

the latter a reminder that miracles as outward phenomena parallel to thunder, fire, etc., are a lower kind of testimony to God. Some of the miracles—e.g., the ten plagues—are regarded as direct divine interpositions. It is possible, doubtful, less, 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 may have been regarded as direct Providential agents. It 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 genuine thaumaturgic or associated with rather ruthless methods. Again, we need not doubt that God led His people 'with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, ... and with signs, and with wonders' (Dt 29:1). We need not doubt that in the events described by the accounts of history He does 'make a way to His indignation' (Ps 78:26) against the unrighteous. But whether the leading and interpositions were in the manner depicted is open to question. A strong belief in divine deliverance is only possible to the historian as a legend of accounts of history. 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 and of men. The real religion of the OT lies elsewhere than in the accounts of separate miracles. It is found in the growth of a spiritual religion, in such documents as that which tells of creation, in the records of spiritual experience and aspiration, in the phenomenon of prayer may be true. 2

He was certainly more than man. His power would thus be greater than those of ordinary men, and might therefore be miraculous.

(d) Christ's miracles are in harmony with His personality and teaching. There is an air of naturalness about the miracles that is not found elsewhere. He never doubts His own power to work them, never falters in exercising it. His method, unlike that of other healers or exorcists, causes amazement, showing that it was not similar to theirs. He casts out demons with a word, or 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 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, and need we deny that there was time enough for a miracles 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 springs out of them.1 If Christ wrought miracles at all, it is not impossible that there would have been a tendency in a biographer to ascribe the miracle to Christ. 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 decided by investigation. The miracles are in keeping with Christ's personality, and _vice versa_, and the impression made by them on the people, on inquirers (Jn 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 (Mk 6:33), this is really a proof of His power to work signs of a kind,2 but not of the kind so liberally allowed to ethnic teachers. Christ's miracles are beneficent, never egoistical like Buddha's or even those of Christian saints; their source is the love of Christ and not the egoism of the ethnic 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 this is not the primary purpose of Christ's miracles? Were they mere credentials of His mission? This is doubtful. Benevolence was primary, and often forestalled the faith of the person concerned (Mk 3:5, Lk 7:9, Jn 5:18), as it did in the case of demoniacs. Crowds of people were doubtless influenced by the miracles, especially by their unique character, for their produced fear or amazement even if that was followed by praise to God (Lk 7:9, Mt 15:22). The result was that crowds of people flocked to Christ and flocked on Him a popularity which He disliked and from which He sometimes withdrew (Mk 1:25, Lk 5:12). One of whose credentials miracles would have added nothing else. The multitude connected the miracles with Christ's Messiahship (Mt 12:28; Jn 10:41)—a belief which He did not at first encourage (cf. Lk 4:24, Mk 12:34). When John sends to know if He is Messiah, He points to His works of mercy (Mt 11:28); the stress is on these, rather than on Messiahship. Miracles are not wrought to establish 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 want of faith in mercy and love displayed, rather than the miraculous power, are spurned (cf. Mk 3:13, 5:36, 6:57, Mt 11:1-2, Lk 10:12-19). Mere popularity was distasteful, and silence about a cure is often enjoined.

The exception in Mk 5:39 is explained, Christ was unknown in Gadara and was leaving it. What the man was told of was the divine mercy.

True, Christ's compassion often overcame His dislike of mere popularity, while this popularity might sometimes indicate a genuine faith and love. But, if Christ works miracles at all to evince faith, it is not the faith of a fickle crowd, but the faith of the individual. Such an individual or those who intervened for him would already have faith, and that faith would be augmented (Jn 4:43, Lk 17:19). 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 Jn 5:37 shows. Works are of less importance than the personal appeal of Christ (Jn 10:33-; cf. 12:18). Christ's personality and His words are witnessed by His works (Jn 5:36, 6:69; cf. v. 50). This lower position corresponds to the refusal to work a sign in response to the request of the faithless (Jn 4:46). The disciples follow 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 20, the disciples must have been interested or disinterested, the cases new thoughts are suggested to them, or a confession of belief is made (Mk 4:41; cf. Mt 14:31). The miracles, however, were not wrought primarily for these purposes, but to quell fears or to confirm existing confidence. Even the lesson of the withered fig-tree is not that of the power of Christ, but of faith in God and of what faith can do (Mt 21:21). The true attitude is seen in Jn 21, when recognition follows the miracle. The act is consonant with a personality already known and loved. The cumulative effect of miracles was no doubt to quicken understanding of Christ, and we remember that the great miracle of the Resurrection was what finally convinced the disciples of Christ's true nature (Mt 28:6). 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. 

2 _Ezech_. 1:2.
Here and elsewhere in this Gospel a theory of its author that miracles were false belief is at work (24:23 f.). In this miracle belief of a specific instance of Christ's power over death—it be taught to those who believed in him already.

Generally healing is the reward of faith, Christ's power working with the person's faith. There is thus more than subjective faith-healing, for with Christ there is 'power to heal,' obvious enough where the faith of the person healed is not in question. Where there was no faith, but conscious opposition, miracle was naturally impossible (Mt 9:1). Christ could have forced a miracle, but this was against His method, though even here He did heal 'a few' who believed. A writer who recorded this was not one who was likely to invent or imagine miracles. Christ also Himself had faith in God, as His words show (Mt 9:28; cf. Mt 14:36).

The miracle in Mk 5:28 shows in a crude way that power to heal is not to be confused with temporary saying he would be healed, obvious enough where the faith of the person healed is not in question. Where there was no faith, but conscious opposition, miracle was naturally impossible (Mt 9:1). Christ could have forced a miracle, but this was against His method, though even here He did heal 'a few' who believed. A writer who recorded this was not one who was likely to invent or imagine miracles. Christ also Himself had faith in God, as His words show (Mt 9:28; cf. Mt 14:36).

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The miracle in Mk 5:28 shows in a crude way that power to heal is not to be confused with temporary saying he would be healed, obvious enough where the faith of the person healed is not in question. Where there was no faith, but conscious opposition, miracle was naturally impossible (Mt 9:1). Christ could have forced a miracle, but this was against His method, though even here He did heal 'a few' who believed. A writer who recorded this was not one who was likely to invent or imagine miracles. Christ also Himself had faith in God, as His words show (Mt 9:28; cf. Mt 14:36).

(b) Possession.—Not all but certain kinds of sickness were regarded by the Jews scientifically or colloquially as possession. Only once does Mark connect illness with possession (10:17); Matthew and Luke do so on three occasions. In Mk 9:27 a dumb spirit is mentioned: Luke (8:26) makes it a case of possession, Matthew (17:15) of epilepsy (λυκανθάριον, 'epileptic'), though later the demon is said to be cast out. Epilepsy was a kind of intermittent possession (cf. Mt 15:21), as also was lunacy (Mk 5:2; cf. Jn 10:19), or any apparent eccentricity. The recorded cases are eight in number, with a few general instances. Whatever be the explanation of the case, the fact of the spirit is not in question. Christ's healing of it was thorough, masterly, immediate, probably permanent, and sometimes αὐτάμετρον. His method was not that of mere exorcism, as has been insisted. Both the manner of the cure and the result show that it differed in degree, if not in kind, from that of the exorcist. Yet Christ taught that others might or did use it, if they had faith (Mt 17:17, Mk 11:22). Serious cases are healed by a word, and the superlative nature of the cure is recognized even by hostile witnesses (Mk 3:2; cf. 6:56). It had thus a miraculous quality: here was the 'finger' or the 'spirit' of God (Lk 11:12, Mt 12:28).

Possession by a demon is a world-wide savage, savage practice, and sickness, disease, of high levels, of certain diseases, where the symptoms seemed to suggest the demon's movements or his speech in a voice different from that of the patient. But was the disease more than epilepsy, lunacy, hysteria, demoniac, or such a psycho-pathological state as that of alternating personality, 'temporary control of the organism by a widely divergent fragment of the personality, self-suggested in some dream-like manner into hostility to the main mass of the personality, appertaining curiously to Mt 13:28. As by J. M. Thompson, Miracles in the NT, London, 1911, p. 157.

For the Jewish method see Josephus, Ant. Hist. b. 5.

1 Cf. Mt 15:8, Mk 9:21, Lk 4:33, Jn 11:37.


4 ‘No demon could by possibility produce more fearful results by entering into a man than I have often seen resulting from epilepsy.'

Super-normal knowledge is often a characteristic of these beliefs. Even in the case of Christ which He wishes to be kept secret, or they assume that He has power over them. The fragmentary or sub-conscious self, identifying itself with a demon, speaks in accordance with the belief that Messiah would destroy demonic power and asserts that Jesus is Messiah. Yet these men, in lucid intervals, may have heard that He was so regarded. Thus their knowledge would not be super-normal. Lunatics often dread one particular person.

A man's belief in his possession by a demon is paralleled by the belief that he is a soul. Both are pathological states and where the belief in transformation disappears, hypnotism is apt also to disappear. This is more or less true of the belief in demons and the suppression of possession (see LXX figures).

Demon-possession as a belief continued long after, as it had existed long before, Christ's time. It is not explained, therefore, by saying that demons were allowed to torment men while He lived, so that they might in after years have then accommodated Himself to an existing belief, yet He did not accept it in all its current forms, and some at least of what is ascribed to Him may be the thoughts of His reporters. Christ could hardly have been satisfied with or anticipated the scientifically accepting their point of view. So also for the sake of retarding an argument He accepts the point of view of the Pharisees, without categorically saying that He actually casts out demons: (Mk 12:23, Lk 17:19, cf. Mt 10:1). An accurate explanation would not have been understood, and might even have gone beyond present-day science. Or, with power to heal, was Christ's knowledge here limited? Did He believe in possession? In any case there is no doubt about His healing this strange disease instantly and permanently, and differently from exorcists, or from modern physicians in the cases of apparent possession. Of course it is a large assumption to say that there are no existences which might not take possession of a human personality and act through it. Psychical research tends to admit that there are such existences in the case of disarranged human spirits, but has no evidence of diabolical or hostile possession. This Christ, as a matter of course, speaks in explanation—e.g., by some alien power at the centre of man's being where consciousness and will reside. Yet an unexplained mental disease is not necessarily possession. In a sense, it is true, there was possession if disease was caused by sin or vice, disease being objectively regarded as evil. But there is no clear proof that the cases cured were directly the result of sin.

For alleged demon-possession in modern China and elsewhere see J. L. Nevius, Demon Possession and Allied Themes (London, 1897), 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 still strong. Heathen-trained and life-giving influence of Christianity may explain the cases where pugun methods failed, as Justin long before asserted (Apol. ii. 6) and also H. A. Junod, of Thonga cases (The Life of a South African Tribe, Neuchatel, 1892). In Jewish theory see W. R. Newbold, Prose, of Soc. for Psychical Research, v. (1897) no. 2.

(i) Healing.—Christ's miracles of healing are not explainable by M. Arnold's moral therapeuticism, i.e. the cure of nervous diseases by mental influence.


2 Cf. AE. 1897, p. 161; B. S. Pottier, Multiple Personality, New York, 1915, p. 151.

3 John does not appear to accept the theory of demon-possession, though he refers to the Jewish belief.

4 The demons, if they existed, were not necessarily like the horrible figures of later imagination.

5 Myers, ii. 195.
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Many of these diseases were not neurotic, and were such as do not yield to mental treatment, while the evidence for their cure is as good as that for neurotic cases. Often the miracles at Lourdes are also wrought on more than neurotic diseases, and they suggest an influx of healing power from without. But Christ’s miracles of this kind are more than occasional. He is more likely to prove the power of the Lord (Lk 5:16) wrought through Him. It was neither variable nor uncertain, and it enabled the patient to throw off disease immediately. It was communicated to the sick by an act of will, a word, a touch, or sometimes a mere presence. To this use of such a power there is no authentic parallel. If it be said that Christ had merely superior access to an x region, to which others might have access, yet His access was so superior as to be miraculous. His faith in the power awakened faith in the patient, so that in a sense there was suggestion both from without and from within. There was more than mere ‘faith-healing,’ a word which is apt to be used loosely. If it is used as mere auto-suggestion, there was obviously more than that. Diseases which apart from scientific diagnosis were plainly most serious were cured without difficulty. If Christ merely did what one day may be more generally possible, the least He did act perfectly in a way as yet undiscovered.

(j) Raising the dead.—The instances of this are so few in number as to raise a presumption of their truth, for here is exactly where miracles would probably be expected in a fictitious narrative. The possibility of catalepsy or trance cannot be excluded, yet we may assume that Christ would know the truth. To Him, indeed, death was no more than a sleep (Mk 5:41, Jn 11:11-19), from which the dead might be roused in the presence of the Lord of life, who could command the return of the principle of life to the lifeless body, whenever He was beside the dead.

(k) The nature group.—The evidence for these miracles is as good as for those of healing. Here again their small number—six (or, admitting duplicates, five)—suggests genuineness, as do also generally the narratives which relate them, as well as the manner of the relation. The attempts to interpret them as synecdochic or teaching related to the 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 degree of involvement of the 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 this uninvolved plane. Such a role on occasion may as easily walk on the sea as on dry land. These miracles suggest the superiority of the spiritual and moral order to the material. They, with one possible exception, are in keeping with the personal and imber of the occasion, and the question of adequacy to the occasion may be safely answered.

2 See a suggestive passage in Stewart, p. 182 ff.
3 Contrast the large number of raisings from death by the relics of St. Stephen alleged by St. Augustine, as Civ. Del. 29, 105, 2.
4 Little touches of exasperation in the story of Lazarus need not be regarded as essential fact.
5 W. S. BILBRIGHT, Bishop Gore’s Challenge to Criticism, pp. 19, 231.
6 There is no question of working these miracles in answer to any demand for a sign.

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. In Christ’s power to make water into wine, there is more likely to prove the power of the Lord (Lk 5:16) wrought through Him. It was neither variable nor uncertain, and it enabled the patient to throw off disease immediately. It was communicated to the sick by an act of will, a word, a touch, or sometimes a mere presence. To this use of such a power there is no authentic parallel. If it be said that Christ had merely superior access to an x region, to which others might have access, yet His access was so superior as to be miraculous. His faith in the power awakened faith in the patient, so that in a sense there was suggestion both from without and from within. There was more than mere ‘faith-healing,’ a word which is apt to be used loosely. If it is used as mere auto-suggestion, there was obviously more than that. Diseases which apart from scientific diagnosis were plainly most serious were cured without difficulty. If Christ merely did what one day may be more generally possible, the least He did act perfectly in a way as yet undiscovered.

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Miracles

Parallels to incarnation and virgin-birth have been alleged from pagan sources, but there is no real analogous idea of divine humanity in human flesh. The human being was alien to Jewish thought, and probably also to pagan. Hence it is really impossible to assert that the story was invented in Jewish-Christian circles at the early date alleged. That it is an early Christian myth 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 as early as the first century. It was not Josephus—a knowledge apt to be perverted by hostile critics. As to the story itself, it has only to be compared with the versions of it in the Apocryphal Gospels to see how an existing story could be exaggerated without being reconstituted. The lack of such exaggeration in Matthew and Luke points to genuine nature. Comparative mythology is often relied on to show that virgin-birth is a universal myth, but examination of the instances shows it is a myth.

Thus far this story of the divinity of Jesus has been considered in a material sense, or some material means, is always involved. This is true even of the late miraculous stories of the birth of Buddha, whose human father appears all through, and also of the later stories of future savior, born in Zoroastrianism. Yet, even if such stories were more nearly parallel, the question should be faced—Do myths never come true?

(a) The Resurrection.—Arguments against the Resurrection usually emerge from the disconcerting paradoxes in the narratives. Are these more than may be looked for regarding such an event? Or do they really discredit the central fact to which all bear witness? Without discussing them in detail, may it be said that the good as that for the Crucifixion, and, if they do not prove a real resurrection, do they prove anything at all about Christ? Certain facts are important: the empty tomb, the definite date never varied from, as well as the personality involved—no ordinary man whose resurrection to a normal human life might be rejected, as Huxley would have rejected that of the hypothetical ordinary man—and the vast change effects in being apostles, characters, and methods of action. We must consider the main modern explanations.

(1) Visions, subjective or objective, or telepathic impulses are really inadequate to account for the story. Experiences have never produced such a result, and they could not have given rise to the story of the Resurrection or of the empty tomb, or have so changed the discples. A phantom would only have made them afraid. 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 could such alleged communications from such a spirit have so alarmed 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 believe in a resurrection of the Christ, then it was really that of a Risen Christ, this is in effect to make them the most credulous and untrustworthy of men—which no one really believes of them.

(2) Huxley explained the story by the theory which would derive the story from myths and cults of slain and risen gods. It is claiming too much to assert that the apostles were influenced by those, supposing they knew of them, which is unlikely. Was there: any such myth as the possibility of every died and risen again on earth? The revival even of Osiris took place in the Other-world. No such myth had ever been applied to the history of any man, as the theory supposes, as does to that of Jesus. Such myths were sensuous, and had sprung out of nature-cults. How could they originate a whole new world of ethical and spiritual ideas? The theory produces the greater out of the less with vectors and accords with every shred of historical evidence, while it has never explained why Christianity supplanted such myths and cults as it is alleged to have sprung from.

On neither theory is the Resurrection or its vast results explainable, and each postulates a miracle as great as the miracle of the Resurrection itself. The change involved in the Resurrection is beyond our ken; yet there was a change, not merely the resurrection of a dead body. We know too little of the laws of human change ever to prove a real resurrection, or that there is no law of resurrection of whose working Christ's resurrection is the first instance. The new theories of matter seem to make the change conceivable, if the 'basis' or 'substance' of matter is a constant matter of change and 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 forces, and to these theories be true, might not Christ's body be resolvable without corruption into the ultimate constituents of matter and then re-formed as a new etherial body, since ether is sub-material, the indwelling person or evidence of the fullness of the material body, yet not subject to the limitations of such a body? At all events these new theories lessen the difficulties in the way of accepting the Resurrection.

(e) The Ascension was probably a final vanishing (Lk 24:33), from the sight of the apostles, interpreted conventionally and symbolically as ascension, and, as far as the vision of angels is concerned, objectively. Heaven being regarded as a place above, this was inevitable, and was in keeping with the symbolism of up and down, high and low. Christ vanished out of space conditions into a higher state, and this is the essential truth behind the descriptions, while it is the natural corollary of the Resurrection.

8. Miracle in the Apostolic Age.—The miraculous powers included in the apostolic commission may have received additions—e.g., raising the dead (Mt 10:8); Mk 16:17. Probably is an addition mingling the authority with the record in Acts and this passage in Luke. Certain it is that some miraculous power was transmitted to the apostles or made accessible by their ministry. In Acts we see it in work. Faith on the part of the recipients of cure is also clearly in evidence, sometimes of a superstitious kind (5:12) perhaps resulting in cures by auto-suggestion. St. Paul in his letters never speaks of these powers of healing and refers to them (Ro 15:19; 1 Co 12:3, Gal 3:5). They are regarded as credentials of the apostolic mission—perhaps not a sound theory. Those who believed because they saw signs and wonders had the highest worth.
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 means of which he acquired a reputation in a material world. Such an impression 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 phantasmal appearances. As to speaking with tongues, the phenomenon is no more than an ecstatic utterance, and it is one which is apt to be degraded.

The kindred phenomena of trance-utterance and inspirational address studied in our day have little value. Whatever might be the value of the tongues 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 conscience or friendly interposition interpreted as divine aid. Yet, as wonders of being exist, they might so intervene, and might have power over matter.

The real question is one of adequacy to the occasion, and we find no such intervention in the case of James (Ac 12).

St. Paul's experience on the way to Damascus is really similar to that of the Resurrection appearances, though there is more splendour, so that he is blind for a season. If these appearances are accepted, St. Paul's vision at once falls into place, even if the accounts vary. That he himself should cause blindness is perhaps more wonderful than that he should heal. Did his words cause a temporary auto-suggestion of blindness to Elymas? The incident of the viper (28:5-6), 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 death, 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 debated. Some account them up to the 3d, 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. 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 far more amazing and numerous than those of Christ. They were wrought not only on the sick or the dead, but on nature. Miracles of the last class are of a most stupendous character, incredible on the face of them and quite beyond all adequacy to the occasion. The age was doubtless one of considerable credulity, when miracles had to the full share of a place in the Church, and 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 his history is rhetorical and for the most part de dilito of truth. In some cases, again, natural

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 adored the popular lives of the saints. That was 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 far more amazing and numerous than those of Christ. They were wrought not only on the sick or the dead, but on nature. Miracles of the last class are of a most stupendous character, incredible on the face of them and quite beyond all adequacy to the occasion. The age was doubtless one of considerable credulity, when miracles had to the full share of a place in the Church, and 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 his history is rhetorical and for the most part de dilito of truth. In some cases, again, natural
The folk expected miracles, and miracles were freely provided for them. Many of the miracle stories are repeated in hospitals. Lives of saints or other biographical or biographical-plagiarized from another, and later Lives are often more full of miracles than the earlier Lives of the same saint. Biblical miracles were freely imitated; only in any given case they were more or less confused. Other miracles belong to a floating tradition, and repeat those already found in ethnic sources or in classical writings. Some are versions of folk-tale incidents. Frequently the quite ordinary or the particular may be traced into the general, as with Lancashire faith-healing, hypnotism, or suggestion.

Of prolonged Christian memory, perhaps the Baring-Gould, J. R. E. B. Baring-Gould, is not the only authority that can be quoted. He has said to her about these. The number of pilgrims amounts to some 6,000,000 yearly, but no more than 2 per cent of the cases are regarded as genuine. The reason for this is an almost instantaneous nature.

Christian Science is associated with a theory of the unreality of matter and of pain. Disease is the result of false thinking. The Divine Spirit heals by casting out "mortal-mind."

All these various methods of healing are traced to the spiritual value in the creed or theory or practice with which they are associated. Yet some of them flatly contradict each other. They are rather means by which a cure is mediated, quite apart from the truth or value of that which it suggests. A key to the problem is perhaps the medical theory of healing, which may be traced to suggestion. This is probably the main factor behind the cures effected by these various methods. It is the power of the unconscious as well as the suggestions which may be directed to the body, when once an idea has been accepted. Existing beliefs are strengthened; new hopes are initiated; fears and inhibitions are removed; and the psychological processes by which such conditions are removed begin to be noticed.

Thus in all the various methods the differences are subjective rather than objective, differences in the mind of the sufferers, rather than in any scientific evidence as to the nature of the healing agency. Susceptibility is concerned in the outcome; however, whether any other exterior force works in connection with the vital healing force inherent in the organism, and in motion by suggestion. If so, we should be in presence of the miraculous.

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 at all times, with the healing suggestion or as an answer to prayer, an influence from outside, 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 have already said. If all life is dependent for its energy on some all-enveloping Life. It might not be regarded as miraculous or supernatural, for, if miracle is part of the process of the universe, in a sense it is natural. But in so far as the result confirms clearly to processes outside our ken, to the power of a divine person thus making Himself

1 A. R. Wallace, Miracles and Modern Spiritualism; see 14.
2 Dr. Hume, "Miracles," Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects, ii. 198, ed. Green and Gros, ii. 58; B. Pascal, Querelle complote, Paris, 1558, ii. 143.
4 B. L. G. Edie, Science and Health, Boston, 1897, p. 16.
6 Myers, l. c. 213.
7 It is accepted by medical science: see British Medical Journal, Supplement, July 15, 1914, p. 211.
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known, the current of whose energy is entering our life for a particular purpose, this is a sign, or miracle. The spirit has left the soul: giving forces which swept before them, and overwhelmed disease, whose very mind more than menced, it has added a divine source, and it has added the unconscious mind. That this has never taken place cannot be affirmed, though a leader of the movement for applying the spiritual powers of the Church to diseases. In connection 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 therapies, our Lord’s healing methods were never uncertain. He always foretold, the disease which was healed, whether His own or acting through Him as a perfect channel, unacceptable to disease. This is seen by His words, “I will, be thou clean.” The result was swift and certain cure. The Church as healer differs in degree only from all media of occasional cures. That He cannot effect such cures where perfect faith exists is not credible.5

13. Hostile criticism of miracles. — Though the Science has probably refuted 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.4

Spinoza’s view is mechanical and takes no account of the intervention of existing laws,” their interference with each other without violating the order of nature. This may also be true of miracles as 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 miracle, 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 that miracle was a kind of treason to Him. Hence the Gospel miracles were explained away or allegorized. Miracle was a possibility, but it never occurred. This was also the position of Thomas Huxley, but he did not put it so. The miracles primary, when 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 adjuncts of religious enthusiasm. A miracle could never be proved so as to become the foundation of a system of religion.5

Huxley criticizes Hume’s argument on the ground that every change of situation in nature and proof to the contrary is impossible. Called ‘our often verified experience a law of nature adding nothing to its value,’ since we cannot affirm that the experience will be verified again. Any seeming violation 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 in the context for it must be completed. It may be added that Hume’s experience is such as he only would admit. His own criterion of evidence, even when sickness and divine, whose mind more than mind cure; faith has tapped a divine source, and it has added the unconscious mind. That this has never taken place cannot be affirmed, though a leader of the movement for applying the spiritual powers of the Church to diseases. In connection 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 therapies, our Lord’s healing methods were never uncertain. He always foretold, the disease which was healed, whether His own or acting through Him as a perfect channel, unacceptable to disease. This is seen by His words, “I will, be thou clean.” The result was swift and certain cure. The Church as healer differs in degree only from all media of occasional cures. That He cannot effect such cures where perfect faith exists is not credible.5

2 Cf. ii, 125, 151 with p. 435.
3 For de Jesus, Paris, 1853, ch. xvii.
4 Literature and Doctrm, p. 120 ff. Works, London, 1858, vol.
6 “On the sources of Hume’s argument see J. H. Burton, Life and Correspondence of D. Hume, Edinburgh, 1845, i. 57.
7 Stuart, History, ib. ch. xi, Eng. 18. The Healing of Christ in His Church, md., and The Healer, passing.
10 For the sources of Hume’s argument see J. H. Burton, Life and Correspondence of D. Hume, Edinburgh, 1845, i. 57.
events' happening, would widen its view of nature. All that would thus be shown would be that all events, no matter how long or short, are not to be incomplete. There would be no necessary divine power behind such a wonderful event. But, while science might investigate any 'wonderful event,' it has no need of so large a field as this. Christianity regards all events as expressions of divine will, direct or indirect, and such as are miracles are more striking evidence of the fact that nature to some extent, but because their appeal to what is ethical or spiritual in us. They witness to the supremacy of spirit over matter (§ 15).

On the whole, the scientific attitude to miracle is less hostile now than it once was. Many scientific men are also religious men, and the new vistas open to science have made a spiritual interpretation of the universe more possible.

14. The Agnostics—The Agnostics 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 Patrists pointed out, those who through sin could not see God in His works. Origen pointed out that Christ's miracles were not done for show, like a juggler's wonders, and that, unlike a juggler, He demanded a new way of life. Thomas Aquinas, maintained that what He appeared 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 miracle—Christ's will is the ultimate source of all things, and nothing can be contra naturam which happens by God's will. Everything is natural, 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 uniformity, forestalling the ideas of science, but not on experimental grounds. There is a higher and a lower order of nature, the former at once nature, uncreated, the latter the ideal plan. In it are causales rationes et praeordinales 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 ovo secundarum causarum which is subject to Him. Miracles are praetor hanc ordinem—the order known to us—but not contra naturam. Again, as we have said, uncreated things can be change by 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 genuine miracles, as by a juggler, and again, as when 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 the same effect on nature, however external or unusual they may be. These laws are unknown to us. There may be beings to whom the miraculous is as natural as ordinary nature is to us. Butler was arguing against the Deists, but he sometimes forestalls Huene's objections, as when he says that miracles may be compared 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 Huene when he argues that such fraudulent miracles do not disprove those of Christianity, but he is on less sure ground when he says that Christianity offered and won, is not to be incomplete. There would be no necessary divine power behind such a wonderful event. But, while science might investigate any 'wonderful event,' he has no need of such a field as this. Christianity regards all events as expressions of divine will, direct or indirect, and such as are miracles are more striking evidence of the fact that nature to some extent, but because their appeal to what is ethical or spiritual in us. They witness to the supremacy of spirit over matter (§ 15).

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In opposition to German rationalism Schleiermacher, in his Der christliche Glaube (Amsterdam, 1820-31), maintained that nature is the activity 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 wills it. Christ had a supernatural origin and, as such, was not a moral miracle. Yet the Virgin-birth, Resurrection, and Ascension were set aside along with many of the miracles, though some were admitted, since God has complete power over nature. Our belief in Christ, according to him, does not depend on miracles. Thus, though Schleiermacher still opposes certain miracles, he offers a constructive theory of miracle. Later A. Ritschl refused to regard miracles as contrary to nature, but he regarded them as examples of Providence. A. Kaftan 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 setting aside laws of nature. The general law of the universe of its internal connexion with the inner states of things, can alter these and so modify the result of the laws. Law is thus turned to account. Even if there be mechanical necessity, this change in the internal state of particular result will produce an external miraculous phenomenon. The elements of the universe are not 'selfless and void points of attachment for unalterable forces,' but living parts of the living One. No law is altered when miracle occurs, but the hearts of the forces obedient to these laws are altered. The conditioning cause of miracles is in God and nature both, hence there is no arbitrariness in miracles. Yet Lotze sets aside Christ's miracles, partly he was before the change in man's conceptions of nature has made them dubious. 1

On the whole, modern theology tends to regard the universe as plastic to God and miracles as the evidence of his action, as well as of the existence of nature not producible by nature itself. Such a view is elaborated by H. Bushnell. 2 Again, as by

1 Eight Lectures on Miracles. Miracles, far from being a decisive proof of revelation, have now themselves to be proved!
3 Microcosmos, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1865, i. 404 ff., ii. 476 ff.
5
MIRACLES

J. E. Illingworth, divine immutance 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, and 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 remain at will a sinless soul.¹ The suprenacy to an extraordinary degree of spiritual force over the mere material is also emphasized by A. C. Headlam in his recent book on miracles.²

Proponents of a mechanical view A. Wallace argues for miracles on the ground that intelligent beings, unperceived by us, have power over matter, producing super-normal 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.³

15. The question of the miraculous.—Miracles are certainly frequent events, breaking upon us in a fixed order of nature. Both they and that order are evidences of divine will. The more the nature of the universe is revealed to us, the more impossible is it to believe that it all merely happened, if 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. If there is an infinite number of ultimate elements that are precisely, or in any form, it is more 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 should not be denied to a supreme will and source of order, 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-sufficing 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 the universe is not a mechanical nature, which, modifying St. Augustine's formula, a known and unknown, may be regarded as one of which we do not know everything. As to the 'laws of the universe,' all that this means is governance of the universe by the law of law. If things are 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 however one is guided 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-natural 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 purpose and beneficent it reveals a law of love, a universe governed all through according to law by a competent and good will. A miracle would thus be beneficent and intelligent control and guidance of existing forces in accordance with law by a supreme spiritual power. This is the miracles of Christ. They were natural actions to Him, either because of what He was or because He was in perfect harmony with that supreme spiritual power.

It is easy to hold a wrong idea of the uniformity of nature or, rather, its unity, to adopt Illingworth's dictum. Theology has been apt to insist upon miracle as a sort of catastrophic gap in an existing uniformity. Science has tended to forget the possibility or, rather, the fact of endless variety in that uniformity. Such variety is only the more in evidence with the new discoveries of science, which now postulates either an energy as the only physical reality or a sub-material basis of matter with a physical significance. But from that, how endless is the diversity even in a uniform nature, not even two blades of grass precisely the same! Nor is life explainable in terms of mechanical uniformity. It uses and controls matter and energy, and may exist apart from them. Unity, with endless variety, is a better description of the universe than mere mechanical uniformity. In the interaction of the forces of the universe a slight increase of one force will produce a different result. And, if the forces, the interaction, the result, are guided and controlled, this would not detract from, but only augment, the theory of science that this is an orderly universe. Such guidance and control are not occasional but continuous, for if there is a God outside the universe, interfering with it on occasion, He always does what is best for it, and all that the universe contains—not merely its physical contents—is utilized for definite ends. Thus, if a slight increase of one force in any combination of forces—a re-arrangement of forces—will produce a different result from what is generally produced, miracle becomes possible. The result would show more definitively will and benevolence in the guiding process. Science might reproduce this result, might even conceivably reproduce it. Could it explain the process? Could it tell how Christ could do such things in a pre-scientific age? There must have been some influence working with Him or in Him to produce such purposeful, intelligent results. Science might create life, say, out of certain chemical combinations of dead matter. But could it explain why precisely that combination, that arrangement of forces or conditions, produced life of the order of life? The result, might, ethereal, be built into the universe. The setting in motion of certain forces already possessing the potency of life. Why or how they possessed this would remain unexplained.

As there are physical so there are moral and spiritual facts, not explainable in terms of the former, though they interpenetrate. Miracles, as such, are not isolated physical phenomena or prodigies. They are not unrelated to any moral or spiritual sequence. They have a moral and spiritual purpose, a clear relation to surrounding circumstances. Unlike the vast majority of ethnic miracles, Christ's miracles have that moral and spiritual quality which differentiates them from physical prodigies. They are distinct revelations of God or of God's nature in relation to the universe and man. As in a less degree in all His miracles, so in a higher degree in the Resurrection, there is a union of spiritual and physical, such as is seen also wherever mind and physical control matter and energy. Matter is here completely controlled, spiritualized, and such an event could scarcely ever has been imagined or invented. All miracles imagined or invented would have been little else than wonders which what we find the miracles of Christ. They were natural actions

² The Miracles of the NT.
³ Miracles and Modern Spiritualism.

system of the universe as a whole. So again many alleged supernormal phenomena, are not miracles; they do not show a direct moral, purposive action on the part of a divine spirit, but reveal unexpected and unexplained human powers. If God directs the whole universe, miracles are in no sense a rectifying of His own mistakes. They are instances of the overcoming of evil and disorder in the universe. Without these, evil 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 they clearly show God's purpose, more clearly perhaps than the more quietly-working process. They show, as Lotze says, that God is so related to matter that it cannot resist Him at all. So Christ's healing miracles show that spirit and will are superior to the causes which produce disease. This 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 unchangeable nature of radium might have been regarded as an unalterable law; yet the lapse of time (it takes 2300 years for one half of radium to decay) shows that this 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 physical order 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 wine as natural as the slower growth of the vine. In either case there is a quickening of a natural process, and yet it is one that quicker may be perfectly normal. Does this take away the miraculous from the way 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 divinity and goodness. Man's spiritual vision is clouded, and he does not always see in the ordinary event, nor is that always the fullest revelation of God. All things speak of God, but some speak more clearly. Yet these are by no means all, they do not occur on all occasions, nor do they contradict the fundamental laws of experience. The reign of law is not set aside, for the ways in which miracle is brought about are 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 genius; 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 possess divine power, and He said 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 overlapped, as it were, from Him upon nature. Such cases are perfect examples of the control of the material by the spiritual, and they prove that all force, all guidance, are in the last resort spiritual. Yet the real reason for following Him was Himself, not His signs. 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 lawlessness 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 and where 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 changed into the supernatural, or rather this is the power of will. When walking on the sea Christ must have exerted a power which witnessed to some law quite as much as the law which for the moment it displaced. When water was changed into wine, was this 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 account for the fragments that remained. We cannot transfer to its limited vision that which, according to our limited vision, need not detract from its miraculous aspect. Those most concerned to show 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 acts which are supernatural, but of a constant supranatural influence 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 surpass theirs.

Apart from the supernatural guidance of the universe, divine will may work through normal or supernatural actions, or may act directly in specific cases, for what are to us miraculous purposes. Speaking is a normal action, but what man speaks under the guidance of the Spirit there is inspiration. Healing by suggestion is supernatural, but, if the suggestion is aided by spiritual influences, there is a miraculous cure. 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 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 in God's power working through Him never faltered. He intimates that, if men had faith enough, they could do even greater works.

Have we yet so profound an insight into the 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. If miracle is a special instance of divine control, then 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 to produce these. 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 to produce a new result. Human nature is limited 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! Since man and man's actions and thoughts, hence also his prayers, are a part of the forces of the universe, when we do not pray, the result, even in
MIRACLE-PLAYS, MYSTERIES, MORALITIES. —I. Introduction. —As was indicated in the introduction to the art, DRAMA, the origin of the medieval drama, as such, is to be found in religious observances. It is true that from the earliest reigns of Norman kings in England secular pageants were common features of any day of special rejoicing; but these were not strictly dramatic in their nature, and they did not 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 Churches; the most striking fact in the history of the medieval drama is its evolution from the simplest germs in the responses of the liturgy into an elaborate new form without the influence of either antecedent or contemporary dramatic material. Though many steps and many dates in the history of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are still to be covered, and their due place to be assigned to many influences, it is possible to write a clear history of the drama in the Middle Ages from its origin in the antipodal tropes of the liturgy to its final expression in the great Passion-plays, 'Mystères,' and 'Miracle-cycles.'

The probability of some survival of classical influence in the medieval drama has led some writers to trace an all-will that plan of accomplishment when man's will is at one with God's will. It is His will that we pray, and every answer to prayer, as a direct manifestation of His will, is so far miraculous, and yet, like all miracle, quite natural, or else none at all. The modern will happen in the universe; therefore I foresee whether we shall pray, and whether any particular prayer will be answered in one way or another. If the occurrence of certain things in God's plan depends on prayer, then we must pray. Are we then not free? Still we have the feeling of acting as free agents, and feeling is perhaps here truer than reason.

LITERATURE.—The following works for the most part deal exclusively with miracles. For others, patristic, scholastic, and medieval, see the H. O. A. P. Bruce, J. T. Strong, C. N. Sutis, and Introduction. Dearmer, the Church, and Parsons. T. G. Bonney, The Present Relations of Science and Religion, London, 1901; A. B. Bruce, The Miracle as an Element in the Gospel, d. 1880; G. Campbell, Dissertation on Miracles, Edinburgh, 1828; C. G. Clarke, art. 'Miracles,' D. B., 1890; W. E. H. Lecky, History of Rationalism, London, 1895; J. J. Lias, Are Miracles Credible? d. 1891; Oliver Lodge, Man and the Universe, d. 1906; S. MacBie, E. Weihe, and H. Coulet, Religion and Medicine, 1898; C. Monod, 'Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Phenomena supposed to have occurred in the Christian Church,' Miscellanea Works, d. 1755; J. B. Mozley, Eight Lectures on Miracles, d. 1865; J. H. Newman, Two Essays on Biblical and on Ecclesiastical Miracles, d. 1872; H. Langhorne Orchard, The Attitude of Science towards Miracles, d. 1900; Blaise Pascal, Pensées, Questions sur les Miracles, Dijon, Paris, 1739; O. Pfeiderer, The Early Christian Conception of Christ, Eng. tr., London, 1905; R. Reckzenstein, Heilige Wundererzählungen, Leipzig, 1896; C. A. Row, The Supernatural in the NT, London, 1878; P. Saintyves, Le Discours du miracle, Paris, 1899; W. Scharer, Bishop Görres's Challenge to Criticism, London, 1900; T. B. Strong, The Miraculous in Gospel and Creeds, d. 1914; M. S. Swartz, The Truth and Error of Christian Science, d. 1903; F. Tenney, The Religion and Science, d. 1901; J. M. Thompson, Miracles in the NT, d. 1905; H. W. Underhill, The History of Philosophy, Cambridge, 1907; H. W. Allen, Die Kirche, Götha, 1911; R. C. Truech, Notes on the Miracles of our Lord, London, 1847; A. R. Wallace, Miracles and Modern Science, d. 1898; O. Weiser, Achte Beiträge, Halle, 1896; J. Wundt, Miracles and Christianity, tr. H. R. Mackintosh, London, 1911; J. A. MacCollough, MIRACLE-PLAYS, MYSTERIES, MORALITIES. —II. The liturgical drama. —The antithesis of 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 began to take form in the tropes, or interpolations in the liturgical text for certain feast-days. The most important from the standpoint of dramatic history were the tropes of the Easter Mass, the earliest mass produced, which is the 'Quem queritis.' This, 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 Medieval Language Society, q. v. Dearmer, May 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 dramatic forms, such as the passion plays, grew into the great Passion-plays and Miracle-cycles.

This earliest form is: —

'Interrogatio.

Quem queritis in sepulchro, Christo dicete?—

Beati sunt qui in sepulchro.

Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o christo.

Non est hic, surrexit ex sepulchro;

ita, sustine me qui surrexit de sepulchro.'

Resurrexit.'

The last word, 'Resurrexi,' is the first word of the Easter introit of the Greek, is to be found in popular additions from the Vulgate, but more often by 'free composition,' and by the development of a dramatic setting (the 'sepulchrum') and truly dramatic personalities (the three Marys, the angel at the tomb, etc.), this trope grew into a well-developed though brief liturgical play (JS Brescia, 15th cent., quoted by Young), and attained a much larger development as a 'Visitatio sepulchri' at the end of the Easter masses. The altar served as the setting for the 'Quem queritis' plays, as was natural, for it symbolized the tomb of Christ (Young, p. 45). This made easy the transition to the use of the 'Quem queritis' as part of the 'Sepulchrum' ceremony at Eastern Easter; and these altars were still to be the model of the 'Auloratio crucis' and 'Deposito crucis' on Good Friday; the ceremonies were symbolical of the burial and resurrection of Christ. This second
and dramatically more fruitful use of the 'Quem queritis' grew by textual additions, such as the sequence 'Victime 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 (e.g., the visit of the 'septulmentarius,' 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 queritis,' 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 ' Tollete 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 queritis' proper. This matter will be considered in speaking of the Passion-play.

But 'Quem queritis' was not the only drama of Easter-week. The 'Peregrini,' attached to the vespres 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, i. 67; Chambers, ii. 37). 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 new version of the 'Quem queritis,' the 'Peregrini,' and the Easter morning ceremony of the ' Elevatio crucis."

Parallel with the plays of the Resurrection, other liturgical plays developed as parts of the office of other feasts. The Christmas season was the most productive; but there were plays for Epiphany and certain saints' days, particularly that of St. Nicholas. Though evidence of their existence has been found, the plays for many occasions have entirely disappeared. A Christmas drama, the 'Pastores,' commemorating the visit of the shepherds, grew out of a Christmas introit-trophe, modelled on the Easter ' Quem queritis.' It begins with the Miserere: ' Quem queritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite;' and is a pure liturgical 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 BAMEINO), and for its influence on the more fruitful dramatic forms into which it was absorbed. The essence of the play is the visit of the shepherds, a crib with images of the Virgin and Child, the announcement of the birth of Christ by a boy in similitude angeli, the singing of the ' Gloria in excelsis ' by the angels and a hymn by the shepherds, a dialogue between the shepherds and two priests ' quasi obstetres,' 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 Christ, the offering of the gifts, and the warning to the Magi (Creuzenach, Geschichte des neuen Dramas, i. 60; Chambers, ii. 45; Petit de Julleville, i. 51: texts in du Meril, Origines latines, and in Coussemaker, Drama literarique). The simplest and probably the earliest examples are from Rouen and Limoges. This form of liturgical play developed early. Dates are uncertain, but MSS of the late 11th cent. have the play in a well-developed form. As the Easter 'Quem queritis' centred about the ' Sepulchrum,' and that of Christmas about the ' Presepe,' the 'Stella' had as its starting-point the star. A gift star, the points sometimes holding candles, was lowered from a hole in the ceiling or held up by an assistant. Unlike the 'Sepulchrum,' it was sometimes partly from dumb show, and the simpler forms continued parallel with the expanded forms and outlived them.

The dozen or so complete extant versions of the play vary considerably. The drama developed by the representation, in action instead of narrative, of the visit to Jerusalem, by the addition of various scenes in which Herod plays a part, as, e.g., his anger at the escape of the Magi and his order for the massacre of the innocents, a representation of the massacre, and finally the lament of Rachel, which had received independent dramatic treatment. As Chambers puts it, 'the absorption of the motives proper to other feasts of the Twelve Nights into the Epiphany play has clearly begun' (ii. 48). This absorption was to result in certain larger and more complex plays made up by the joining of the 'Pastores,' the 'Stella,' and the 'Rachel.' It was the result of this fusion and of the expansion of certain parts that the 'Stella' is of 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 any of the forms thus far considered was the 'Prophetes,' which had a curious origin, and was studied by a devotional play of the 'Quem queritis,' 'Les Prophetes du Christ,' It was based on the apocryphal Sermon contra Judaeos attributed in the Middle Ages to St. Augustine, but really of later origin, and used in many churches as a lesson in the Christmas offices. In this passage so impregnable, the author is told of the presence of thirteen witnesses to the divine mission of Christ and calls upon them to predict His coming. The prophets invoked are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Moses, David, Habakkuk, Simeon, Zacharias, Elisabeth, John the Baptist, Vergil, Nebuchadrezzar, and the Sibyl. The dramatic growth of this sermon had certainly begun by the 11th century. In the earliest forms the play follows the sermon closely, but is written in verse. Classical language and certain prophetic form of are not found. In later examples from Laon and Rouen the dialogue is expanded, the 'preceptor' is replaced by two 'appellatores' or 'vocatores,' and Balaam is added an entire dramatic form into which it was absorbed. The essence of the play is the visit of the shepherds, a crib with images of the Virgin and Child, the announcement of the birth of Christ by a boy in similitude angeli, the singing of the ' Gloria in excelsis ' by the angels and a hymn by the shepherds, a dialogue between the shepherds and two priests ' quasi obstetres,' 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 of the infant Christ, the offering of the gifts, and the warning to the Magi (Creuzenach, Geschichte des neuen Dramas, i. 60; Chambers, ii. 45; Petit de Julleville, i. 51: texts in du Meril, Origines latines, and in Coussemaker, Drama literarique). The simplest and probably the earliest examples are from Rouen and Limoges. This form of liturgical play developed early. Dates are uncertain, but MSS of the late 11th cent. have the play in a well-developed form. As the Easter 'Quem queritis' centred about the ' Sepulchrum,' and that of Christmas about the ' Presepe,' the 'Stella' had as its starting-point the star. A gift star, the points sometimes holding candles, was lowered from a hole in the ceiling or held up by an assistant. Unlike the 'Sepulchrum,' it was sometimes partly from dumb show, and the simpler forms continued parallel with the expanded forms and outlived them.

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 prophet, the 'Stella' dress (described in the rubrics), Balaam's ass. This was a beginning of the complexity that was to characterize the great Miracles.

This complexity and the fusion alluded to above may be seen in a Latin play preserved in a 12th cent. MS (Royal Library, Munich; text in du Meril). It is a combination of most of the Christmas dramatic forms. St. Augustine sits with the
prophets at his right, the chief of the synagogue and the Jews at his left. The prophets foretell the Messiah; the head of the synagogue is angered at their blasphemies. A new character, the 'bishop of the church' enters. The question of the head of the synagogue at his right, and the head of the church at his left, should be questioned. The Rabbi in the church, the Pharaon, questions the head of the synagogue. The argument is taken up by the choirs of prophets and Jews, the one singing 'Rex miranda,' the other 'Rex neganda.' So far the play is an expanded 'Prophetes,' still mostly liturgical in feeling and form. The prophets take their places in the church, and a play of the Apocalypse begins abruptly. The Scriptural dialogue between the Virgin and the angel is followed by the visit of Elisabeth. The next direction is that Mary 'vadat in lectum suum... et parit filium.' The choir celebrates, and immediately the 'Stella' begins. A star shines forth, the three kings follow it, and appear before Herod; an angel announces the coming of Christ to the shepherds (the 'Pastores' element). The devil hints that the angel has delayed; they enter, but they dance to the chanting of '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 kings to search for the innocent children in their lost children (the 'Rachel' element); Herod falls dead, and is seized by demons. An angel announces Joseph into Egypt. The king of Egypt advances, accompanied by a choir singing 'sce topogato.' The Holy Family the idols fall, and the priests, unable to restore them, are converted. Finally the choir chants a maladiction 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 'episcopus puero rum'), and that more likely it was given in a monastery school.

As this play well represents the form attained by the liturgical drama through the combination of types and free composition, certain plays found on the stories of Daniel and Lazarus represent another development—the expansion of single scenes in the older plays into independent dramas. The 'Adam' (text in Latin, 1st liturgical, partly 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, Histoire de la Liturgie en France, in du Ménil). 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; Darius 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 Danielis,' 'conductus regum,' etc. The chant to Daniel (also in the similar play from Beauvais) is a hymn in honour of the birth of Christ. This, as well as the rubrics, indicates the connexion of the play with the liturgy; but the note at the end, 'This done, if the play has been given at matins, let Daniel sing the Te Deum, if at vespers the Magnificat,' indicates that it was not a regular part of the office. In this partial detachment from the liturgy 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 'Prophetes,' in the freer and more poetical composition of many of the later liturgical plays, in their comparatively independent and allegorical treatment of the church plays, are emphasized by the gradual change in the language, spirit, and setting of the plays, as they progressed towards that final and almost complete secularization which should take them out of the Church and put them at the disposal of all, and make them great popular spectacles rather than expessions of Christian faith. The degrees of popularization were innumerable. In the 15th cent., even when the purpose was edification, whole scenes were often frankly secular. This part is brief.

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 in a literal Latin or a dreamy French in another. One of the earliest cases of the two languages used together is the 'Sponsus,' a 12th cent. play of the wise and foolish virgins from Limoges (text in Romanus, xxii. [1583]; du Ménil). Here a comic character in the play speaks in French, the angel who announces the coming of the bridegroom sings only French, the virgins both languages. The refrains are in French. The final words in which Christ condemns the foolish virgins are first Lyra, then in French, ending thus, perhaps to make the lesson clear and impressive to the congregation:

'Amen dico
Vos ignoro,
Nam caritis unione;
Quasi qui portans [MS permutat] Pretiosi pergunt.
Vobis aulae minime,
Alet, chaitv e. alet, malabresens!
A tot jors mais vos penas terreus;
En efert ora mere memores.'

Occasionally, as in the 'St. Nicholas' 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,' 'Juliette,' 'Christometheie du Pape d'Anjou,' 'Touris,' 1584; K. Bartsch, Chrestomathie du Piancinque
françois, Leipzig, 1889), and in many German plays. Latin and the vernacular were even mingled in the lines, as in the Beauvais 'Daniel' (text in Consameker, n. o.).

'Vir prophytae Dei, Daniel, vici al Rot;
Veni, desiderat pastor tuae coloni,' etc.

Some later dramas are wholly in the vernacular, except for refrains or certain impression passages.

In France particularly the development of the drama was marked by the adoption of a more varied versification. 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 stanzas differ in the number of lines and in metre; the lines are syllabic, but vary in length from four syllables to ten (Petit de Julleville, i. 2). Duets in hexameters also are used, sometimes leonine, as in the lament of Rachel in the Fleury 'Interfecto puero rum' (cf. Petit de Julleville, i. 49; text in du Ménil; MS in Orleans Library):

"O dolor! O patrum mutataque gaudia naturam!"

Occasionally lines are quoted or imitated from the classics: e.g.,

"Quae rerum novitas aut quae vos causa subigit
Ignatas templarum vas? Quo tenditis ergo?"

"Quem venit? Unde ducit? Parsimoniae fortis, armae!"

(cf. En. xii. 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 finds two original secular poems in praise of spring, bidden with pagan allusions and with no liturgical or Biblical connotation. The introduction of the comic element and of the melodramatic in the passages relating to Helen and Heracles, may, in the secular influence, one that was to lead to some of the most striking and unfortunate developments of the great Mysteries and even of the Passion-plays of the 15th century. We must not make the mistake of regarding all liturgical and liturgical in a naive and simple taste for such things; as Petit de Julleville points out, even in plays as early as those of Hilarians a conscious vulgization has begun, a conscious appeal to an audience rather than to a congregation, and the author's intention is even satirical.

The secular tendency which perhaps had most to do with the final almost complete secularization of the medieval drama was the elaboration of the setting required by the constantly increasing length and complexity of the plays; for this development brought about the transference of the plays to the open (first the churchyard or square in the town, then the whole 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 'presepe,' the two almost identical parts, the lack of appropriate costume, the 'Quem queritis' to the varied setting, the many characters, the costumes of the 'Conversionis Pauli' (Pett de Julleville, i. 69; text from Fleury MS, mentioned above, in du Méril, and in Consemel, ii. no. 52, with 3 plays of St John, Judas, etc., its 2 scenes, Jerusalem and Damascus, its armed men, and its 'lectus' for Ananias, or the Munich 'Prophetes' described above, with its 'sedes' for the prophets, its 'lectus' for the Virgin, its shining star, its mouth of hell, its many characters. Henceforth the change in setting was one of degree rather than of kind; the elaboration merely followed the increasing complexity of the plays as they added one incident after another. Within the church, the crucifixion, the altar, the 'sepulchrum,' the rood-loft (representing heaven), and the crypt furnished the chief accessories of the play. To these, which were in the sanctuary and choir, were probably added in the 14th century, and later, the 'spaiulchrum' or 'presepe,' the rude, mud and brick 'stalls' or 'loci' extending down the nave. This natural arrangement was apparently followed when the drama left the church, as in the 12th cent. Norman 'Resurrection.' Chambers (ii. 83) suggests such an arrangement of the 'ius,' 'mansiones,' and 'estalls' required by the prologue, following the analogy of a Donauschlingen Passion-play of the 16th cent., the plan of which is extant (given in Froning, Die Drama des Middlesalters, p. 277). The prologue gives the order of the required sets: the crucifix, the monument (sepulchrum), the gaol, heaven, hell, Emmaus, Galilee, and six 'estalls' or 'sedes.' The only other extant French religious play of the same form, the 'Adam' in Rennes, the first act of 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 garments and voice of the actors.

For instance: 'Let there be built a paradise in a higher place; around it let there be depictions of silk. . . . There shall be sweet flowers and foliage; various trees from which shall hang fruits. . . . Then the savour shall arise; clothed in a dalmatic; before him shall be placed Adam and Eve, Adam in a red tunic, Eve in a woman's white robe and a veil of white silk' (Chambers, ii. 80).

The rubrics mention not only the costumes for the two characters, and the localities—paradise, hell, a cultivated field—but also 'properties'—a spade, a rake, original secular poems in praise of spring, bidden with pagan allusions and with no liturgical or Biblical connotation. The introduction of the comic element and of the melodramatic in the passages relating to Helen and Heracles, may, in the secular influence, one that was to lead to some of the most striking and unfortunate developments of the great Mysteries and even of the Passion-plays of the 15th century. We must not make the mistake of regarding all liturgical and liturgical in a naive and simple taste for such things; as Petit de Julleville points out, even in plays as early as those of Hilarians a conscious vulgization has begun, a conscious appeal to an audience rather than to a congregation, and the author's intention is even satirical.

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In 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 drama 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 tropers dating probably from about 978 (text in W. H. Collier, The Winchester Tropers, p. 965). This is not nearly so simple as the St. Gall 'Quem queritis' mentioned above. More interesting is the very full account of the 'Quem queritis' ceremony in Bishop Ethelwold of Winchester's Concordia regularis, which probably dates from 988 to 975 (Chambers, ii. 14, 306; text in Anglia, xii. (1891) 365). This includes a simple trope not much more elaborate than the St. Gall one. Of it, however, Chambers (i. 10) says:

'The liberal scita' 'sades' from concordia regularis makes plain the change which has come about in the "Quem queritis," since it was first sung by alternating host choirs as an inter-trope. Dialogues chant 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 cent. 'Quem queritis' from Dublin. But church inventories, account-books, and statutes indicate the existence of the 'Pastores,' Perigrini, 'Resurrection,' 'Stellas,' 'Prophetes,' etc., at a number of places, including York, Lichfield, Winchester, and London. William Fitzstephen, writing of the late 12th cent. in London, records:

'“representaciones miraculum que saecuti confessores operanti sunt, quibus representationes passionis et gloriosae crucis sancti martyris' (P. S. Thomao, quoted by J. P. Collier, History of English Drama, p. 70, as 'Stones.')'

Of a Beverley 'Resurrection' (c. 1290) 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 cent., 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 English dramatic form, the Corpus Christi Play, was founded soon after that date. The Chester plays were probably given first in 1328. The dates of the beginnings of the other cycles are not known, but references to them are found as follows: Beverley, 1377; York, 1378; Coventry, 1392; and in 1359 there is a reference to a "Judicium filiorum Israelis" at Cambridge. From this time on there was the greatest activity throughout the country.

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—gild, on its own pageant.

A high pile with two rows, a higher and a lower, upon four wheels. In the lower they appeared themselves, and in the other house. They began first at the aby gates, and when the first pageant was played it was wheeled to the high'crose before the mayor, and so to every street in which the plays were given resorts, and also scaffolds and stages made in the streets in those places where they determined to play the pageants." (Archdeacon Rogers' "History of the English Drama," 1901, quoted by Pollard, "English Miracle Plays," p. xxi.)

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):

"...the mayor of York then brought further the pageants in order and course by good players, well arrayed and openly speaking, upon page of legging of Gs, to be made to the chamber without any jorden." (York Plays, ed. Lang Tounsin Smith, p. xxxiv.)

The plays of the cycle were not the work of one author, but an "organic growth." The number of gilds participating; hence there was also a variety in the number of plays or scenes. The play for each gild was often slight in subject—e.g., 'Adam and Eve, an angel with a spade and a distaff assigning them to work,' played by the armourers at York,--containing the main events of the original cycle (probably composed towards the middle of the 14th cent.) will give an idea of the wide range of the plays:

the Creation; the Temptation, the Fall, Noah and the Ark, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Moses in the Wilderness, the Prophecies of Christ, the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Shepherds, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, the Man of Sorrows, the Woman taken in Adultery, the Raising of Lazarus, Judas, 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 'Tastesors.' Though, like their 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 to whom neither Scripture nor legend ascribes either name or individuality. Such personages as "garcon," or servant, Noah, wife, the shepherds, are introduced for the sake of relief—often inappropriately, it seems to us, as in the Crucifixion scene.

"It is to this desire for dramatic relief that we owe the story of Mak and his sheep-stall in the Coventry cycle—our first English comedy" (Pollard, p. xii.

In the Coventry cycle there are various characters that link the Miracle with the Morality, the dramatic form more characteristic of the later years of the pre-Elizabethan drama. Such characters appear as Death, Veritas, Misericordia, Pax. The earliest known English Morality is lost. It was a 14th cent. play, setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to virtue." (J. Tounsin Smith, "English Gilds, London, 1639, p. 127)

The earliest Morality that has survived is "The Castle of Perseverance." Its purpose was "to trace the spiritual history of "Mary Magdalen..." from the day of her birth to her appearance at the Jesus' feet, in which personity the feet by whom his path way is bent, the Guardian Angel by whose help he resists them, and the ordinances of Confession and Penance by which he is strengthened in his conflict to come." (Pollard, p. xiii.)

The play is wordy 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 cent.; it is thoroughly dramatic in language and treatment. The great Morals were followed by shorter ones dealing with narrower subjects, such as "The Play of the Dumb" or "The Play of the Blind," and "The Play of the Deaf," etc. Pollard calls them. From these are derived most of the common notions regarding Morals.

One of the earliest is 'Hycke Sooner.' Some are written in praise of religion, others in praise of learning (e.g., 'The Interlude of the Four Elements'). Some of the later interludes are real plays, in the modern sense—e.g., 'A New and Pleasant Entertwine; intitlel the Marriage of Witte and Science,' licensed 1508-70. The amusing lines, the act-division, and the characterization make the play modern rather than mediæval. John Heywood's plays illustrate still better the change that was taking place in dramatic art—a change which was to lead rapidly to the splendid Elizabethan drama.

5. France.—The development of the liturgical drama outlined above carried us into the 12th century. In France there are few plays known of the 12th and 13th centuries, the period when the drama became thoroughly secularized. Of the 13th cent. two plays are known: the Miracle of the Virgin of Saint Nicolas and Rantelen's 'Miracle de Théophile.' In the 14th cent. the French drama first acquired its national character. Petit de Juvellie says that forty-three plays of the period are known. A large number of these, either 'The Passion of Our Lord,' 'The Passion of Our Lady,' 'The Passion of the Virgin' (see the MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale. These plays, however they vary in style and in source, all have as a central theme a miraculous event brought about by the intervention of the Virgin—always a mechanical and unexpected intervention. In other respects—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 'Plays,' formed for the purpose.

In the 15th cent. for the first time the word 'Mystère' appears as a dramatic term, and in this century it means a representation of a 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 chiefly in the foreshadowing of the redemption of mankind. This view accounts for the inequality at a lack of dramatic feeling in the use of OT story. Furthermore, the medieval drama was not original; it did not build up a play from a situation as did Corneille or Racine, but transcribed the Scriptural narrative regardless of dramatic form.

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 Grecan is about 65,000 lines, a length attained not merely by prolixity but by following the career of each of the apostles after the Crucifixion. The French Passion-plays, the most notable of the 'Mystères,' centred, of course, around the Passion, which they developed in a highly 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 Mystères 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, or to give sanction to a pilgrimage. (Petit de Juvellie, L. 330)
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 in the 12th century. The Teutonicum 'Anti-christus' (text in Froning, p. 206), though written in Latin, has several secular characteristics: an ambition planned, allegorical figures, and particularly a political motive, for it is a subtle vindication, on the one hand, of the Empire against the Papacy, on the other of the 'rexit Teutonicorum' against the 'rex Francorum' (Chambers, ii. 64). In the 14th and 15th centuries the region of the Rhine and Germany, its most characteristic form being the Passion-play, of which numerous texts survive. There were also some cycles, such as those for Corpus Christi from Swabia (15th cent.). The Passion, which came in the 14th and 15th centuries to be the chief theme of the religious drama in France and Germany, had seldom been represented in the liturgical drama. The nearest approach to a Passion-play was found in the dialogue versions of the 'Planctus Mariae' ('Miserere mei'). The earliest Passion seems to have been in Italy (Sienna, c. 1200; Padua, 1244). The earliest text is German from Benediktbeuren.

Like other medieval dramatic forms, the Passion-play grew by additions and by amalgamation with other forms. As early as the 14th century it seems to have been the custom in Germany to divide a Passion according to the events following His Passion. By the 14th cent. the form was well developed, but its main period in Germany was from 1400 to 1515. Great 'Passions' were played at Frankfurt, Ahsfeld, Friedberg, and other places. Some of the oldest 'Passions' at Eger and Donaueschingen were in cyclical.

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 more than dampnish like the popular creche, or representation of the infant Christ at Christmas, which, however, rather a reversion to the ceremony from which the Christmas play was derived than a survival of the play. Most notable in this way are the representations of the Passion-play that have been either kept alive in out-of-the-way places or revived, most famous among them being that of Oberammergau, which was represented in 1633, and in 1792 Rosner's bombastic version was simplified by Knipfelberger. This present simple and dignified form is the work of two authors, P. O. Weiss and M. Dausenberg.

The play is given every ten years, in pursuance of the original vow or deliverance from pestilence. Other versions of the Passion-play have been performed in recent times at Brixlegg and Vorder-Glieriese in the Tyrol and at Höriz in southern Bohemia (A. Hanfmann, Uber das Höriz'sche Passionspiel, Bamberg, 1890). In 1662 the text was altered by the weaving into it of the version of Sebastian Wild, the Augsburg Meister-singer. It is the result of all that of the middle of the 18th cent. It was further remodelled by the Benedictine Rohmer after the model of the Jeuitt drama, and in 1789 Rohmer's bombastic version was simplified by Knipfelberger. This present simple and dignified form is the work of two authors, P. O. Weiss and M. Dausenberg.

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MIRROR

by artists. Metal mirrors were known in northern India by the Christian era, and they were used to adorn the temples of the Hindu and Ceylonese peoples, while the Hebrews were familiar with them at an early period for women's use. In Greek art Aphrodite is sometimes represented as holding a mirror; 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 monuments of the early medieval period, but their precise signification is still uncertain.

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 employed since the thirteenth century, and in the inventories of the Dukes of Burgundy in the fifteenth century, we hear of the \"Ferre a miry\", evidently a looking-glass.

This method is a noteworthy, but futile, attempt at a combination of metal and glass. A great quantity of metal was manufactured for windows from the thirteenth century onward, it would have been curious if the idea of employing a substance admitting of no 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 eighteenth century by the French invention of plate-glass. Backing for glass was known in the thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth 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 have been known at least by early times in both the East and the West. The 'magic mirror' of China and Japan refers on a screen an image of its back. In mediæval Europe small spherical glass mirrors were known as **Ochsenaugen**. The use of mirrors to produce lights and heat was early discovered, 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 thus tends to produce superstitious beliefs and practices. Most of these are connected with the common idea that the reflexion of a person is his soul.

"A savage who had been made to look into a mirror exclaimed, "I see myself!" One of Darwin's children, at some point in childhood, turned to the looking-glass on hearing his name called." These two cases illustrate the connexion between

1. **Meditation-iDha**, iv. 160 (SEE xxv. [1890] 139).
13. Ibid., p. 214.
On the other hand, a mirror, as when set in a ring, may be used to repel demons.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 of future actions may be seen. A pool of ink is a common object (cf. art. CRYSTAL-GAZING), and a combination of mirror and pool of water was used at Demeter's sanctuary at Patro, where was a sacred spring, but its use was permitted only in cases of sickness.

'They tie a mirror to a face cord, and let it down so far that it will not plunge into the spring, but merely graze the surface of the water with its rim, - they look into the mirror, and it shows them the sick person either living or dead.2

It is also used, especially in German and Slavic lands, to discover one's future husband or wife.3

Divination by mirrors is a variety of a widespread method of ‘seeing,’ the most frequent instrument being the crystal ball.4 A magic mirror possessed of the power of speech is not uncommon in folk-tales;5 and in Shintoism actual worship is rendered to mirrors which, originally presented to deities, have come to stand for the divine beings themselves.6

The supernatural associations of mirrors are equally numerous, 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 on the wall, by which even he who looks into this mirror will see himself either very dimly or not at all, but the image of the gods and of the throne are clearly visible.7 The Greeks kindled sacred fires by means of the mirror or crystal, and the same was the case in China and Iran, while in the Inca kingdoms the two were used for similar sacrifices by means of a concave mirror turned to the sun.8

4. The mirror in metaphor.—The optical properties of the mirror are so important and impressive to all races of men that their influence is accentuated by idiosyncratic derivation therefrom. One or two only can be cited. The Hebrew paronomasiographer says: 'As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man,'9 while the Buddhist sutta in speaking of 'a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth.'10 The Mirror was a favourite component of titles of books in Elizabethan literature, in its meaning of 'true description,' and its meaning of 'pattern, exemplar, model' is similar. Shakespeare writes the 'mirror of our souls, the Pains' grate as his lord the mirror up to Nature' uses the simplest connotation of the term. An interesting metaphor is used of psychic processes; the 'mirror of the mind' occurs both in Chaucer and in Shakespeare. As regards sources of metaphor it is remarkable biological and chemico-physical analogies to the optical fact of mirror-image (in which right becomes left and vice versa). All vertebrate animals, many 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- and left-handed crystals is connected with the division of acids into right and left according to the effect produced in relation to plane polarized light.

LITERATURE.—With the exception of the well-known archaeological works on antique mirrors and popular folklore collections, the relevant literature is included in the article.

A. E. CRAWLEY

MISHMIS.—The Mishmis are a tribe who inhabit the Mishmi hills, a section of the mountain

ranges on the northern frontier of Assam, which shut in the eastern end of the Brahmaputra valley, between that river and the Dihing, a region practically unexplored, consisting of steep ridges, covered as a rule with tree forest, and including some peaks 15,000 ft. in height (I.G.I. xvii. [1908] pp. 377 ff.). These are divided into three distinct but probably connected languages. The most western tribe is known as Midu, Midhi, Nedu, or Chulikata, 'hair-cropped'; they inhabit the Dihing valley with the adjoining hills. To their east are the Mishmee, or 'outcasts,' who speak practically the same language. East of the Behabiyas are the Taying or Digara Mishmis, beyond the Digaru river. The Mishmis are still further east, towards the Lams valley of Dazayu, a sub-tribe of Lhotse. 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, 1901, i. 260; 1911, i. 139; 1911, i. 134).

1. Ethnology.—The Mishmis have been identified by some authorities with the Minnotzi or Ihmeng, the aborigines of Yunnan, whose name has been interpreted to mean 'children of the soil,' 'roots,' or as a contemptuous reference to their 'simple diet' (A. G. Scott and J. P. Hardiman, Gaz. Upper Burma, pt. i. vol. i. [Rangoon, 1900] p. 597 ff.).

'So far as the means at our disposal permit us to draw conclusions, it may be stated that Mishmis neither belong neither to the Thotho-Namlyau nor to the Assam-Burmese branch of the Thoto-Burmese languages. They seem to be descendents of clans which, when the partitioning of the world between the two branches took place, accompanied neither, but made their way by a different path into the hills over-looking the Assam valley from the north' (G. A. Grigson, Census Rep. India, 1901, i. 260).

2. Relations with the British Government.—The British first came in contact with the Mishmis in 1825, when Lieut. Burlton reported that the 'Mishmee' were inhabited by tribes 'who were very averse to receive strangers.' Other officers visited them between that time and 1851, when M. Kriek, a French missionary, was murdered by them. Then followed a succession of outrages. In 1883 one of their headmen was taken to visit the Calcutta Exhibition. Soon after his return he died, and the tribe, holding the British Government responsible for the murder, decided that the head of a British subject should be buried with him, in order to propitiate his spirit. So they slew a British subject and carried off his head. An expedition in 1890-1900 reduced them to submission, and more recently they have given little trouble. But they are keen worshippers of nature, and it has found expedient to prevent them from crossing the Brahmaputra into British territory for that purpose (B. C. Allen, Gaz. Lakhimpur, 1905, p. 55 f.).

3. Religious beliefs.—The best account of their religious beliefs is that by E. T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Calcutta, 1872, p. 16 f.: 'The religion of the Mishmis is confined to the propitiations of demons whenever illness or misfortune visits them. On these occasions the spray of a plant is placed at the door to intimate to strangers that the householder is in the ordinary manner tabu. They appear to have no notion of a superior or benevolent deity. They worship Mogilikrah as a god of destruction, Dianau as god of the chase and knowledge, and Tablah as a god of wealth and disease, and a great many others without name. It appears both from Lieutenant Rowlett and the Abbé Kriek's reports that the Mishmis have priests, but they are few in number and have to be brought from a distance when required. M. Kriek describes one that he saw at a funeral ceremony. . . . For several days previous to the arrival of a priest, an attendant was employed in singing a devotional chant to the accompaniment of a bell. There was also a preliminary sacrifice of a red cock and hen, the blood of which was put on an image containing some other fluid and the mixture carefully examined, as it is supposed to indicate if the result will be fortunate or otherwise. The priest, after an oration, dressed in a robe, and attached
to the front of his head-dress, two appendages like horns. For two days, at intervals, the priest and his son employed themselves in putting on various fantastic and ridiculous costumes, marking the time by waving a fan and ringing a bell; on the third day he put on his chief's Tibetan robe, and assumed what may be regarded as his professional dress—a tight-fitting coat of colored cotton, a small apron, a deer skin as a mantle; from his right shoulder descended a long gossamer hair dyed bright red, and over his left shoulder he wore a broad belt embroidered with four rows of tigers' teeth, and having attached to it fourteen small bells, he placed a bauble ornamented with shells, and round the knot of hair at the top of his head a marvellous plume which turned like a weathercock. This was followed by a wild and demoniacal dance; but whether it was a par soul by the priest, or one in which the people generally joined, 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 priest's head remained a fresh light, and the priest took care not to touch the ground as he produced it, as the light which obtained was supposed to be the same from heaven.

About 1872—the writer gives no clear dates—T. T. Cooper (The Mission Hills, London, 1873) relates, and gives a good account of the appearance, dress, manners, and customs (p. 180 ff.).

An earthquake occurred, and they told the chief, Chowosam, 'that the devil residing in a neighbouring mountain had angered the mountain, the monster.' The missionaries bring polytheists, though of the lowest order, it was not difficult to make Pase [another chief] understand the existence of one Great Spirit above all' (p. 197). 'The Missions,' he said, 'are very unfortunate. We are everywhere surrounded by demons; they live in the rivers, mountains, and trees; they walk about in the dark and live in the wind; we are constantly suffering from them... . In answer to a question as to whether he thought the strongest, after hesitation he said that the demon of fire was the strongest and most dangerous, as he dried up the water and burnt the mountains.' The mountains were also good lookouted, as he warned them and cooked their food' (p. 193).

'To religion, their notions are very vague. Polytheism, encountered with all the rites and ceremonies of fetishism, is their true creed. The yearly sacrifice and feast in honour of their deceased parents shows that they have some idea of a future state, but I could not find out their particular idea, and death is a disagreeable subject of conversation among them, and Chowosam was declined to interpret questions relating to it' (p. 258). 'The two most important ceremonies of the people are those of the bloodily attended deaths and marriages. In the case of sickness a soothsayer is called in, and he generally prescribes the sacrifice of fowls or pigs, according to the command of the patient. These sacrifices are propitiations of the demon who is supposed to be instrumental in bringing the illness. When death occurs, particularly in the case of a chief, mithunen (within, also called geyoi, per frontalia (W. T. Blanford, Fauna of British India, Mammalia, London, 1842, p. 437 ff.), pigs and fowls are killed with the utmost impunity, and all the old men and women feast to their heart's content, hospitality being considered a great virtue. They eat in honour of the departed, talking of his great and good 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. This unique tomb is then surrounded by some of the skulls collected by the chief during his lifetime, which serves as a monument of his past hospitality, while the rest of his treasures are divided amongst his sons, the non-sacred, and heir to the tomb's share. When there are no sons the skulls go to the near male relations. The eldest son takes the title of chief, or chief, and holds a yearly feast in honour of his deceased father, which is considered one of the most sacred observances among them' (p. 327).

When Cooper suffered from an abscess in his ankle, a soothsayer or exorcist was called in. He was dressed like the other Mishmis, but allowed his hair to fall long, uncombed 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 unplait, measuring the operation with a buzzing noise, as though he were counting. Occasionally he would place his hand on the painful spot, and then massage 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. 252).

LITERATURE.—The chief authorities are quoted in the article.

W. Crooke.

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 ameliorate the conditions of the suffering of mankind, to bring the institutions and usages of society into harmony with the will of God. It is to be distinguished from die äussere 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 temporal and material aid a means to spiritual redemp- tion 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 to arouse 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 Rieke, C. Heinrich Zeller). A number of societies and institutions arose organized on a large scale for the care of the poor, the nursing of the sick, and the saving of destitute children. This grew out of the pietistic movement (see Pietism), 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. Conspicuous among the leaders were Johann Hinrich Wichern (1805-81), who in 1833 founded at Hamburg the Realhe Heime (a reformatory institution built upon the household plan, and with a training home for lay-workers); and Theodor Fliedner (1800-64), who in 1826 founded at Kaiserwerth the first society for prison-visiting in Germany, in 1835 the first refuge for discharged female prisoners, and in 1836 the famous Distrosenset Oehneth, for the training of nurses and infant teachers.

The name 'Innere Mission' was first employed in a narrower sense by Friedrich Lücke, of Göttingen, in Die zweische, innere und äussere Mission der evangeliischen Kirche (Hamburg, 1843), to mean work among the lapse 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 300 representatives of Protestant Germany met and agreed. Standing on Luther's grave, Wichern delivered a bold 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 state-manlike lines the programme of the remedial activities needed, and proposed the formation of a central committee (Centralausschuss), consisting of ministers and laymen, to make a survey of the fields of work, place the various societies already at work in touch with one another so as to save overlapping; point out the need of more effort and help such efforts to succeed; announce the movement as a whole, and, above all, make it clear that all the several ministries, of whatever kind, were animated by the one divine spirit of redeeming love in Christ. Thus was established a free colony for equalization of all the activities of the Protestant Churches, so far as these were extra-official. The object of the Inner Mission, as defined in the first report of the Centralausschuss, is "that the Christian Church with all its resources, and through all its agencies, may fill and quicken the whole life of the people in all ranks of society, inspire all social arrangements and institutions with the might of a love energizing heart and life—and through all its living members labour to save the neglected and make the poor." Thus 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 über die aktuelle Christenmission (analogous to Christian Endeavour Societies).

The programme and policy of the Inner Mission are sketched in the second volume of the series, Denkschrift über die innere Christenmission (analogous to Christian Endeavour Societies). The scope of the work and the relations of that work to the activities of the State on the one hand, and of the Churches on the other, have been ascertained by the work of the last twenty years. Wichern remained practically the directing spirit. Pamphlets (Fliegende Blätter) were published annually at the Hauske House giving reports of the various agencies carried on.

The most comprehensive survey of the work is given in two Jubilee publications of the Centralausschuss in 1869 (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, orphans, infant schools, care of orphans, Sunday schools and children's services, refugees and orphans, country holidays for city children.

2. The care of adult women and homes for Savings (Sparhäuser), homes for the poor, boys' homes, schools of domestic economy, rescue homes, Jugendbund für entrückte Christenmänner (analogous to Christian Endeavour Societies).

3. The care of the homeless, and the homeless, colonies for un-registered persons, homes for the poor, colonies (analogous to Christian Endeavour Societies), Girls' Friendly Societies and Lodges, missions to soldiers and sailors, river and canal boat populations, save-waysmen, navvies, brick-layers, waiters, care of the aged.

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 (Deporta), pastorate at holiday resorts.

6. Care of the poor, sick, and infirm, district nursing associations, sick cross work in war, homes for infants, epileptics, inebriates, blind, deaf and dumb.

7. Combating of social evils, Sunday observance, housing reform, prison missions, temperance work, savings banks, anti-gambling work, friendly societies, building of city missions, work for Christian education.


9. Organizing and propagating according to province and district, conferences.

10. Training of workers for prisons, asylums, unemployed and employed, workhouse, nursing, etc., courses of instruction for social workers.

As the result of the Inner Mission the whole of Germany has been covered with a network of philanthropic agencies, united with the Christian spirit; the social conscience 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 Hauske House were allowed to act as warders in Prussian prisons, and Wichern was commissioned to visit the prisons, investigate their conditions, and suggest reforms. Later, Wichern was appointed Councilor of the Ministry of the Interior, and a member of the Evangéidischer Oberkirchenrat. The work of the Inner Mission paved the way for the social legislation which followed the Franco-German War. The most notable results of the Inner Mission are in the fields of philanthropy and Christian work, especially in sick-nursing, the Elberfeld system of poor-relief and its extension to other German towns, and the work of Pastor F. v. Bobedschwingh (b. 1831), who founded at Bielefeld a system of co-ordinated medical service, 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 establishment of the diocesan and district social work in the Evangelical Church in 1856, and gives material expression to the universal priesthood of believers. It has filled a place in the educational system by caring for orphans and infants, and counteracting the movement for the secularization of schools.

The movement has affected other countries, especially Switzerland (J. A. Bost), Denmark (Wilhelm Beck), Norway (P. Haren), and Holland (J. G. Heldrinon, written by Wichern at the instance of the Central Committee and published in 1849. This book 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 Churches on the other for twenty years. Wichern remained practically the directing spirit. Pamphlets (Fliegende Blätter) were published annually at the Hauske House giving reports of the various agencies carried on.

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MISSIONS.

Buddhist (M. ANESAKI), p. 700. Christian—


Zoroastrian (L. H. GRAY), p. 749.

MISSIONS (Buddhist).—1. 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-Huangti of the Ts'in dynasty) eighteen Buddhist monks were brought to the capital of the empire. The authenticity of the information may be questioned, but, when we take into account the facts that Chinese Buddhists used to ascribe to 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. the Yuechi ambassadors are said to have brought four Buddhist scriptures. These statements point to the spread of the Buddhist missions in Central Asia in the centuries immediately after Asoka's missionary enterprises.

Historical records agree in assigning to A.D. 67 the first official introduction of Buddhism into China. The Emperor Ming, stimulated by a dream, sent an expedition in search of the golden man of whom he had dreamt (A.D. 64), and, when the expedition returned in 67, it brought not only Buddhist statues and scriptures, but also two monks, both Indians, Kasyapa Maitaiga and Dharmaraksa 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-na, or White Horse Temple, was built in Loyang, the capital, and soon after the emperor's brother built another temple. Conversions en masse are said to have taken place in 71, many massacring their native gods being among the converts. The new religion was received with open arms and heart, the way must have long been prepared for it.

There is a gap of about eighty years between the mission of the first missionaries and the advent of two other monks, one of whom was Shih-kao of Parthia, who came to China in 148 and worked till 170. He is said to have been of royal blood and to have left his country because of the fall or decline of his own royal family. This is one of the evidences that Buddhism had a 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-kao's works are mostly texts from Agamana,1 the counterpart 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

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(1) Chang-an (the modern Sîng-an), (2) Lo-yang (on the Hoang-ho) in the north, and (3) Chien-yeh (the modern Nanking) in the south. During the first half of the 3rd cent. the last two were the respective capitals of two of the Three Kingdoms, while the third was situated far in the west, beyond the reach of Buddhist influence. After a short interval of unity (280–302) these three places remained as the three centres of China in all the vicissitudes of rival dynasties. Thus the missionaries who came to China by land routes worked mostly in the north, deriving their sources from Central Asia or the north-west of India, though some went further to the south.

The 3rd 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. To one of these men, Fo-tun-chen, who came in 310 to Lo-yang from a "western country," laboured not as a translator but as a social worker. It is said that he was "well versed in magic formulae and saved many people from diseases and sufferings by his supernatural attainment." 1 No fewer than 893 monasteries and sanctuaries were established by him, and his "disciples" numbered 10,009. But his influence in China remained limited to those who came from or through Central Asia, the southern, the Sung dynasty, invited missionaries from S. India, who came by the sea route. Moreover, the repeated persecutions of Buddhists by T'ang rulers and the rivalry of the northern missionaries and Chinese monks to the south, and it was through them that a start was made in establishing groups of men of similar tendencies, which became the origin of sectarian division in China, an internal Buddhism.

Among those who worked in the north the most prominent was Kumārājīva, a native of Karachar. He came to Chang-an in 401, having been invited by the prince of the Ts'un dynasty, and, being highly esteemed by the prince, was honored 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.) *Saddharmapundārīka* remains the most valued and revered of the Chinese Buddhist scripture books.

Kumārājīva was apparently a monk, but his conduct was very irregular, for he lived with many concubines; yet his talent was so appreciated and his fame so high that his patron and the people loved his company, despite his neglect of Buddhist discipline and in spite of attacks heaped upon him. A powerful rival, however, appeared in the person of Buddhhabhadra, who was invited to Chang-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 Kumārājīva, he observed austere rules of monastic life, and instructed his followers in discipline and in meditation. At last a critical rupture between the two great men broke out, and Buddhhabhadra took refuge in the south, where Tso-an's disciples were living in a monastery on Mount Lu-shan, in the modern province of Chiang-hsi.

The leader of the group was Hui-yüan (+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 Buddhhabhadra found men more congenial than the Buddhists of the north, and instructed them further in the secrets of Buddhist mental training. In this group of thinkers we see Chinese Buddhists quite re-climatized to the native soil, especially to the poetic and transcendental mood of the southern Chinese, preparing for further union of Buddhist meditation with Chinese quietism. It is among these thinkers we see Chinese Buddhist quietism in its final stage, embracing the Ch'an School, a development of the native Chinese contemplative spirit. The Chinese Buddhists were more immediately under the influence of the K'ūn (the famous king of India) than the Chinese, and perhaps that explains why the last great Ch'an leader, Hui-yüan, was able to come to China by sea in 520, the further source to be found in the group of reclusees at Lu-shan who welcomed Buddhhabhadra. After all, we can assign the foundation of Chinese Buddhism, relatively apart from foreign missionaries, to Tso-an and Hui-yüan. Yet, parallel with this native movement, missionary work was proceeding, both in the north and in the south.

As we have mentioned, the south welcomed Indian missionaries, many of whom came by sea, and we find a sudden growth of sea-communication with India from the dawn of the 5th century. The pioneer of the sea-voyage from Ceylon to China was the K'ūn, who came to China in 407, from Ceylon, via Java, in 424. He laid the foundations of two monasteries called Chao-ti (Chetthiya) and Chi-yuan (Jetavana) in Nanking. Here he instructed his followers in the strict discipline of the Vinaya and instituted the system of ordination into Buddhist mysteries, by establishing a special centre for the purpose, after the model of the Sima of Nalanda (q.v.). The arrival of a number of Sinhalese nuns in 434 under the leadership of a certain Tissara (+481) was an important event, and from them a line of nuns 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 Gunnarvanam are to be mentioned Kályayana and Dhammapavitra, both translators of Mahāyāna texts; Gunabhadra, the translator of the *Samyukta-agama*; and Saṅghabhadrā, the translator of the *Pali Samanta-pāda-dikā*, 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-achārya.

In the 6th cent. we have two notable instances of sea-journey. One was the monastery of Moōhi-dhārma, mentioned above, who is said to have remained silent for nine years after his arrival in China, but who yet succeeded in impressing his spiritual influence and in opening a powerful stream of meditative naturalism in China and Japan.

1 See J. Takakusu, *Pali Chrestomathy*, Tokyo, 1900, pp. lxiv-lxvi, and *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, pp. 416-429. Takakusu's conjecture that this master of the Three Presidents might have been Buddhaghosa himself is plausible, but requires further corroboration. The translation of the *Samanta-pāda-dikā* is dated 459.
The next instance was the voyage of Paramārtha, who arrived in China in 546 and was invited to Nan-jo, 148. To him the cultivation of many of Asanga's and Vasubandhu's works and some other books. He was the first propagator of the Yogācāra Buddhist in China, even before Yuen-ch'ang, the great translator of the 7th century.

Thus the Buddhist missionaries came to the Middle Kingdom from two sides by two routes, one via Central Asia and the other via Ceylon.1 Their 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 pious zeal of the Chinese pilgrims who went to the West in search of truth and scriptures, the most prominent of whom was Fa-hian. It is related that the missionaries coming eastward and the pilgrims going westward met one another everywhere in the 5th and 6th centuries. By the conjoint labour of these men were completed the translations of the four Agamas, together with several of their single parts; the Vinaya texts in various versions, belonging to different schools;2 and the important Mahāyāna texts, such as the Lotus, the Floor-garden (Vasanta), etc. From these works we see how ideas and expressions were naturalized in the Chinese language, which is totally of different structure from the originals. These books and expressions now form an integral part of the Chinese language and literature.

Up to the 6th cent. Buddhist missions in China consisted chiefly in the work of translation, through we may suppose that popular propaganda was not neglected. Besides those, the monastic institutions were an integral part of the Buddhist religion. The first translation of the Pratimoksha (Pāli Pātimokkha) and the regular monastic discipline based on it were carried out by Dharmakāla, an Indian, who came to Lo-yang in 259. In the 5th cent. we see a further establishment of the regular method of ordination under the government's patronage and supervision, carried out by Gunavarman in the south, as mentioned above. The sanctity of these ordained monks and nuns was early recognized by the rulers as well as private persons. We hear that, when, in 446, Emperor Ta-wu of the northern Wei dynasty persecuted Buddhist, there were 3,000,000 of these monks and nuns in his territory alone. This may be exaggerated; but it is quite conceivable that there were 83,000 ordained patrons of the Emperor Wu (reigned 562-549) of the Lāng (southern) dynasty, the great protector of Buddhism, and himself an ordained monk. Besides these regular monks many ascetics were revered as saints by the people, and they contributed much to the propagation of the religion, but as much to the dissemination of superstitions. They formed an eclectic element in Buddhism by adopting Taoistic and Indian ways of living and practices, but there were some who were really saintly, or at least beyond the world. Their lives are described in the Book of Saints and Miracles (Nanjio, no. 1544) and are eminently hard 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.

If we can use translation as only one instance of a definite record of charitable work. That was a method of famine relief, called Seng-chi-su, or 'Church grain' (Seng-chi = Pāli Sthāpatika), which was inaugurated by Thān-yao, a man of unknown origin, in the southern kingdom of 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-au, mentioned above, who wrote commentaries and essays and emphasized the vacuity of the phenomenal world. In his time a translation of an Abhidharma text (Nanjio, no. 1273) was produced, and prepared for the promulgation of Vasubandhu's philosophy by Paramārtha sixty years later. The group of Lo-shan, already mentioned, was another sign of sectarian division, and these men opened the way for the later growth of the meditative Shān-no school and of the pietistic religion of the Buddha Amitābha. These were, however, only precursory movements for real sectarian division and dogmatic differentiation; 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 we may close our survey of the Buddhist missions with this time. It remains to be added that, in the 8th cent., the mystic Buddhist doctrine of the Mandara sect, was introduced by two foreign missionaries, Subhakarasimha and Amoghavajra. This form of Buddhism became influential in Japan after the 9th century. Towards the close of the 10th cent. there was again an influx of Indian missionaries, but they are of 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 the King Asoka reached the Tibetan borders, probably along the western parts of the Himalayas; but it is more than a hundred years after his time that legend tells us of the establishment of a Buddhist temple on the Tibetan side of the Himalayas. 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 century. The reigning king was Srong-btsan Gampo (+ 658), 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 had 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 Vajrayana and Hamsa 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
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 Confucian hands of the rulers. The stimuli given by the Buddhist consorts of Srong-btsan Gam-po caused him to send his able minister Thanmi Sambhota to India, where he performed a great service for Buddhism and for Tibet by inaugurating 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 Tibet was taken more than a century later, in the reign of Khri-Srong De-btsan (reigned 740-768), who was a successful conqueror of borderlands. It was he who invited learned Buddhists from India, and a decided turn to the nature of Tibetan Buddhism, because those Indians mostly advocated occult mysticism based on the belief in the efficacy of dhyāna, or mystic formulae, and magic practices. Among these agents of mystic Buddhism two mention Tibetan: 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 next translator.

The 9th cent. was a period of confusion in Tibet, and the fate of Buddhism passed through various vicissitudes in association with the inclination of the rulers and with their rise and fall. From the latter part of the 10th cent., we see four streams of N. Indian Buddhists and a firmer establishment of mystic Buddhism. Besides the translations, many original writings, historical and doctrinal, were composed in Tibetan; and the necessity of translating these was 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 Indians and Tibetans. The 13th cent. was an epoch-making period in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, in connexion with the conquest of Asia by the Mongol Kublai Khan. Buddhist missions seem to have been active in this time, and the Mongol conquerors were partly converted to Tibetan Buddhism, though all of them were eclectic of promiscuous nature. Tibetan Buddhism was definitely established as a theocracy by the energetical ability of Bha-sac-ya Khan, and its influence was extended to the northern countries and even to China. The definitely independent, and totally isolated, growth of Tibetan Buddhism is to be dated from the latter part of the 14th cent., when the Mongol dynasty in China fell and the Tibetan reformed Tsong-Kha-pa arose.

3. In Korea.—When, in the 4th cent., Buddhism was being naturalized in Chinese culture, its propaganda further eastward began. At that time Korea was divided into three kingdoms and several minor States. Of these three Koryo (or Kokuryo) was situated in the north, and first came into contact with Buddhism. In 374 two monks, Atao and Shuntao, both of whom are said to have been foreigners, were invited from N. China to the capital of Koryo (the modern Pien-yang), and in the next year two temples were built for them, while in 384 a certain Mālananda was welcomed by the court of Chch'jang. The Koryo alphabet was in the middle of the country. Historical records tell of the names of these temples, Syo-mun and I-pul-ban, sound neither Chinese nor Korean.

1 This teaching (Dharma) is the most excellent of all teachings. It brings infinite and innumerable fruits to its believers, even to the final enlightenment (bodhi). Just as the Chintamani 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 has come to Korea from India, far distant, and the peoples of the countries lying between these two are now adherents of it, etc.

These words, accompanied with a fine image and works of art, were a marvellous revelation to a people who knew nothing of religion, and were exposed 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 uncertain. But the presents were followed 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 blood of the progressivists, because its zealous advocates. They built temples, and we hear of a nunneri founded by the family in 554. The fall of the conservative party in 587 marked a decisive step in the progress of Buddhism, and to confirm this, we shall be told that a temple was built,
MISSIONS (Buddhist)

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 artists and artisans, and these displays of art were associated with works of charity. Three institutions—an asylum, a hospital, and a dispensary—were attached to a temple built in 593, and similar institutions were founded here and there in the subsequent centuries. In the regency of Prince Shōtoku, the Constantine of Japan (reigned 593-622), the new religion became the State Church. Not only were missionaries and learned monks invited from Korea, but direct communication with China was opened (605), and Japanese monks were sent to China for study. The number of the Korean missionaries who worked in this period was considerable, and their achievements in preaching and teaching Chinese, especially amongst the nobles, was great, but the new religion found native teachers in less than a hundred years after its introduction. The prince himself gave lectures on Buddhist subjects and organized various institutions. In short, the Buddhist propaganda in this century consisted first in the display of forms, then in works of charity, chiefly medical practices, and lastly in the efforts to Christianize the government and to unite the divided clans by religion, on the other. The development of religious institutions and the management of State affairs assisted each other.

After the decisive step of the adoption of the Buddhist faith, there had been a long process in which the progress of the religion was slow 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, showed that the former were patronized by the nobles and the latter by the native workers, were therefore independent of the Chinese influence. Besides these Korean and Japanese priests, a certain number of Chinese, Indians, and other foreigners carried on the Buddhist propaganda, the most famous of whom were Kan'jin, a Chinese Buddhist missionary, and his assistant fotō. The former founded the central institution for ordination and monastic discipline, and was appointed archbishop (754-765 in Japan). He was also an organizer of medical practice and founded a botanical garden. The Indian was of the Brahman family Bhāradvāja. He came to Japan in 730 with his Ammannae and Chinese followers, some of whom were musicians, and worked as a bishop till his death in 760, being known as the 'Brahman bishop.' These missionaries brought many useful arts and things Indian, which contributed to the influence of the religion, such as musical instruments, Indian hars, and the bas-relief in the Greco-Bactrian style, preserved in the Imperial treasury, dating from the 8th century. Among the native workers who laboured mostly in the capital as teachers and bishops; others were practical men who worked in the provinces in bridging rivers, constructing roads, canals, harbours, and public buildings, opening mountain passes, 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 miraculous stories are told of them even to this day. The mention of some Aina monks, whom the court favoured with gifts in 699, shows the advance of the propaganda to the far north east.

The elaboration of medical works and the dispatch of combined bands of monks and physicians into the provinces are connected with the central government of the late 8th century. In addition to these methods, religious ceremonies for the welfare of the ruling families and for the tranquillity of the country became the order of the day in the courts 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 (bokubō) was followed by the founding of the capital, of the central cathedral, which was dedicated to the great statue of Lochana Buddha, now known as the Daibutsu in Nara, and was completed in 754. These works and dedications converted the whole of Japan into a Buddhist kingdom before the close of the 8th century. There are many 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 boon not only of the Church but also of the State. Religious buildings were held to be signs of the power of the court. It was not merely by the mysterious efficacy of the worship and ceremonies that the security of the throne and the tranquillity of the country were maintained and increased; the Buddhist mission in the provinces during these two centuries was at the same time a political mission.

By the 9th cent. the unity and centralization of the national government 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 († 822) and Kōbō († 855), were once trained missionaries and opened the way for the development of Japan's own Buddhism. Thus the beginning of the 9th cent. may be taken as the end of the Buddhist mission in Japan.

One thing remains to be added, viz. a new influx of Chinese influence in the latter half of the 13th century. The introduction of the Zen (dhyāna) Buddhism, which was produced by Bodhidharma in China, as mentioned above, necessitated a fresh influx of monks and artists, whose great influence upon Japanese art, literature, and social life in the 14th and 15th centuries must be recognized. The, fans, kakemono, and similar things, now known in the West as 'things Japanese,' Japan owes to these communications with Chinese Buddhism.

Taking a general survey, we see a remarkable contrast between the Buddhist missions in China and those in Japan. In China works of charity seem to have played 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. Chinese has remained the sacred language in discourses and writings 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.

1 Travels of Kanjūin, tr. J. Takakusu (in preparation).
MISSIONS (Christian, Early and Medieval).

1. From the close of the Apostolic Age to the conversion of the Empire (A.D. 100-323). Missions in the main external activity of the Christian community in the earliest time. Before the middle of the 2nd cent. (c. 140) Justin Martyr claims for them a very wide field of operations—not mere converts in the Helleno-Roman world, but beyond.

There exists not a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race, by whatever title or manners they may be marked out, however ignorant of art or of agriculture, whether they dwell under tents or wander in covered wagons, among whose prayers are not offered in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father of all things" (Diad. Trith. 17).

Much to the same effect, but more guarded, Irenæus tells us (c. 180) that even then many barbarous nations held the Christian faith, written more with pen than by heart, but in the Holy Spirit in their hearts (Adv. Haer. iv. 2. Tertullian likewise (c. 200) boasts of the rapid spread of the Church:

"[Portions cut]

yet and yet we have filled every place belonging to you... your very camp, palace... we have left you your temples only. We can count your axes; your number in a single province will be greater" (Apol. 37).

Britons beyond the Roman pale, Sarmatians, Germans, and Scythians are among the more distant peoples whose wars or races as already touched by Christianity (Adv. Julianos, 7). Origen (c. 230-240) 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 world (c. O. i. 27, li. 13); while Arnobius (c. 304) denies that any nation of the barbarians was then without some Christian influence (Adv. Gentes, i. 16, li. 5). From Eusebius (c. 320-370) we hear of the ex-Sieco Panethus of Alexandria undertaking a missionary journey to India about 180 (HE v. 19); here Panethus is said to have found a Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew which had been left there by the apostle Bartholomew. Later, he journeyed into Lesser or Third India of some early geographers, including parts of S. Arabian and of Abyssinia, this is a noteworthy journey. Origen again, about 215, was invited to teach the Gospel in Persia and Armenia, and accepted the invitation (Eus. HE v. 19). From Eusebius of N. Mesopotamia, where the Church was firmly settled by 150, Christianity was propagated in the Persian kingdom, even to Bactria. Bishop John, of Persia and Great India, addressed the Nican 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 pains of the Empire, at the end of the first 3rd century. Gregory the Illuminator was the leading person of this mission (c. 302), and Armenia was the first country in which Christianity was adopted as the national religion. In the early days of Constantine (c. 311) Bishop Hermogenes of Jerusalem sent missionaries (Ephraim and Basil) to 'Seythia' 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 Antioch, and then sent to the Persian province of Sevastopolis.

2. From the conversion of the Empire to the rise of Islam (c. 323-632). Important extensions of Christianity followed the conversion of Constantine.

(a) Africa. Among these one is African. The Abyssinian Church was founded, or at least Christ-
missions (Christian, Early and Medieval)

The radical principle of the new faith, he thought, ‘gave birth to perfection and fixed the will.’ It ‘was exempt from curiosity, and considered only good. No one could distinguish in it what was “useful to man, and should be published under the whole extent of the heavens. . . . And I conceived the magistrates to erect a temple of this religion in the Imperial city, and twenty-one religious men shall be installed therein.’

T'ai-t'ung’s successor was no less friendly.

‘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 Chinese of China (the Sinites) resorted to violence, and spread their calumnies; low-class men of letters put forth frants.

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. 714 ‘there was a religious man of Great China named Kho, who travelled for the conversion of men; he on arrival in the Middle Kingdom, illustrated persons united to reason the fallen Law.’ In 747 the emperor brought back ‘the venerable images to the Temple of Pelican; he raised new altars; with his own hand he wrote a tablet (probably for the great church of the capital). His three successors all honoured the luminous multitude.’ One observed Christian communism in his council of war, and several governors of provinces rendered perpetual service to the luminous gate.’ The inscription closed with words of thankfulness: ‘never had the mission been more prosperous than when’ in the year of the Greeks 1052 (A.D. 741), in the days of the father of Patricks, the Patriarch Han-sen-yesnash, this man by Pope Gregory I. to England in 597 was concerned with a country lying within the Old Empire, and so outside the proper field of this article. It was, however, the 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.

1. 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 the Nestorian patriarch to the bishop of Fars (or Persia) about 650. On his neglect, the patriarch declares, that the people of Khorassan had lapsed from the faith, and that India, ‘from Fars to Colom’ (Kulam, or Quilon, near Cape Comorin), was now being deprived of a regular church. We find the same patriarch writing to the Christians of Socotra and of Balkh, and undertaking to provide a fresh supply of bishops for his spiritual subjects of the Upper Oxus. His successor, in order to appease an old quible between the Christian and the metropolitan of Persia, visited Balkh about 661.

But the crowning achievements of early Nestorian enterprises were in China, and of these we have an account in the famous moniment of Sin-gan Fu. In 635-636 a missionary, who appears in the Chinese Record as ‘Olopan’ (Rahbân), entered the ‘Flowery Land,’ and reached Sin-gan Fu, the capital of the Tangdynasty. He had come, we are told, from ‘Great China’ (the Roman Empire); he was received with favour; his teaching was examined and approved; his Scriptures were translated for the Imperial library; and within three years an Imperial edict declared Christianity a tolerated religion. With the permission of the empress (one of the greatest of Chinese rulers) T’ai-t’ung welcomed any religion whose spirit was ‘virtuous, mysterious, and pacific.’

other lands east of the Euxine (see bk. iii. and xi., esp. p. 178 f. of F. de Montfaucon’s ed. [Coll. nova Patr. et Script. Graec. Paris, 1706, ii. 118 ff. = PG lxxviii. 108 f.). At no time, perhaps, till the Roman conquest, was Christianity more strongly supported in Eastern lands than at this time.

(c) Europe.—St. Patrick’s conversion of Ireland (from c. 430) opened to Christendom a land that had never been Romanised, and was practically unknown to Continental Europe, after Honorius withdrew the legions from Britain. The full discovery of Ireland was the work of Christian 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 carried Roman conquest.

Some of their pioneers reached the Orkneys, the Faeroes, the outermost Hebrides, and even Iceland (in which 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 birth of Patrick forth even in the 5th century. St. Ninian, the founder of ‘Candida Casa’ in Galloway, who was apparently working in the south-west and centre of modern Scotland about 390-430, is specially associated with these enterprises.

The bishop dispatched to England in 597 was concerned with a country lying within the Old Empire, and so outside the proper field of this article. It was, however, the 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.

1. 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 the Nestorian patriarch to the bishop of Fars (or Persia) about 650. On his neglect, the patriarch declares, that the people of Khorassan had lapsed from the faith, and that India, ‘from Fars to Colom’ (Kulam, or Quilon, near Cape Comorin), was now being deprived of a regular church. We find the same patriarch writing to the Christians of Socotra and of Balkh, and undertaking to provide a fresh supply of bishops for his spiritual subjects of the Upper Oxus. His successor, in order to appease an old quible between the Christian and the metropolitan of Persia, visited Balkh about 661.

But the crowning achievements of early Nestorian enterprises were in China, and of these we have an account in the famous monument of Sin-gan Fu. In 635-636 a missionary, who appears in the Chinese Record as ‘Olopan’ (Rahbân), entered the ‘Flowery Land,’ and reached Sin-gan Fu, the capital of the Tangdynasty. He had come, we are told, from ‘Great China’ (the Roman Empire); he was received with favour; his teaching was examined and approved; his Scriptures were translated for the Imperial library; and within three years an Imperial edict declared Christianity a tolerated religion. With the permission of the empress (one of the greatest of Chinese rulers) T’ai-t’ung welcomed any religion whose spirit was ‘virtuous, mysterious, and pacific.’
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 emperors, but also with the Muhammadan khâlis, as guides to the Greek treasures of letters, science, and medicine. But, as Arabic learning progressed, the Nestorian position became less nexus ample; the spread of Islam tended more and more to contract the area still left open for Nestorian activity in many regions; and in China the old conservatism revived. The disorders of 878 and the years following produced an ascetic reaction; and the 11th cent. saw how fresh triumphs in Central Asia. About 907-08 the Khân of the Kairaites (one of the four main branches of the Mongol Tatars, living in the basin of Lake Baikal) was converted to Christianity, and the Russian Monastery of Arshan was founded by a Christian monk from the ‘extremity of the East’ or the heart of Asia, supposed to unite in himself royal and sacerdotal power and office, to have great military and political importance, to rule extensive dominions, and to uphold the faith of the Cross, though surrounded by unbelievers, and cut off by vast distance from the main body of the Church. This is the story, as it takes shape in the 12th cent., and as it is referred to by the great European travellers of the 13th; not till the 14th (from c. 1350) do we find it transferred to Africa and associated with the ‘Emperor of the Ethiopians’ or Negus of Abyssinia.

In Northern Europe, beyond the limits of the Old East, the Roman missions advanced rapidly in the 8th cent., after success in England had once been achieved, and largely as a result of the reflex action of that English mission. The movement that Gregory had started flowed back upon the Continent with new force from the converted island. In Frisia, Thuringia, and Bavaria the tribes beyond the Rhine were gradually converted by Frankish, Irish, and English missionaries in the obedience of Rome; chief among these were the church-statesman and martyr St. Boniface or Winfrith of Crediton (809-755), who became the ‘apostle of the Germans,’ the first bishop of Mainz and prince of Germany, the reformer of the Frankish Church.

Charles the Great’s very forcible conversion of the Old Saxons, between the Ems and the Elbe, again advanced the borders of Christendom on the North (772-804). The same emperor compelled the Succersi of the Slav Czechs of Moravia to receive baptism (801); but the real conversion of this people, as well as of the neighbouring sister-race of Bohemia, was begun by the Byzantines Cyril and Methodius. The Benedictines, the ‘Bishops of the Slavs,’ from about 863. Cyril had already worked with great success among the (Turkish?) Khazars of S. Russia. Like Chilias with the Gothic script, Cyril and his brother formed a Slav alphabet still prevailing in Russia, Serbia, and Bulgaria, and in Moravia down to the 16th century. Greek formed the basis of the ‘Cyrillic’ letters in most cases; but some were entirely new—either invented by the missionaries or adapted from various Oriental writings. By the diplomacy of Pope Nicholas 1., Cyril and Methodius were brought into close relations with, and obedience to, Rome, and all their Central European work was turned to the profit of the Roman Church. By the end of the 9th cent. the victory of Latin Christianity among most branches of the Greeks in Russia received as

The conquests of Charles the Great brought Frankish Christendom into close proximity to the Scandinavian peoples and the Slavs of the North European plains, and soon after the death of Charles the conversion of these races was seriously commenced. Ansgar or Anskar, the ‘apostle of the North,’ was born about 801, and about 826 left the monastery of Corbie for the ‘Northern mission.’

First he worked (with his helpers) in Norðalbing (or Holstein) on the Danish border, and in Schleswig; obliged to quit this field by a pagan reaction, he made his way even to Sweden in 829, preached before the king, won a great measure of success, and introduced the Bishop of Hamburg. He was driven hence by a Scandinavian invasion about 835; but in 848 he was appointed to the vacant see of Bremen, with which the missionary diocese of Hamburg was now united. He continued his work in Denmark (848-853), won the favour of the Danish king, converted a large part of the people, and again opened his campaign in Sweden (c. 853). At his death in 865 Danish, Swedish, and perhaps even Norse Christianity was firmly established. The bishopric of Hamburg, with its conversion triumph, was not reached for more than a century.

The Bulgarians of the Balkans, settled within the limits of the Old Empire, received Christianity from Constantinople about 845-865, largely by means of the patriarch Photius. This was fiercely disputed between Rome and the East, for the Bulgarian Czar, instructed and probably baptized by Photius, also turned his inspiring mind to Pope Nicholas 1., and received from him a further supply of Christian teaching and practical advice. The struggle over Bulgaria was one of the chief surface-causes for that schism of Eastern and Western Christianity which now became decisive, and was never really healed again. But the Orthodox Church remained important among the Eastern and Central European Bulgars—indeed, even in the 15th cent. the Bulgars of the Balkans were converted by the same pope, and the establishment of Latin Christianity was completed, under the great conqueror Boleslav, who first raised Poland to the position of an important European State.

The earliest mission among the heathen Prussians was probably undertaken by Adalbert (or Vojtysch), second bishop of Prága, who travelled into Prussia in 996, and was martyred on the borders of the Prussian heathen in April 997. This was the ‘Great’ of Poland, who had encouraged this mission, but the establishment of Latin Christianity was completed, under the great conqueror Boleslav, who first raised Poland to the position of an important European State.
The Hungarians, whose attacks on Germanic and Italian Europe were finally ended by the defeat on the Lechfeld in 955, at the hands of Otto the Great, were rapidly won to the Western Church by mission enterprise. By about 975 considerable progress had been made; the reigning Hungarian prince Geisa (972-997) was a nominal, if semi-pagan, Christian; but the complete victory of Christianity was gained by the first king, Stephen 'the Saint,' baptized by Adalbert of Prignitz about 987. Stephen was called to succeed his father Geisa in 997; he took the royal title in 1000; he put down the pagan opposition; and before his death in 1038 he had completed the establishment of the Latin Church in his kingdom, had organized that kingdom with remarkable success, and had given it a 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, was the champion of the Slavonic tongue and culture; but he was not popular as a promoter of the religious classes of Denmark in the days of Harold Bluetooth, or 'Blue Tooth,' a century after Ansgar, from about 966. Yet even after this there was a pagan reaction, accompanied by some persecution (1000-04), under Sweyn, or Swegon, the German king of England, the conversion of England was facilitated between the old heathendom and the new faith, but finally embraced the latter, after his triumph in the West. Chot the Great, Sweyn's son and successor (1014-35), was almost a Danish Clovis, 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 until the close of the first millennium, under Olaf the 'Lap King' (955-1022). 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 Russia 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, his political and other reasons, he yielded more to the party of the pagans. He and his Christian struggle for ascendancy till the short and brilliant reign of Olaf Tryggvason (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 Tryggvason (1015-39).

From Norway Christianity was carried to the Norse colonies of Iceland and Greenland. The German prince Thidivald, a missionary, who killed opponents in single combat, was sent to Iceland by Olaf Tryggvason in 997; in 1000 the new faith was accepted (with some 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 colonists.

Leif Ericson, probably the first discoverer of America, was a Christian, by Olaf Tryggvason in 1000 to proselytize the country, on his return from the court of Norway to his home in Eric's Fiord, but the missionary journey was interrupted by storms, which drove Leif to Vinland (Nova Scotia).

Russia was not really won till the time of Vladimir the Great ('St. Vladimir,' 960-1015). 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 the mass of the people were thoroughly heathen. Decisive Christian influence was then brought with the first Russian state, the princess-regent of Kiev, and widow of the grand-prince Igor, who visited Constantinople in 955, and was there baptized into the Greek Church. The full triumph of 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 (Byzantine) dependency of Kherson in the Crimea (on the site of the later Sevastopol), and his marriage with an Imperial princess in 988, he accepted the Christianity of the Eastern Church; and his 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; but it did not find a firm hold on the Slavonic tribes until the 11th century, and then only to its Christianity, and no nation perhaps has done 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 'work out the Christianization 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 century, nearly all Europe had been converted 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 1096 carried the religion as well as the trade of that great Republic of Norway and Sweden, and among some of the tribes of the furthest North and North-East—in the White Sea basin and in the valleys of the Dvina and Pechora.

A little later, in 1121, the bishop of Greenland undertook what was probably a missionary journey to America—he 'seeks Vinland'—but we hear no more of him.

Christendom, as thus constituted, included some pagan 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 colonized. The Finns of Finland were conquered by the Swedes in a war which had something of a crusading character (c. 1157-58), and the profession of the Roman Catholic faith was gradually 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 (in the 12th cent.), and of the important Novgorod colony of Vyatka, north of Kazan (1174). Latin missions in this territory of Germanism beyond the Elbe in the 10th century. The pagan and anti-German reaction which set in about 983 was equally injurious to Tventicn Christendom and Empire, and much of the new missions of the Polish and German attempts to convert the Pomeranians led to small result till well on in the

708 MISSIONS (Christian, Early and Medieval)
The mission the 1200 Brethren Livonian He wish nominal the 1226. duty of Magdeburg, and the Knights apostle of lessnessed or colonization) stronger. progress accused brought time for them then died in 1196, without having attained the Order trans-ferred mon. German German ticism German founded, seat of the Early 13th, the Order of 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 1233) the complete submission of the Prussians, the partial extermination of the race, the enforced conversion of the remainder, and the German colonization of a great province which was to become one of the most Teutonic of lands, and to give name, by union with Brandenburg, to the chief German state of modern Germany the creator and core of the present German Empire.

The opening of intercourse in 1245 between Western Europe and the new Mongol masters of Asia, through the embassies sent by Pope Innocent IV. to the second crusade, was the beginning of an important and romantic chapter of mission history. Among the distant enterprises of the Christian Church, or the forgotten incidents of past intercourse between remote civilizations, there are few more interesting than the Teutonic missions in Further and Central Asia, and in the border-lands of Eastern Europe. We have seen how, in the earlier Middle Ages, Nestorian missionaries carried the gospel to China, Turkestan, and the Indies. Almost to the close of the crusading period, their creed was practically the sole representative of the Nazarene faith in Asia, outside the narrow limits of the shranken Byzantine Empire and the crusading principalities. But in the 13th cent. the Church of Rome began to be heard of in the depths of Tartary, and between 1245 and 1255 the great overland travellers of the first generation, the Friars John de Piano Carpini, William de Rubruquis or Rubronc, and Andrew of Mina, and the Venetian missionaries, were first in the Volga, or in the Baikal or Balkhash basins. Yet their work was primarily that of diplomatists, of envoys from the pope or the king of France, in their capacity as Christian leaders; the missionary was not prominent in their work; Rubruquis alone, of this famous group, seems to have spent time or energy in doctrinal discussions or proselytizing efforts, and even he does not claim in any way to have founded a mission church in Asia or in Russia.

The Polos, again, who represented Roman Christ-tendom among the Mongols from 1299 to 1295, and gave us our first good account of the Chinese and Indian worlds and of so much of Central Asia cannot be considered active propagandists. Kublai Khan expressed a desire for official Christian in-structors; but his wish remained unfilled. Marco Polo and his relatives were primarily mer-cants, adventurers, men of the world. No mission work can be ascribed to them.

But, while the Polos were still in China, the founder of the Latin churches both in Cathay and in India started on his way. Friar John de Monte Corvino, a Franciscan like Carpini and Rubronc, and a man of untiring energy, courage, and pati-ence, began his life-work in Asia about 1275, and
in 1280 was sent by Pope Nicholas iv, with letters to the great men of the Tartar empire and of neighbouring lands—the supreme Khan in Cathay, the Ihkk in Peking, the "emperor of Ethiopia," and others. Corvino reached Cathay in 1292 or 1295, apparently by the South Asiatic sea-route from Orumz, making a long halt upon the way in the Madras region (or "St. Thomas's country"). He achieved conspicuous success in the Far East; he was repeatedly reinforced from home; and his work 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 having established in China the "true faith," so to fix the capital of Prester John" (ib. vi. 70). The "Prester John" and Prince George here referred to are probably of the royal house of the Kerait Tatars, of the Baikal basin, apparently convertors of Nestorian Christianity in the 11th century (cf. above p. 247). Nor was this all. Prince George's heir was named after the missionary; a translation of all the Roman service-books was ordered and begun; many Nestorian Chinese embraced the Christian faith.

With the death of King Goedelon, however, the sky was again overcast; apostasy succeeded conversion; there was no more translation of the Latin ritual; and Corvino was left alone to endure the slanders of the Nestorians—a community professing the Christian name, but deviating from the Christian faith, and now so powerful in Cathay that they would tolerate no Christian rivals (ib. vi. 69).

At last the prospect brightened; a leading enemy confessed; in 1303 the friar was at last permitted to live at court; in 1304 Brother Arnold joined him; with a little more aid the emperor himself, 'Imperator Chinn,' might be gained. The writer was composed to himself, and after spending two years, he was now building a second church in Peking; New Testament and Psalms he had just done into the language most used among the Tatars. For one thing he had beseeched the Church, of his Order. Twelve years had passed in silence; and now a Farrago of incredible blasphemies about the court of Rome, the Order of St. Francis, and other matters of the Western world had been spread abroad by a Lombard surgeon newly come to Cathay—"ante duos annos," otherwise in 1302 or 1303. Brother John, therefore, on every account was anxious for fresh help; but, warned by his own troublous sea-voyage, he laid down the best route for subsequent travellers—by the Crimea, the Volga, and the Steppes. By this overland path, travelling along with the Imperial messengers, a man might get through to Peking in six months.

Corvino's third letter is also from Peking, and was written on Quiquinas in a Sunday, 13th Feb. 1306. Its tone is hopeful; its record is one of steady progress. In 1305 a new church and adjoining mission buildings had been commenced in "Cambales"; and here Messer Marco Millione may have met the man who was to represent Christendom in the "Middle Kingdom" during the next thirty years, as the Venetian merchants had done for the past thirty.

We next meet with Corvino in China itself—at the Imperial city. His second letter (of 8th Jan. 1305) is dated from Peking, or "Cambales," 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 Amoy, in Fukien; apparently he made his way immediately to Peking. In any case, he failed to convert the emperor, Timur Olijaith, son and successor of Kublai, and a great favourite of the Buddhist haunts—a nimis inveteratus in idolatris, as Corvino puts it. But he was not long without a triumph. In his first year at Cambales he won the Nestorian Prince George, "of the family of the great Prester John of India" (Walshing, Annoles Minorum, vi. 69). George died in 1299, but before his death he found time to build a fine church for his new allegiance, "called the Roman Church," at a place twenty days' journey from Peking—perhaps at Tatung in Shan-si, just east of the great Huang-ho elbow, where Friar Odoric seems also to have fixed the capital of Prester John." (ib. vi. 79.) The "Prester John" and Prince George here referred to are probably of the royal house of the Kerait Tatars, of the Baikal basin, apparently convertors of Nestorian Christianity in the 11th century (cf. above p. 247). Nor was this all. Prince George's heir was named after the missionary; a translation of all the Roman service-books was ordered and begun; many Nestorian Chinese embraced the Christian faith.

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appeal was not unheeded; and the authorities of the Church, fired with his own enthusiasm, took up the mission that he had begun with something of the spirit that he desired.

New conquests seem to have opened up to the Church of Rome. Friar John was created archbishop of Cambaluc (with exceptional powers) in the spring of 1307, and seven bishops (of whom three only persevered) were dispatched to consecrate and support the 1353, but in the summer of 1354. In 1348 these three suffragans—Gerard, Peregrine, and Andrew—reached China, and carried out the consecration of Corvino. Each of them appears successively in the history of the mission as bishop of ‘Zayton’ in Peking, where a powerful 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 Khaides Khan Kalak in China, and grandson of the great Kublai, was converted by Monte Corvino; and it may have been the news or legend of this success that led Clement V, in 1322, to send three more suffragans to the aid 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 Perugia, one of his first group of suffragans, to the see of ‘Zayton’; in 1326 Andrew, writing home, refers to the Archbishop, without naming him; and in 1327 to the year 1354, the Franciscan chronicler, John of Winterthur, makes a confused allusion to what is evidently Corvino’s first Peking letter, supposed by the annalist to be the work of a nameless Franciscan of Lower Germany, possibly the very man—Arnold of Cologne—who, according to the Franciscan tradition, preceded Corvino in Zayton, in 1304. Lastly, in 1328, 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 the Peking of the Middle Ages.

The best and brightest hopes of the Chinese mission really closed with the life of its founder; but the Church at home showed no consciousness of the falling energy. A certain Brother Nicolaus, apparently a Franciscan like Corvino, was nominated 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. He has left no record of his journey to record his mission; whereas he originated in the modern capital, the modern capital, New Delhi, and in 1341.

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In 1341, Nicolaus, who had been sent by Pope John XXII, wrote to the Great Khan Il-Khan, which was forwarded to the throne of the Middle Kingdom, and recommended the establishment of a Latin mission in the capital, and the creation of a new bishopric in the region.

Meanwhile, a little earlier (in 1338), an embassy from the Great Khan then reigning—Timur Ukhana—had reached the capital of the Khans, and had been received by the Bishop of Peking, who had arrived in 1341. After four years in China, they returned, like the Polos, by the southern waterway from Amoy to Ormuz, making a lengthy stay in Southern India, and finally re-appearing at Avignon in 1353. The historian of this embassy, John de Marignoli, draws a glowing picture of the prosperity of the Roman Catholic mission in the Far East; but of the mission history after this time we know almost nothing. Of one thing we may be certain: the Chinese national reaction which broke out in 1348 set the Ming dynasty upon the throne, and expelled the Mongoi Yuan, put an end for centuries to Western Christianity and to European trade within the Middle Kingdom. When this calamity befell, it is said that the friars, flying across Asia from Peking to Samark and the Volga, carried with them the relics of the Grand Khan converted by Corvino.

In Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Caucasian lands the religious influence of the Western Church lingered about the middle of the 13th century. The Dominicans penetrated to Tiflis about 1240; in 1235 Rubruquis found several friar-preachers in Armenian towns, and tells us of their travels to Tonk in the twelfth century. It was only with the Tatar conquest of Bagdad, and with the overthrow of the khilijate, in 1258, that Roman Catholic influence assumed real importance in Persia. From this time to the early years of the 14th century, Latin missions and Latin trade played an important part in the empire of the Ilkhan; several of Hulagu’s successors seem to have been ‘almost persuaded’ to accept some form of Nazarene faith; not till about 1301 did they definitely and their religions become united to Islam. Even then, for more than half a century, Rome struggled bravely against the current; though her cause might be declining, she continued to maintain the airs of a conqueror—founders bishops, creating dioceses, vaunting the sub-mission of heretical patriarchs. In 1318 we hear of the inauguration of a complete Persian hierarchy, with a metropolitan at the Ilkhan’s capital of Susian, (a little south of the Caspian), whose jurisdiction included not only Persia, but also Central Asia, India, and ‘Ethiopia.’

Yet after the death of Aba’ Siad, the last true Ilkhan, in 1336, Roman proselytism seems to have completely lost its touch among the Mongols of South-West Asia; in the time of Timur (1338-1405) the Islamizing of the latter was fairly complete. The Middle, like the Farther East, though less completely, shut its doors on Christian enterprise before the age of Henry the Navigator.

The first trace of a Roman Catholic mission in India is the visit of Monte Corvino to the Madras region in 2041-52, an incident of deep significance, though only one of the greater events, leaving a new opening of intercourse between India and Europe, but also as bearing upon the Indian and Chinese enterprises of the Roman Church, and as representing the first joint effort of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, under papal direction, upon the remoter heathendom of Southern and Eastern Asia. The chief incident in this chapter of European enterprise is the foundation of a Roman mission in the Bombay region and in Malabar, and the establishment of a Roman bishopric near Cape Comorin a generation later (1324-30). In the Letters and Miracles of Bishop Jordanis, the first and apparently the only occupant of this see in the Middle Ages, in the report of John de Marignoli, in the Travel Record of Friar Odoric, and in the official Annals of the Franciscan Order and of the Roman Church, we learn a little about this remarkable undertaking. Its history cannot be traced below the middle of the 14th century (c. 1340-50); but its leader’s references to Latin intercourse with Nubia and Abyssinia, and plans for a European fleet upon the Indian Ocean—like his repetition of Indian prophecies of a coming European domination, and his personal conviction of the case with which such domination could
be established—are among the curious things of medieval literature.

Perhaps something of the vigour with which the 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 (1245-1570 or 1450) the fate of Christianity and of Islam were decided in Higher Asia, from which Latin missionaries and traders fought no less keenly, no less vainly, than in Cathay and Persia for the victory of their creed and commerce in Turkestan, in the Volga basin, and in the Caspian. But of the latter enterprises we have a slenderer record, and what we know of them is frequently incidental to the larger story of Roman Catholic proselytism in the Celestial empire or in Iran.

Before the great Tatar invasion of Eastern Europe, in 1237-43, Doulainian missionaries had penetrated into the countries lying east of the Middle Volga, even if the expeditions of Carpini and Rubruquis in 1245-55 had not to any large extent the character of proselytizing ventures. It was apparently in the early part of the 14th cent., and especially under Uzbek Khan (1231-40), that Rome exerted herself most strenuously for the winning of the North-Western Mongols, and that the stations at Astrakan on the Lower, and at Kazan on the Upper Volga, at Torlik, and other places on the west shore of the Caspian, at Khiva, near the Lower Oxus, at Samarcand, and at Kulja in the Balkhash basin, by the Russophone-Chinese frontier of to-day, came into being. Even more, perhaps, than in China or India, these Latin outposts, from the Caspian to the Kama, from the Caucasus to the Altai, represent the exploring spirit of the European at this time in its most daring form. For where could the enmity of nations and men be defied more readily? Were all the known world could distance, barbarism, sterility, and fanaticism present a more formidable combination of obstacles?

Even as late as 1362 we find traces of Roman Catholic effort in Northern Tartary. But about this year the Latin missions in Central Asia may be supposed to have ended in a final storm of persecution; and before Timur’s death, in 1405, European missionary activity had really withered away in central and Western Asia.

In Europe the later 14th cent. witnessed the conversion of the last considerable people which still professed heathenism. The ‘Litva,’ or Lithuanians, whose central region is the Vilna country, but who encompass the principality of the Russian nation, now lying, for the most part, helpless and crushed beneath the heel of the Mongol Tartars. Most of Western Russia had fallen into their hands (some valuable districts had become Polish), and the Lithuanian dukes aspired to a great position in the world. In 1382 the Polish throne was left to a woman, the daughter of Lewis the Great; and Yagielo (or ‘Jagellon’), the Litva prince, hoped that by marriage with this latter and spite of her strong distaste for his person he might become one of the chief European sovereigns. His hopes were realized; and a Roman Catholic Polish-Lithuanian State was thus founded by the marriage and conversion treaties of 1386. This State gradually became a Polish empire under one faith and one sovereign, with one (terribly defective) constitution and administration (1501: 1569). With Vitovt, or Vitol, the last great Litva conqueror, ended the brief hope that Litva conversion might after all turn to the profit of the Eastern Church.

For ‘Prince Vitovt,’ the Russian annalist laments, ‘had probably been a Christian . . . but he renounced the Orthodox faith, and afterward the holy churches to service hateful to God’ (Chronicle of Novgorod, a.d. 1579).

In the 14th cent. we also hear of the progress of Russian inroads, the pioneer or attendant of Russian colonization, in the least fertile of North-Eastern Europe. About 1376 the monk Stephen, afterwards canonized as the apostle of Perm (‘Stephan Permsky’), founded the earliest Russian Christian church on the Kama. It was a venture of some risk, for a foreign missionary in this country had been flayed by the natives, while they were yet but infants in the faith.’ Before his death (in 1396), however, Stephen had confounded the heathen priests and sorcerers of the Kama, and overthrown the idols of the Foipel and the ‘Golden Old Woman,’ stopped the sacrifice of reindeer, secured the triumph of Christianity, and founded Moscovite enterprises in a region from which, two centuries later, Moscow overthrew the Siberian Khansates. Under Stephen’s successors, Andrew, Isaac, and Pitirim (1397-1445), the Russian Church took root in the Pechora country, just as it did on the White Sea during the same period, through the foundation of the most famous monasteries of the Far North in the island of Solovki, or Solovetsky (1429). The Solovetsky monastery began with the hermitage of the monk Savvaty, or Savvatii, in 1429; after this, Zosima, with the sanction of Archbishop Ivan of Novgorod, joined in founding the community which became celebrated. On the neighbouring mainland Christian enterprise appears much earlier: the St. Michael monastery, the germ of Archangel city, was established in the 12th cent. by Archbishop Ivan of Novgorod. In Lapland, again, religious enterprise accompanied political and commercial. Like Stephen in the Kama, and Isaac in the Pechora, Ilya of Novgorod and Theodorite of Solovetsky appear as apostles of faith and culture to Kola and the Lapps.

The Portuguese, in their great overseas expansion of the 15th cent., especially from 1415, undertook mission-work with enthusiasm, perseverance, and at least considerable temporary success. Even from the beginning of his enterprise (c. 1415) Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’ did not entirely forget the duty of proselytism, though at first more absorbed by the idea of Crusade. His biographers, even in his earlier years, emphasize his purpose of ‘extending the Catholic religion; and in helping the heathen to better these ways of the holy faith,’ of ‘making increase in the faith of Christ.’ The new slave-trade was used to help to create a native African Church. From 1445 a policy of friendly intercourse with the Negroes, and with the Negro conquest from the Sahara was adopted, as leading to conversion, as well as trade, in place of the raiding and kidnapping of earlier time. For the prince’s purpose was ‘to make Christians of them.’ Professed missionaries were soon (before 1458) sent out to Negroland. And this history of the close of this development, and most of the Portuguese success in the mission-field, belong to times after the close of the mediæval period.

LXXIII.-Jerome, de Vitis illustrinis (e.g., ch. 39); Eusebius, HE (c.g., v. 19); Socrates, H.E. (c.g., l. 19); Sozomen, HE (c.g., ii. 24); John of Ephesus; John Malalas; Cosmas, Topographia Christiana (c.g., l. 14); Proceedings of the Congregat of Missions, etc.; Ann. de Mon. de Manfredi Orba Terra (c.g., vii. 11-14); C. Baroniuss and O. Raynalduis, Annales ecclesiastici, Roma, 1760-72 (c.g., 1560, 1567, 1574, 1579, 1585, 1591, 1597); Pallarquis, Historia Compendiosa Dynastiae, ed. R. Pocock, Oxford, 1806 (c.g., 457); J. S. Assenmacher, Bibl. orientalis, Roma, 1719-28 (c.g., iii. 1501, 1557, 1587, 1725, 421-437); Carpinus and Rubruquis, ed. M. A. d’Avenae, in Recueil de l’Eglise, iv. (1326) Mor. de la Soc. de Propag. de la Foi, 1902; C. R. C. Cardus, Chronicon de Legatione ad Turcos, ibid.; C. R. C. Beazley in Hasting See, Recent Publications, London, 1895; Carmine and Joanna, in L. Winkler, Gothenburg, 1871; 1717; 45); Andrew of Vrangel, Piaal de Vitoria, etc., d. vii.; J. de Marignolli, in Fontes Ecclesiæ, Paris, 1747-52, etc.; Chronique de l’empire des Tartares, Rome, 1741; J. Halberg in Rerum Orient. Gothenburg, 1906; A. Harnack, Expansion of Christianity, London, 1904-05; H. Zimmer, Celtic Church, Eng. tr., d. 1909; A. Hauck, 712.
MISSIONS (Christian, Roman Catholic)

When Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Redeemer of mankind, had fulfilled His divine mission in the world, He 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 Christ, the Church has always looked upon missionary work as an essential and solvent obligation, and upon its progress as an unfailling gauge of its own apostolic success. Since the day on which she received her baptism by the Holy Spirit, the Church has carried on the apostolate with more or less success in the midst of constant persecutions from within and without, and in spite of unfavourable political conditions and anti-Christian legislation. The missionary character which she displayed in apostolic and sub-apostolic times equally manifested itself in the Celtic, Germanic, and Frankish missions, till the Benedictine, Franciscan, Boniface, Anger, and Adalbert gave to the missionary movement its definite shape. When in subsequent ages new countries were discovered or opened up, the Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic became important factors in the missions among the followers of Islam and the Mongols, in Morocco and Egypt, in Syria and Palestine, India and China. In 1522 a special missionary congregation was formed out of members of the two orders known as Societas peragruntorologica — 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 1499, by the famous bull of dehacation, the subsequent Ignatius 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 Protectorate had its serious drawbacks for a healthy development. Franciscan missionaries accompanied Columbus in 1493, and they were followed by others to the Antilles (1500), Mexico or New Spain (1519), Yucatan, Guatemala, and Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. In S. America the Franciscans had missions in Colombia and Venezuela, in Peru and Ecuador. At the request of the king of Spain the 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 1604 Narvaez undertook an expedition into Florida, five Franciscans went with him, and from there they extended their work to New Biscaya, New Mexico, 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, or St. Ignatius Loyola (1516) in 1554, 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. — RAYMOND BEAZLEY.
MISSIONS (Christian, Roman Catholic)

taken up their work in the field, new missionary societies have been founded during the course of the century, producing colleagues and religious orders of women, formerly almost excluded from the missions, are now to be found everywhere, about 20,000 taking their share in the educational, charitable, and industrial work. To secure the inauguration of a mission universally, at least, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith (1822) and the Society of the Holy Childhood have done good work, while Popes Gregory XVI., Pius IX., Leo XIII., and Pius X., as well as the Roman Catholic Bishops of India, have given their support to promote the revival of missionary work among the heathen.

According to A. A. Kroos (Katholische Missionenstatistik, Freiburg, 1908), the total result of missionary work on the part of the Roman Catholic Church in the 19th cent., amounted to 8,521,963 converts from paganism. This flock is attended by 12,965 missionary priests, of whom 5,269 are natives, 4,885 brothers, and 1,724 sisters, with 30,414 stations, 2,736 churches, 1,784 schools with 201,878 pupils. When we add the results of the Roman Catholic missions since the time of the Reformation, we have in the Roman Catholic mission field 30,000,000 native converts.

The missionary societies and their respective missions given on the opposite page will help the reader to understand the position of the Roman Catholic missions in our own days.

The 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 Mediaeval" section, above.

British India and Ceylon, with an area of 1,800,000 sq. miles and a population of some 300,000,000 souls, is one of the most important and probably one of the most difficult mission fields of the Roman Catholic Church. This gigantic and bilingual peninsula, with the three non-Christian religions (Hindu, Brahman, Buddhist, Muhammadan, pagan) and Christian denominations (40), and the prejudices of the highly developed caste system.

In 1888 Vaso de Gama landed in Calicut, the capital of Malabar, accompanied by the Trinitarian Pedro de Covilha, who in 1500 became the proto-martyr of the missions in India. In the same year eight secular priests and eight Franciscans arrived in Malabar. In 1562, three of whom were put to death by the Mahomedans. Yet, in spite of persecution and death, the Franciscans, and after 1568 the Dominicans, went forth to India as the pioneer missionaries, to sow the seed of Christianity in Cochin (1562) and Goa (1510), and gradually extended their work to Bombay, Madras, Danfio, Bengal, Agra, Ceylon, Malacca, etc., under Fathers Antonio do Lual (1530), do Porto, and Padeto. To establish the Church on a firm basis, the Pope in 1554 granted Bishop John of Albuquerque as its first occupant; the see was raised to an archbishopric by Paul IV. (1557) with three suffragans at Cochin (1557), Cranganore (1600), and Malacca (1606). Two Franciscans, James of Borluus and Vincent de Lagos, founded the college of St. Paul at Goa for the purpose of training a native clergy.

In 1571 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 Mansilhes, set out to inaugurate a mission universally. From Goa he extended the faith to the Fishery Coast, Travancore (1544), Cochín, Quilon, and Ceylon. His Jesuit successors took up and carried on his work: de Nobili among the Brahmins of Madura (1605-44), Capuchins (30,000,000 converts), Criminalis on the Fishery Coast (90-130,000 converts) (1602), de Britto among the Maravas (1633), Acquaviva at the court of Akbar the Great; Father Goes penetrated from India into China, and Andruz crossed the Himalayas and went to Tibet. They were followed by other members of the Society such as da Costa, Martinez, Laynez, Benechet, Martin, Calmette, Courdoux, and Constantin Breschi (1700-40), Franciscans in Agra and Delhi, Capuchins in Madras (1612), Barnabites and Augustinians (Archbishop Menezes of Goa (1594-1610) in Hyderabad and Bengal, Theatines and Oratorians (Father Vaz, apostle of Ceylon (1711)) shared with them in this new harvest of souls in India, which had recently been realized to some extent, had Portugal remained faithful to the duties and sacred obligations that she had promised in connexions with the Padroado the right of patronage—which the Holy See from Leo X. to Paul V. (1514-1610) 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 49,000 into apostasy, and sold 50,000 to Benga- mudan dealers. The dispute regarding concessions to Hindu usages or Malabar rites, commencing with de Nobili in 1606 and ending in 1744 with the bull of Benedict XIV., Omnimus sollicitutibus, greatly divided the missions, and deprived of the advantage 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 possesssions in 1762, and throughout the world in 1772. 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 training. The missions had been extended to India, which in 1700 numbered some 1,500,000 or even 2,500,000 Roman Catholics, were only rains and wreckages (600,000 or even less) in 1800. The archbishopric of Goa, with its three suffragans of Cranganore, Cochin, and Malacca, numbered 360,000 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 43,000 and 6 priests, the Carmelite in the Diocese of Malabar, with 88,000 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 neglected obligations of 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>
<th>Mission-fields</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Augustinians (Hermits)</td>
<td>E.S. Ang.</td>
<td>1526</td>
<td>V. North Hum., Cocktown; P. Amazonas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Recollects)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Benedictines</td>
<td>O.S.B.</td>
<td>1579</td>
<td>V. Casarare; P. Falawav; M. in Brazil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capuchins</td>
<td>O.F.M. Cap.</td>
<td>1525</td>
<td>D. India; Agra, Allahabad, Lahore; A.D. Sina; V. Arabia, Caroline-Maritime, Erythrea, Gallia, Somali, Goa, Guan, Seychelles, Sogdia; P. Arabia, Lebanon, Bettin, Southern Borneo, Capets, Upper Solomones, Miss Caldas, Belgue-Ubanghi, Rajputana, Sumatra; M. Martin, Trichinonda, Kephalonia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmelites (Discalced)</td>
<td>O. Cae.</td>
<td>1622</td>
<td>D. Quapla, Verapoly, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Armenia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominicans</td>
<td>O. Pr.</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>M. Baghba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franciscans</td>
<td>O.F.M.</td>
<td>1209</td>
<td>V. Amoy, Canelo y Macas, Curasco, Po-kien, Central, East and Northern Tongking, P. Shikoku, Urubauna; M. Micau, Triundhi, E. Uoige.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesuits</td>
<td>S.J.</td>
<td>1534</td>
<td>D. Calcutta, Bombay, Galle, Madhura, Mangalore, Poona, Trichinopoly, Trivonamalee; V. Batavia, Kiang-nan, S.-E. China, Central Madagascar, British Galana, British Hollandia, Jamaica; P. Alaska, Kwango, Zambezi; M. Alhania, Syra, Timos, Armenia, Arabia, Syria, Philippines, Australia, U.S.A., Mexico, Cuba, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentine, Brazil, Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marists</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
<td>1816</td>
<td>V. Fiji, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Central Oceania, Samoa, Solomon Islands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary Seminaries—</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lyons</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>V. Benin, Dabomoy, Gold Coast, Nile Delta, Ivory Coast, Liberia; P. E., and N. Nigeria, Korgogia; M. Negro Missions U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milan</td>
<td>S.M.</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>D. Krishnoog, Hyderabad; V. E. Burma, S. and N. Hong-kong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill Hill</td>
<td>S.M.H.</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td>A.D. Madras, V. Upper Nile; P. N. Bornee, Kishmir; M. Auckland, Congo, Philippine, Malaysia, Panjiat.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pavis</td>
<td>S.P.</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>W. Ho-han.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>S.S. Apostl, Petri et Pauli</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>S. Shen-si, Lower California.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schenfeld</td>
<td>C.I.C.M.</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td>V. E. C., and S. W. Mongolia, N. Kazamib, Upper Congo; P. S. Kasam, Upper Kasaul; M. Kulla, Philippines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turin (S. Consolata)</td>
<td>M. Consol.</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>V. Keula; P. S. Kaffa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verona</td>
<td>P.S.B.</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>V. Sudau.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionary Societies—</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Congregation of the Holy Ghost</td>
<td>C. Sp. S.</td>
<td>1703 and 1843</td>
<td>1703 and 1843</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>United in 1849.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Algerian Miss. or White Fathers</td>
<td>P.B.</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>V. Bagamoyo, Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar, N. Madagascar, French Upper Congo, Gabun, Longo, Seugambique, Ubanghi, Sierra Leone; P. Lower Katinga, Upper Cambelasia, Portuguese Congo, French Guinea, North Katanga, Nossi Be, Lower Niger, Senegale, Teffe, M. Bata, Linda, Cuneoe, Roono, Mauritius, Hayti, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Trinidad, Ubanghi-Chari, Gandina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishops</td>
<td>S.S.</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>V. X. and S. Nyanza, Kiru, Unyamwe, Tanganyika, Upper Congo, Nyassa, Bangweulo, Sahara; P. Ghardaia; M. Sudan, Algers, Jerusalem, Bahia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblates of Mary Immac.</td>
<td>O.M.I.</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>V. Caneworns, M. Kimberley, Australa, Brazil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionaries of the S. Heart</td>
<td>M.S.C.</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>D. Jaffa; A.D. Colomb; V. Athalasaca, Basuto, Kewa, Mackense, Natal, Orange, S. Transvaal, Kimberley; P. Lower Cinhchada, Yakon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missionaries of the Innocent Heart of Mary</td>
<td>C.M.P.</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>V. Mendez-Guapucua, N. Patagonia; P. S. Patagonia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company of Mary a Montfort</td>
<td>S. M. M.</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>V. Fernande M.P. Choco.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priests of S. Heart of Jesus</td>
<td>S.N.C.</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>V. Llanes de S. Martin, Shire; M. Hayti.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>V. Stanley Falle; M. Belgian Congo.</td>
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Salvatorians (S.D.S. 1818), P. Assani; Premonstratensians (O. Prem. 1129), P. W. Uolle; Silverstines (O. Silv. 1231). D. Randy; Trappists, Missionaries (R.M.M. 1609), Natal; Trinitarians (O.S. A. 1598). P. Benadit; Redemptorists (C.S. Redempt. 1728), V. Surinam (Dutch Guiana), Matadi; Passionists (C.P. 1730), Bulgaria; Assumptionists (A.A. 1845). Missions in the Orient: Salesians of Antucey, D. Nagpur; Oblates of St. Francis of Sales, Great Kamaqualand, 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 lived and laboured in the only 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 without consulting the interests of Portugal. India was opened to all Roman Catholic missionaries irrespective of nationality or religious orders. In 1837 the French Jesuits entered Madura, and they were followed by the Germans (Bombay and Bengal, 1854, 1857), the Belgians (Calcutta 1839, Galle 1855), and the Italians (Mangalore 1878). The Missionaries of Paris took up their work in Malacca (1840) and Bums (1857), those of Milan in Krishnagati (1859), Hyderabad (1859), and E. Burne (1868), the Oblates in Jaffna (1847) and Colombo (1853), etc. In 1852 the Propaganda asked Portugal either to fill the vacant sees or to renounce the Padroado. As no answer arrived for two years, Gregory XVI. began to institute vicars-apostolic in Bengal and Madras (1834), in Ceylon and Pondicherry (1856), etc. But new trials and difficulties commenced. The Portuguese Government protested against sending missionaries into India and against the establishment of new vicariates and the cooperation of the kings of Portugal, and the patriarch of Goa placed himself at the head of a schism in India—the Goanese schism—which was maintained under the patriarchates of Goa, Joseph de Cliva, Torres and Pires. This was tried in 1857 to come to a settlement, but this was accomplished only by Leo XIII. on 23rd June 1886. A million and a half of native Christians were again under the allegiance of the Holy See when on 1st Sept. 1888 Leo XIII. established the hierarchy in India—8 archbishoprics: Goa, Verapoly, Colombo, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, Agra, and Bombay, to which Simla was added in 1910, the patriarchate 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 in 1884, since which then has been administered by the titular archbishops Agiati (1884-87), Ajeti (1887-92), and Zaleski.

About a half of the 17th and 18th years of the Indian missions after the reorganization under Gregory XVI. was a period of reconstruction in gathering together and strengthening in the 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 1857 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>Region</th>
<th>Number of Catholics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>929,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>297,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,227,243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three vicariates of Burma</td>
<td>13,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verapoly</td>
<td>80,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>13,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>13,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>13,759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,064,296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceylon (native Roman Catholics)</td>
<td>522,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total for India and Ceylon</td>
<td>2,280,449</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To complete the survey of the Roman Catholic missions in British India, we subjoin the general statistics taken from the *Atlas Hierarchic* (1913); the hierarchy consists of 9 archbishoprics, 27 dioceses, 3 vicariats, and 4 prelatures, with 126 foreign and 1259 native priests, 638 brothers, 395 sisters, 3,756 catechists, 4,792 native teachers, 2,215,632 Catholics, 1,106 parishes and 1,956 additional stations, 27 theological seminaries with 1,262 students of theology, 2,843 elementary schools with 162,936 pupils, 519 higher schools with 52,016 boys and 15,273 girls, 2,546 orphanages with 11,206 orphans, 26 hospitals, 17 dispensaries, 1 printing press, 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, in the reign of Ch'ien-lung (1735), resided in Peking and with the help of his Jesuit brethren started missions at Canton, Nanking, and Kiang-si, receiving converts from the lowest 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 Mancheh Tatars. In 1628 the Jesuit Adam Schall arrived in Peking, and signed great treaties with the Emperor, to the advantage of religion. In the meantime the Dominicans, who in 1625 had established themselves on the island of Purnma, 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 (1854).

At the request of Bishop Paiva, Clement XIII. divided China, which had hitherto been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Macao, into two vicariates and entrusted the northern part to Gregory Lopez, consecrated bishop at Canton in 1855. About this time the sanhol or learned missionaries Christianity made great progress within a century, and when he died the Roman Catholic Church was in a flourishing condition, honoured at Court, professed by the highest mandarins, and numbering about 300,000 members. Since, however, the Roman Catholic religion was not officially recognized, and the natives were forbidden by law to embrace the faith, the local mandarins put many obstacles in the way and caused many a local persecution, till Father Gerbillon, in 1692, obtained an edict granting liberty to all his subjects to embrace and practise the Roman Catholic religion.

But, whilst the Church was enjoying peace from without, she was sadly disturbed from within by a controversy about the Chinese rites, i.e. the lawfulness of taking part in the Chinese ceremonies in honour of Confucius and of using the word Tien ("heaven") to express the idea of God, and whether the prostrations and sacrifices in honour of Confucius and of the ancestors were merely civil ceremonies or connected with idolatry and superstition. Instead of preaching the gospel, converting the infidels, and applying their abilities to other matters, missionaries of the first class wasted their talents, time, and work in useless and fruitless discussions, for Jesuits and Dominicans were divided in their opinions. Father Ricci, as well as the Chinese bishop, Gregory Lopez, and most of the Jesuit missionaries, considered the Chinese rites as merely civil ceremonies, while the Dominicans strongly objected to this view. In 1693, however, the controversy became acute by the action of Bishop Maigrot, vicar-apostolic of Fu-kien, who condemned the rites and threatened with interdict all missionaries who refused to conform to his command. To settle the dispute, a papal legate was sent to China in 1765, who, owing to lack of tact, only offended the emperor.
In 1706 Kang-hi made all the priests in China promise that they would teach nothing contrary to the teaching of the Church, and in the following year issued an edict, through the Foreign Missions 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 Gerbillion, Bouvet, and Parein, became the scientific advisers to the Court or wrote learned books and treatises or published works of piety for their converts. The emperor Kang-hi, during his long reign of sixty years, treated the Christians with justice, revoked all the edicts against them, raised them to the highest offices of the country, and made the Jesuit advisers to the emperor his companions, friends, and advisers. He died in 1721 without embracing Christianity, although he desired to be baptized in his last illness.

In the 18th century, a reaction took place. His son and successor, Yung-chin (1722-36), drove the missionaries from the Court, and ordered them to leave the country, with the exception of Father Parein and three of his colleagues. As the result of a edict was issued in 1724, the missionaries were seized and banished, and 280 churches were destroyed or turned into pagans.

In 1735 to the throne of China mitigated for a time the severity of the anti-Christian laws, but in 1745 a new persecution broke out in Fu-kien, where, in the following year, Bishop Sanz and four Dominicans were murdered, and soon this flame spread to other provinces. All the hatred was turned against the priests, who were obliged to seek refuge in flight.

Scarcely had the Church recovered from her trial, new misfortunes overtook her. The Jesuits, who from 1733 to 1773 had worked in China as elsewhere, were suspended. 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 12 out of 18 provinces—1783. For many years, however, the Lazarists were unable to send a sufficient number of missionaries to continue the work of the Jesuits and the missionaries seem to be all that were present in 1775 to 1796. 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 Peking church of the Church in China, which in the reign of the emperor Kang-hi is said to have numbered 800,000 members, was reduced at the beginning of the 19th century to 220,000 members; among the Lazarists, the missionaries of Peking and Nanking, the Franciscans in Shan-si, the Dominicans in Fu-kien, the Lazarists in the missions of Paris in Sze-chuan, and the Portuguese secular priests at Macao and Canton.

Yet, in spite of bloodshed and persecution, of cruel edicts issued by the emperors, and the anti-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 continued to make good progress during the course of the 19th and specially since the beginning of the 20th century. The Franciscans and Jesuits in China, the Lazarists and the Missions of Paris who have been in the Chinese mission field for two centuries, have strengthened their ranks and extended their work, while new missionary societies founded in the 19th cent., such as the Schenfeldt and the Sybil missionary societies, and the missionary societies of the new world, Rome, and Paris, have opened up new fields, and all the European missionaries engaged in China have strengthened their ranks with a large number of native priests.

True, the opening of the 19th cent. did not promise a bright future, for Kia-King (1796-1820) proved to be one of the greatest persecutors, having revived the old anti-Christian laws. Bishop Du-fresse was beheaded in 1825, Father Chet in 1820, 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 demanded religious liberty for the Roman Catholic missionaries in 1844. The Chinese Government acceded, and in 1844-45 two edicts were issued which, while still legal recognition in the empire, and in 1846 a third ordered the restoration to Roman Catholics of all the churches which they had lost since the reign of the emperor Kang-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 repeatedly 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 Caupedelaine (1856) brought matters to a crisis. France joined Britain in a war against China, and the result was the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and the Convention of Peking (1860); the churches were restored as well as the religions and charitable institutions, and soon new free passports throughout the empire, the faithful were guaranteed unrestricted exercise of their religion, in the edicts against the Christians were abrogated. Yet the Christians were not safeguarded from local persecutions, and in Kiang-si, Kiang-tung, Sze-chuan, Hu-nan, and finally in Tientsin in 1870. After the accession of Kuang-si in 1875 the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed a long period of peace, and, though the empress Tse-hsi was not favourably 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 mission be an equal partner with the Chinese local authorities; a privilege which was cancelled a few years later.

The political plunders of Europe in China, by taking Kiao-su, which in China is the modern Shan-si (Germany), in 1898, Weihai-wei (Japan, 1898), and Kiang-chou-wan (France, 1898), resulted in the Boxer riots, which brought sad days for the missions. Bishops, priests, and sisters lost their lives; churches, schools, and hospitals were levelled to the ground; 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 their terms in the Chinese Capital on 7th Sept. 1901. A movement towards the Roman Catholic Church then began, a great
number of Chinese entering the list of the catechumens, and it has steadily advanced since the Boxer rising. The overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in China and the proclamation of a Chinese republic have not interfered with missionary work. Yuan-Shi-Kai, the first president of the new republic, promised absolute religious liberty, mandarins and governors envied the tact of the Roman Catholic missionaries, and Christian and non-Christian factions look with admiration to the spiritual power of the Church whose missionaries are living examples of the poverty, zeal, and heroism of apostolic times.

The flourishing period of the Roman Catholic Church in China, from 1583 to 1723, the hierarchy was not developed, though the Propaganda had resolved in 1634 to appoint a patriarch, two or three archbishops, and twelve bishops. In 1857 Gregory XIII created the diocese of Macao for China, and in 1890 the vicar-apostolic, French Tongking, both in 1569. But, in 1638 Alexander VII erected within the diocese of Macao two vicariates for China, and to satisfy Portugal Alexander VII created the diocese of Peking and Nanking in the jurisdiction of Gansu, which were added three vicariates, viz., Shan-shi, Fu-kien, and Sze-chwan. In 1800 there were in China five missionary districts divided between the Franciscans (Society of Jesus), the Missionary Society of Paris (Sze-chuan), the Lazarists (Peking, Nanking, Hu-nan, Hu-peh, Kiang-si), and the secular priests (Macao) with 200,000 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 1903 we find 43 vicariates with 931,000 members, and in 1911–12, 48 vicariates and prefectures with 1,345,376 members (1913 = 1,341,000; 1914 = 1,346,912) extremely.

According to the Atlas Hierarchicus, we find for China and her dependencies, Mongolia and Manchuria, the following statistics: 49 missionary dioceses or vicariates and prefectures, 195 European and 721 native priests, 247 European and 400 native brothers, 743 European and 1429 native sisters, 537 male and 552 female catechists, 1,929 native teachers, 1,406,685 native Christians and 413,927 catechumens, 1442 principal and 12,580 secondary schools, 9214 churches and chapels, 54 theological seminaries with 16,628 students, 6730 elementary schools with 129,320 (p) pupils, 157 higher schools with 4429 (7) boys and 961 (3) girls, 49 orphanages with 22,156 inmates, 97 hospitals, 650 dispensaries, and 25 printing presses.

3. Indo-China.—Indo-China, the bridge between India and China, the most eastern of the three peninsulas of S. Asia, is politically divided into Upper and Lower Burma (British), the Malay Peninsulas, and New Guinea. It consists of Cochim, which consists of Cochim, 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 Peninsulas are ecclesiastically included in British India, we have to deal here only with French Indo-China, Cambodia, Laos, and Siam.

The area of French Indo-China has been estimated at 262,000 or 360,000 sq. miles with a population of 16,000,000 or 21,000,000 inhabitants. The first attempts to preach the gospel in French Indo-China were made in the 16th cent. by a French Franciscan, Bonier (1551), and two Portuguese Dominicans, Ga-yi-l of the Cross, who penetrated into Cambodia, and Sebastian de Canto; both were put to death in Siam in 1569. These were followed by Lopez Cordoso, Sylvester Azevedo, and Jahan Madera, who preached in Siam and Cambodia. Father F. P. El F. D. (martyred in 1690) went to Cochim China 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 dei Pina, who in 1615 entered Cochim-China and Cambodia in 1617, and they were followed by Alexander of Rhodes, the pioneer missionary to Indo-China, and Father B. J. Shumacher, who, in 1658, extended the work to Tongking in 1629. In a short period of time the Church made such rapid progress that, in spite of repeated persecutions, the number of Christians amounted to 300,000 in 1641, while Father Tissandier on his arrival in 1638 found 300,000 converts under the charge of only 6 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 1614, 1645, and 1647; but, on the other hand, a new missionary society was founded in Paris (Les Missions Étrangères), whose members were to devote the instruments for a rich harvest in the East. Among the first missionaries of the Society of Paris we find Fathers Chevrel, Haingnes, Brindeau, Mahot, and Vachedel, who strengthened the work. Alexander VII, on his arrival in 1632 recognized the actual founders of Les Missions Étrangères—viz., Francis Pallu and Pierre de la Motte Lambert, as vicars-apostolic of Tongking and Cochim China. Under their administration parishes were established, schools and seminaries were opened for the training of a native clergy, and de la Motte founded a congregation of native sisters called 'Les Amatrices de la Croix.' A persecution which broke out in 1664, during which the Jesuits were temporarily expelled till 1669, greatly reduced the number of native Christians, partly by martyrdom, partly by apostasy, so that on the arrival of the missionaries of Paris there were only 100,000 Christians left, but this number was increased to 300,000 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 with King Le-hi-kei for 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 Étrangères' 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. (Independent) French Indo-China, which consists of Cochim China, 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 Peninsulas are ecclesiastically included in British India, we have to deal here only with French Indo-China, Cambodia, Laos, and Siam.

In 1800 we find the following table of statistics for Indo-China; 1 vicar-apostolic, 5 missionary and 15 native priests, 50,000 native Christians (Missionaries of Paris), Tongking W.; 1 vicar-apostolic, 6 missionary and 63 native priests, 120,000 native Christians (Missionaries of Paris), Tongking E.; 1 vicar-apostolic, 4 missionary and 41 native priests, 140,000 native Christians (Dominicans)

3 bishops, 15 missionaries and 119 native priests, 310,000 Christians.

In the meantime the political movement had taken place in Indo-China which at first seemed very favourable to Diego Adrian, and in reality became the cause of serious hindrances, obstacles, and persecutions. During the civil war which commenced in 1777, Nguyen-anh, the ruler of Cochim China, implored the help of the European
Powers against the rebellions Tai-Shans. Britain, Holland, and Portugal willingly offered their help, but Pierre-Joseph Piganeux de Belioine, since 1841 vicar-apostolic of Cochim China, offered to enlist the help of France, and Nguyen-anh accepted the proposal. Accompanied by Prince Chan, the king's son, Piganeux set out for France, and, asplenio-consume, Mgr. de Lannoy opened a convention on 28th Nov. 1877, 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 returned to Cochim. The Annamese were thus left without a country, and in 1850 the French used the opportunity to increase French influence in Annam.

Owing to this success Gallong was favourable to Christianity, which made splendid progress throughout the Annamese empire. This period of peace (1820-29), however, was only a preparation for future trials. In 1819 the Christian community included 4 bishops, 25 European and 180 native priests, 1000 catechists, and 1000 sisters. Gallong was succeeded by his son, Minh-mang (1821-41), a cruel and profligate tyrant and a bitter enemy of the Church. He dismissed his father's trusted friends, 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 inaugurated a period of persecution in 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 Chinese and European priests and 4 bishops fell as victims to this tyranny—Fathers Gauglin (1833), Marchand (1835), Cornay (1837), de la Morte (1840), Mgr. Borie (1838), and Mgr. Delgado (1838), 48 years old. The persecution abated under Minh-mang's successor, Thien-tri (1841-47), who did not possess the energy of his predecessor, and was afraid of Britain's successes in China and of a threatened interference of France. Instead of being annihilated, the Church's missionaries and converts increased year after year in spite of all the edicts and tortures of Minh-mang.

In 1840 we find:

Cochim China: 1 vicar-apostolic, 1 coadjutor, 10 missionary priests, 60,000 Roman Catholics.

Tongking W.: 1 vicar-apostolic, 8 missionary and 36 native priests, 160,000 Roman Catholics.

Tongking E.: 1 vicar-apostolic, 1 coadjutor, 6 missionary and 41 native priests, 40,000 Roman Catholics.

3 bishops, 2 coadjutors, 24 missionary and 141 native priests, 42,000 Roman Catholics.

To facilitate the work of the missions in the Annamese empire, Gregory XVI. in 1844 divided Cochim China into two vicariates, Eastern and Western, and W. Tongking into Western and Southern in 1848, while in 1852 Cambois and N. Cochim China were also raised to vicariates. Though King Thien-tri did not shed the blood of the priests, yet they did not escape imprisonment; such were Fathers Gall, Bernex, Charrier, Mache, and Pje, who were secretly killed by the partisans of the Heroine in 1843. This and similar interferences by the French in 1847 and 1856 provoked the resentment of King Tu-duc (1847-83), whose reign of 36 years is one uninterrupted period of persecution of the bishops, priests, and Christians. In 1848 he issued an edict setting a price on the heads of the missionaries, and in 1851 he ordered the European priests to be cast into the sea and the native priests to be cut in two; Fathers Schiffer (1831), Homard, and Minh (1832) were martyred. In 1855 a universal proclamation of Christians followed, and in 1857 Bishop Pellerin, vicar-apostolic of N. Cochim China, appealed to Napoleon III. to intervene. In August 1858 France and Spain, moved by the slaughter of their countrymen, took joint action, and seized Touran (1858) and Saigon (1859). The persecution meanwhile raged with unabated vigour. Bishops Daza, Hermosilla, Garcia, Cuenot, etc.—together 5 bishops, 28 Dominicans, 3 Mlssionaries of the Sacred Heart, 100 native priests, and 5000 Christians were put to death, 100 towns, all centres of Christian communities, were razed to the ground, 40,000 Christians died of ill-treatment, and all the possessions of the Christians were seized. Peace was restored in 1862, when Annam ceded to France the southern provinces of Cochim China and guaranteed freedom of religion to all Christians. That peace, however, did not last long; it was broken by the interference of the French free-booters Dupuis, Dupré-Garnier, and Philastre, and Mgr. Puginier, vicar-apostolic of W. Tongking, because 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 1882 the Christians enjoyed a period of relative peace, till the Annamese monarchy, however, was broken, the people was compelled France to interfere. Hieu was captured on 29th Aug. 1883, 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 province. The work of the missionaries 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, Cochim China, and Laos had to mourn the loss of 200 European priests and 50,000 Christians; E. Cochim-China alone lost 8 European and 7 native priests, 65 catechists, 276 sisters, 24,000 Christians, 17 orphanages, 10 convents, and 255 chapels, etc. 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 marvellous progress in Indo-China, and has never been in so flourishing a condition as she is to-day. Of this the statistics given below are ample proof.

Siam.—The first Roman Catholic missionary who entered Siam was the French Franciscan, Bonfer, who preached the gospel there from 1550 to 1554, but without result. He was succeeded by two Dominicans, Jerome of the Incarnation and de Cantu, who converted some 1500 Siamese from 1554 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 1662, when Alexander Vlad, made it a vicariate and in 1669 entrusted it to the Missionary Society of Paris with Mgr. Lannoy as its first bishop. The Siamese king, Phra Narai, in 1667 signed the treaty of Lowry with Louis XIV. of France, by which the Roman Catholic missionary establishments obtained permission to preach the gospel throughout Siam. This was done till 1727, when a serious persecution broke out which lasted without interruption for three centuries. When the Burmese inroads and wars were over, the 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 Bonnot, Barbe, Fulgoix, and Courvey. In 1834 Courvey was appointed bishop, and under his administration Siam had 6390 Roman Catholics with 11 European and 7 native priests. His successor, Bishop Fulgoix (1846-62), the best Siamese scholar and the most successful missionary among the Laos, induced Napoleon III. to renew the French alliance with
King Mongkut of Siam (1856). Thanks to the broadmindedness of Mongkut (1851-68) and Chulalongkorn (1868-1910), the Roman Catholic missions in Siam enjoyed peace under Pallavicini'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 36 churches; in 1913 we find 24,000 Roman Catholics, 45 European and 21 native priests, 35 European and 87 native sisters, 33 principal and 56 secondary stations, 56 churches, 76 elementary schools with 3740 pupils, and 4 high schools with 858 students under Bishop M. J. Perros.

The missions in Laos, which were commenced in 1760 and formally opened in 1853, 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 36 elementary schools.

4. Japan.—The existence of the island empire of Nippon, or Japen, 'the Land of the Rising Sun,' was first revealed to the Western world by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (1255-92) under the name of Cipangu, but was not visited by Europeans until three centuries later. Famous among these was the Portuguese Mendez Pinto, who, on 23rd Sept. 1543, landed on Tanegashima and became instrumental in the conversion of three shipwrecked Japanese, Anjiro and his servants. 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, Yannaguchi, Meako, and Bungo, forming everywhere nuclei of promising Christian centres. Before his departure to China in 1551, St. Francis had obtained new helpers from Goa, such as Fathers Balthasar Gago, Gaspar Berse, Edward da Silva, and Peter de Alcavera, who were later on joined by Gaspar Coelho, Vilela, 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 for 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 Taikosama, became a fierce persecutor of the Christians, ordering the destruction of all the churches and the immediate expulsion of all the Roman Catholic priests (1587). The return of the Japanese embassy from Rome in 1590 and the arrival of Father Valignani with new European Jesuits effected a change, however, and the Japanese Christians began to breathe more freely. In 1593 the Japanese missions numbered 50 European Jesuit priests, 11 European scholasties, 87 Japanese Jesuit brothers, 5 Japanese and 3 Portuguese novices with 23 residences, and about 300,000 or even 600,000 members. Plus v. had appointed the Jesuit Antonio Vieira, bishop of Japan with Melchior Carnero as his conlocutor, 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 Martinez, also a Jesuit, appointed in 1591 and consecrated at Goa in 1595, arrived in Japan in the following year. In 1593 four Spanish Franciscans—Peter Baptist of San Esteban, Bartholomew Ruiz, Francis de Parilla, and Gonsalvo—arrived in Japan and started work at Mako, Nagasaki, and Osaka, thus trespassing upon the privilege granted by Gregory XIII. In 1595 to the Jesuits and Dominicans in Japan, Cespedez, who accused the Roman Catholic missionaries of being only political agents of Spain and Portugal, and Hideyo shi gave the signal for a crusade against them, during which 6 Franciscans, 13 Japanese Tertiaries, 3 Japanese Jesuits, and 2 servants, known as the '26 martyrs of Nagasaki,' were put to death on 9th Feb. 1597. Instead of destroying Christianity, however, the persecution only helped to make it known. Hideyo shi died in 1598, and his successor, Jeyasu Daifusuma (1605-15), left the Church in peace, which was then governed by the Jesuit Bishop Luiz Serequeta. In 1602 the Jesuits were reinforced by Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, and by the year 1613 we find in Japan 130 Jesuits and some 20 priests belonging to the other missionary societies. The actual number of native Christians, however, is doubtful. Between 1549 and 1598, 500,000, between 1598 and 1613, 200,000, and between 1613 and 1625, 25,000 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 in the Far East. In 1614 Bishop Serqueyra died and was succeeded by the Franciscan martyr, Bishop Louis Soto le, 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.

Jey sau 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 19 Jesuits, 6 Dominicans, 4 Franciscans, and 32 Japanese were put to death. The following Shogun, is said to have killed about 20,000 every year from 1623. Over 200 of the missionaries, some 800 native catechists, and 200,000 Christians suffered actual martyrdom. From 1641 to 1688 Christianity was exterminated 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 (1709), 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 1632 Gregory X VI erected the vicariate of Korea, Japan was included. In 1644 Father Forcade and Kofu, a lay brother, landed in Korea, and they were joined by Father Loturdu in 1646. In the same year the vicariate of Korea was erected with Father Forcade as vicar-apostolic. But Japan was still a foreign land till, in 1853, the United States broke down the barriers by a treaty, which was followed by others with Great Britain, Russia, etc., and Father Petitjean was able to build a Roman Catholic church at Nagasaki, which, on 17th March 1855, became instrumental in finding that there were in Japan still 25 Christian villages with several thousand Christians who for 200 years had kept the faith. In 1866 Petitjean was appointed vicar-apostolic. Though some minor persecutions broke out, the Church made progress, and in 1873 the laws and edicts against Christianity were abolished. In 1876 Japan was divided into two vicariates, and under Leo XIII. two more were added in 1888 and 1881, till on 15th June 1891 Leo XIII re-establish the Roman Catholic hierarchy, i.e., the archdioceses of Tokyo with three suffragan sees of Nagasaki, Osaka, and Hakodate, which were placed under the care of the Missionaries of Paris, to which have since been added the prelatures of Shitoyu and Seidle. While the Church in Korea, which in 1570 amounted to 10,000 with 13 priests, reached 25,000 in 1859, 44,000 in 1899, and 100,000 in 1899, the Church in Japan with 150 European and 33 native priests, and 69,755 in 1913.

Korea.—From 1636 to 1875 Chosen, the 'Land of the Morning Calm,' was known only under the name of the 'Hermit Kingdom of the Far East,' on account of the rigorous enforcement of her policy of isolation against all foreigners. Yet Roman Catholic missionaries made their way and found their faithful children in Korea, whose very name became known in Europe as the symbol of persecution and martyrdom. When, in 1592-94, Taiko Sama of Japan sent his soldiers to Korea, the Jesuit Gregorio de Cespede accompanied the expedition as chaplain, and after the capture of Pusan and the taking of Osako, the Roman Catholic missionaries sent him to the Jesuit fathers in Japan, and in his spare time instructed the Koreans also, baptizing, on his return to Japan in 1595, some 300 Korean prisoners of war. Nothing, however, is known of the fate of his converts so long as unknown.

In 1715, the 17th cent., all traces of Christianity had disappeared from the land. In 1786 Seng-hun-i, one of the Korean literati, joined the annual embassy to Peking and interviewed there Alexander de Govea, the Franciscan bisho who baptized him by the name of Peter. On his return he was joined by two friends, Peki and Ill-sini, who became the pioneers of Christianity in Korea. From 1754 to 1794 they received some 4000 neophytes into the Church, who were persecuted by the Koreans from 1785 to 1794. An attempt made by de Remedios in 1791 to penetrate into Korea failed. In 1794 Father Jacob Tan (alias Padre Jayme Velloozo), a Chinese priest, succeeded in entering, and for nearly six years continued in the country. In 1801, when he was put to death by 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 Societe des Missions Etrangeres of Paris, and on 9th Sept. 1824 Korea was made a vicariate with Bruguiere as its first bishop, Fathers Chastan and Maniart being his only assistants. The bishop died in the sight of Korea, while Fathers Maubant and Chastan Kim Island, and they were joined by Father Leturdu in 1646. In 1598 the vicariate of Korea was erected with Father Forcade as vicar-apostolic. But Japan was still a foreign land till, in 1853, the United States broke down the barriers by a treaty, which was followed by others with Great Britain, Russia, etc., and Father Petitjean was able to build a Roman Catholic church at Nagasaki, which, on 17th March 1855, became instrumental in finding that there were in Japan still 25 Christian villages with several thousand Christians who for 200 years had kept the faith. In 1866 Petitjean was appointed vicar-apostolic. Though some minor persecutions broke out, the Church made progress, and in 1873 the laws and edicts against Christianity...
and Davely) and 10 priests. In 1866 the persecution raged again, and during it, 2 bishops with 7 priests were put to death and 3 priests had to leave the country. In 1867 attempts were made to reconcile the Hottentot, but after the mission under Bishop Haruy, who had reached the south coast of Angola in 1863, was expelled by the Hottentot and died in 1875. The treaties of Korea with Japan, the United States, Britain, France, and Austria again opened the doors of the Hermit Kingdom. Bishop Pinto found on his arrival in 1883 only 13,000 Roman Catholics out of 25,000 in 1865, but the flock numbered 16,500 at his death in 1890. During the long reign of Bishop Mutel (since 1890) the missions in the west of the kingdom in 1895, a Japanese protectorate in 1905, and a Japanese general residency in 1910, have enjoyed freedom. In 1897 we find 32 European and 3 native priests with 32,217 members in 697 stations. In 1899, 66 Europeans and 3 native priests with 68,016 members. At the request of Bishop Mutel, Korea was divided in 1910 into the two vicariates of Seoul and T'aian, and numbered, in 1913, 38 Europeans and 17 native priests, with 59,700 members and 975 out-stations, and 150 churches with 89,500 members.

II. AFRICA.—There is hardly a more glorious chapter to be found in the annals of the Roman Catholic Church in the Dark Africa. After the decay of early Christianity there was, for a few centuries, the spread of Christianity among the Abyssinians, Africa remained for many centuries a closed continent to Christianity, though the Franciscans and Dominicans who settled, and the Jesuits and the Missionaries of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy tried their best in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, to alleviate the lot of Christian captives and to instil the lessons of Christianity into the hearts of the Mahommedans of Morocco, Tunis, and the Barbary States. When in the 15th 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, the Portuguese Cape Colony (1482) reached the Rio de Oro (1482), 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 (1488), and Bartholomew Dias explored as far as Mozambique, Malindi, and Mombasa (1497). Pope Alexander VI. in 1494 assigned to Spain all the lands discovered and still to be discovered 370 miles west of Cape Verde Islands, and all the lands to the north, and to Portugal all the lands to the east, with the missionans, the east QUESTION: and west. Dominicans and Franciscans, Augustinians and Jesuits, Capuchins and Carmelites, supported by secular priests, and one mother, in carrying into effect the command of Christ 'to teach all nations.' Bishops were founded on the adjacent islands of the Dark Continent, viz. Las Palmas in the Canary Islands, Funchal in Madeira (1514), Sao Thome (1534), etc. The King Emmanuel of Portugal took a special interest in the evangelization of the Congo, and from 1603 to 1612 sent annually some missionaries of different religious orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians), who supported by the native King Alphonso, made good progress. The bishop of St. Thomas (Gulf of Guinea), to whose jurisdiction the Congo belonged, adopted the title of bishop of the Congo, transferred his seat to San Salvador, and erected a chapter consisting of 28 canons. As the missions already engaged in the Congo did not suffice for the growing demands, St. Ignatius, at the request of the king of Portugal, sent some Jesuits—among them Father Vaz, Ribera, Diaz, Soberan, Noguera, Gomez, etc.—who founded a college at San Salvador. From 1534 to 1592, 8 bishops occupied the see of San Salvador, and, when in 1592 the bishopric of Angola was united with that of the Crown the see of San Salvador was transferred to St. Paul de Loanda. With the growth and expansion of Portuguese power in the E. and W. Indies, however, Portugal neglected to supply the Congo with a sufficient number of missionaries. So that in 1587 we find only 12 priests for thousands of Christian villages. King Alvaro II. therefore applied to Rome for help in 1585; but it was only in 1610 that 6 Italian Capuchins under Father Francisco Pamporna were appointed to South Africa. The two riding between 1648 and 1653 by Italians and Portuguese, such as Dionysius Mareschi, Donavente Carriego, Joseph of Antiquera, Jerome of Puebla, Francis of Monteleone, and Anthony Zachelli, as well as by Carmelites who arrived in 1655. It seems that these earlier missionaries extended their work as far as Stanley Pool and to the valley of the Kasaai. Carmelites, Franciscans, Jesuits, and secular priests also started missionary work in Senegaluin, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Benin, Angola, and Upper and Lower Guinea. Among these pioneers we may mention the Jesuits Barreiva (†1612), Fernandez, Barros, Almeida, Neto, and Alvareas, who were appointed to Senegal, and Angels of Valencia. On the east coast missionary work was commenced soon after its discovery—in Mozambique by the Jesuits Sylveira (martyred 11th Aug. 1561), Acosta, and Fernandez; at Sofala by the Dominican John dos Santos, John de Pietate, and Nicholas de Rosario; in Madagascar by the Lazarists (1648) Nacqur de Champmartin, Gendre, and Bourdais (1657). In Egypt the Franciscans continued their work among the Copts, and among the Ethiopians (Bermudez, John Nuiez, Andrew Oviedo, Melchior Carneiro, etc.).

The various wars waged between the Dutch and the Portuguese, the slave-trade which was encouraged by the Christian European Powers, the civil wars among the natives, the more promising colonies in the east and in the west, and the decrease of Portuguese power in Africa soon made the Portuguese forget their solemn obligation, and, instead of furthering the welfare and evangelization of the natives, they only became a standing obstacle to the work of evangelization, since they would not allow any missionaries but Portuguese in their colonies. Unable—or, rather, unwilling—to support the missionary enterprise in the west and east coasts of Africa become weaker and weaker, and it was the political, and religious disturbances, such as the sectarian policy of Pombal, the anti-Roman Catholic attitude of Holland and England, and, finally, the French Revolution, brought about a religious awakening in Africa to a stupend roll. According to Louvet (Les Missions catholiques au XIXe siècle), the total number of Roman Catholics of continental Africa at the beginning of the 19th cent., including the United States and Abyssinians, amounted to 47,000.

With the formation of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1822 we perceive the first signs of a change for the better. The conquest of Algiers by France in 1830, which broke down the ramparts of Mahommedan fanaticism, and the opening of the missions among the Copts in Egypt and their kindred in Abyssinia by de Jacobs in 1830 were the preludes to the Christian awakening of the Dark Continent. The son of a Jewish Rabbi was destined to take up anew the Roman Catholic missions in Africa and to inaugurate the magnificent apostolic movement, for Liefmann became the founder of the Missionary Society of the Holy
Heart of Mary and the Holy Ghost, usually called the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, whose members (since 1845) have devoted themselves to the evangelization of the Negroes in Senegambia and Gabun (1844), Sierra Leone (1864), the Portuguese Congo (1873), French Guinean (1878), Cambelasia (1879), Kumeue (1882), Louango (1883), Lower Nigeria (1885), Ubangi (1887), Zambesia (1888), N. Madagascar, etc. When Mgr. Marion de Breuil 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, whose base was at Kilatata, in the districts known as the 'White Man's Grave'.

From Senegal came the Oblates, a branch of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost (1844), in the Transvaal (1895), and to the Cape Province in 1974, they have 81 priests, 53 brothers, 244 sisters, 2,250 catechists, 55 native sisters, 2 native priests in minor orders. They have 17,074 students, 79,521 pupils, and 341 charitable institutions.

Besides these three African Missionary Societies, 

1. The Congregations of the Holy Ghost, founded 1875, in the Congo, Nigeria, and in the Congo Free State (Mill Hill), and in the Transvaal, Orange, Kimberley, Lower Cambeasia, Basuto, etc.

2. The Franciscans, (1523), and the Dominican, (1535), and the Jesuits, (1542), and the Sulpicians, (1740), and the Oblate of Mary Immaculate, (Natal), the Franciscans, (1523), and the Dominican, (1535), and the Jesuits, (1542), and the Sulpicians, (1740), and the Oblate of Mary Immaculate, (Natal), the Transvaal, Orange, Kimberley, Lower Cambeasia, Basuto, etc.

3. The Oblate of Mary Immaculate, (Natal), the Transvaal, Orange, Kimberley, Lower Cambeasia, Basuto, etc.

4. Back to Africa, from the highlands of Abyssinia, the Soudan 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 Katotheke Missionen, Oct. 1912, Africa, as far as it is a missionary country, consists of 6 dioceses, 44 vicariates, and 28 prefectures apostolic, 1 prelature nuntius, and 7 independent missions, with 1,600,183 native members and 15,000 catechumens. When we add the dioceses of Africa and her islands which are not under the jurisdiction of the Propaganda, and, therefore, do not fall under the heading of the African mission field strictly speaking, we find the total number of Catholic missions amounting to 3,742,000—insignificant when compared with the number of inhabitants, which is said to amount to 165,000,000 or 180,000,000 or even 200,000,000 souls.

III. A. CH. 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 and explorers 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 physical features, while they extended the name 'Indians' to these aborigines in both S. and N. America with the exception of the Eskimos in the extreme north. Much has been written about the atrocities and cruelties of the white invaders, who, in their zeal for the conquest and settlement of the new country, extended the name 'Indians' to these aborigines in both S. and N. America with the exception of the Eskimos in the extreme north. Much has been written about the atrocities and cruelties of the white invaders, who, in their zeal for the conquest and settlement of the new country, culminated in the 'Columbus expedition,' which was successful in the physical conquest of the Indian tribes.
Iglesias, to Chile and Paraguay, and later on to Maranhão. Names such as Nuñez, Coren, Nobrega, and Anchieta have become household words among the Indians in S. America, while the name of Azpevedo, who, with 20 of his fellow missionaries, submitted an appeal in 1550 to the Pope, stands for loyalty to duty. At the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus the Jesuits were represented in Brazil by 445, in Maranhão by 146, in Paraguay by 564, in Mexico and California by 572, and in New Granada, Chile, Peru, Coahuila, by 192, 212, 520, and 209 members respectively.

Equally famous among the defenders of the Indians are the Dominicans Las Casas, Louis Bertrand, Antonio Montesino, Dominicus de Betanzos, Dominicus Ortiz, the Augustinian Francis John de Molina, 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, nay, were often driven back into paganism, their plantations were destroyed or ruined, their schools and churches were reduced to ashes, and their missionaries often rendered helpless 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 monastic influence of the beginning of the 19th cent., with the subsequent secession of priests in the S. American Republics, scarcely allowed the missionaries to resume their work among the remaining Indians and Negroes. In recent years the Propaganda has once more appealed to willing workers among the various religious orders and missionary societies for help to establish missionary work among the 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.

Colombia: V. González (Capuchins), 1905; V. Casanare (Augustinians), 1895; V. Llanos de S. Martin (Society of Mary), 1925; P. Capuchins (Capuchins), 1914; P. Choco (Inmaculate Heart of Mary), 1898.

Guatemala: V. Donars (Brit. Guiana) (Jesuits), 1837; V. Suriname (French Guiana) (Congregation of the Holy Ghost), 1912; V. Brasil (Brazil) (Oblates of Mary), 1895; V. Mendez y Gualiqua (Salvador), 1893; V. Napo (Jesuits), 1837; V. Zaniro (Franciscans), 1837; Peru: V. Pucallanas (S. Louis, Augustinians), 1900; P. Esquivel (Franciscans), 1900; P. Urbamad (Franciscans), 1910; M. Putumayo (Franciscans), 1912; Brazil: P. Santarem (Franciscans), 1903; M. Rio Branco (Benedictines), 1907; P. Araguaia (Pilgrims), 1911; P. Tocantins (Congregation of the Holy Ghost), 1916.

Argentina-Paraguay: V. Patagonia (Salvador), 1844; P. Patagonia (Salvador), 1850; Grand Chaco and Pampeas (Franciscans).

Chile: V. Altagracia (secular priests), 1835; V. Tarapacá (secular priests), 1894; P. Araucania (Capuchins), 1891; Mexico: V. California, 1874.

Colombia: V. Brasil (Brazil) (Jesuits), 1888 (1890), Antilles: V. Curacao, 1842; V. Janica (Jesuits), 1837.

Kroes (op. cit.) reckons the number of the unconverted Indians in America at 1,250,000 or 1,275,000, i.e., Brazil, 600,000; Paraguay, 100,000; Argentina, 30,000; Chile, 50,000; Peru, 350,000, Bolivie, 250,000; Colombia, 150,000; Venezuela, 25,000. To these must be added some 200,000 or 220,000 Coobies, Negroes, and Chinese. In these missions European colonists have always been in the majority of the Indians, etc. According to Kroes, some 401,000 are Roman Catholics, and, allowing some 150,000 as being European, there remains a Roman Catholic Indian and Negro population of 250,000 souls. In the whole mission field there were 476 priests, 236 brothers, 435 sisters, 450 missionaries, and 340 in churches. In C. America and the W. Indies there are still 240,000 or 600,000 pagans, among whom Jesuits, Dominicans, Redemptorists, and Lazarists are at work among 300 missionaries among 200,000 native Roman Catholics.

The United States of America is composed of former British, Spanish, and French colonies, and their population—91,972,266 (Census of 1910)—consists of a small remnant of the original American Indians (279,000), according to some, 350,000 and to 444,000, and 160,000 Negro slaves and their descendants (9,827,563), of yellow or Asiatic immigrants (146,803), and of white or European settlers and their descendants. In the former Spanish, (Florida, Texas, New Mexico) and French (Louisiana) colonies the Roman Catholic missionaries have worked for the conversion and Christian civilization of the Indians from the beginning of the colonial epoch. Dominicans entered Florida in 1560, and were supported in 1568 by the arrival of 12 Franciscans, 5 secular priests, and 8 Jesuits, among whom we may mention Fathers Martinez, Segura, de Quiros, and de Solis. In Texas and New Mexico Spanish Franciscans—Marcos de Nizza, John of Paulilla, and Louis of Escalon—had commenced in 1529, but made little progress. In Arizona Francis of Porras (1683) and in California Juniper Serra (1784) commenced missionary work among the Indians, and along the Mississippi we find Father Marquette. The conquistadores—N. Bertrand (1529) and Father Gomes ("The Indian Mission in the French West Indies," 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 (74,003), 110,000 "follow the old ways," and 20,000 have no church affiliation.

According to Streett (Amer. Historical Rev., 1914), there are in the United States 440,931 Indians, of whom 64,741 (67,255) are Roman Catholics. These are scattered in 33 dioceses, possess 306 churches, and are attended by 163 priests (Beneficentines, Franciscans, Jesuits, etc.) and 291 sisters; 100 schools are attended by 7,399 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, have for the last fifty years been emancipated, but are still treated as outcasts. Owing to hostile legislation, the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, 1825 (1852); Calvene (French Guiana) (Congregation of the Holy Ghost), 1643; E. Rodriguez (Dominicans), 1895; V. Mendez y Gualiqua (Salvador), 1893; V. Napo (Jesuits), 1837; V. Zaniria (Franciscans), 1837; Peru: V. Pucallanas (S. Louis, Augustinians), 1900; P. Almamy (Franciscans), 1900; M. Putumayo (Franciscans), 1912; Brazil: P. Santarem (Franciscans), 1903; M. Rio Branco (Benedictines), 1907; P. Araguaia (Pilgrims), 1911; P. Tocantins (Congregation of the Holy Ghost), 1916.

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 Plenary Council of Baltimore (1856), Archbishop Spalding raised his voice for their conversion. The "Cardinal Board for Mission Work among the Colored People," in its semi-annual publication, 1912, gives the following statistics: churches, 72; priests work-
MISSIONS (Christian, Roman Catholic)

ing exclusively for Negroes; 99 schools, 120 with 11,270 pupils; charitable institutions, 57 with 2520 inmates; Roman Catholics, 260,000. Two hundred priests devote themselves exclusively to coloured missions, namely the Josephite Fathers and the Fathers of the African Missions ( Lyons). Besides these two there are eight oratories, one for the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Marists, Lazarists, Fathers of the Holy Cross, Fathers of the Divine Word, and the Capuchins (see also Our Negro Missions, by the Fathers of the Divine Word, Techyn, III., U.S.A., 1914).

In Canada the descendants of the aborigines are divided into four families: (1) the Huron Iroquois, (2) the Innuit or Eskimos, (3) the Dénès, (4) the Algonquins. In 1605 their total number amounted to 107,657, of whom 38,553 lived inside, the others outside the reservations. In the earliest days of the Catholic missions the Hurons converted in 1615, the Jesuits in 1625, and the Sulpicians in 1657 devoted themselves to the conversion of the Algonquins and the Huron Iroquois—some 100,000 souls. Famous among these missionaries are d'Olbeau, Le Caron, Vial, Sagard (Franciscans), Bébè, Lallemand, Lejeune, Garnier, Chabanel, Daniel, Jogues, Jolliet, and Marquette (Jesuits). In 1659 the ecclesiastical hierarchy was established in Canada, and the Church entered from the missionary to the colonial period among the immigrants.

Of the 107,657 Indians to-day 35,060 are Roman Catholics; the remainder, with the exception of 10,906 who are still pagans, belong to various Protestant denominations, who are scattered in 155 dioceses. The Roman Catholics are attended by some 160 priests in over 110 stations, with 104 schools, and 290 sisters.

IV. OCEANIA.—The southern realm of islands which extend the Pacific Ocean has been named Oceania, and for convenience of reference has been divided into four districts, viz: Australia with Tasmania, Melanesia (New Guinea, New Pomerania, Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, New Zealand), Micronesia (Marianne, Caroline, Marshall, and Gilbert Islands), Polynesia, comprising all the smaller islands between Hawaii in the north and Easter Island in the east.

Discovered in the 16th and 17th centuries by Spanish and Portuguese admirals, such as Balboa, Magellan, Mendana, Quiros, and de Torres, who were followed by Dutch, English, and German explorers—Roggeveen and Tasman, La Pérouse and d'Urville, Cook and von Humboldt—they remained more or less in obscurity till the beginning of the 18th and even the 19th century. That heroic epoch of missionary colonization on the islands soon after their discovery, although only occasionally, is certain. Padre Pigafetta accompanied Magellan to the Ladrone Islands in 1521, another priest landed on the Marquesas in 1565, two Spanish mission residences visited Tahiti in 1774, and Abbé de Quelen converted a few natives in the Hawaiian group in 1819. As Spanish and Portuguese supremacy declined, the discoveries were of little consequence to Christianity, and, even in the political revolution in Europe, the suppression of religious orders, and the scarcity of missionary vocations and pecuniary support, the Roman Catholic missions were to a large degree forgotten. In 1856 the Marianne and Caroline groups were the only ones where progress was made. The former was visited by the Jesuit Diego de San Vittore, who landed with four other Jesuits on Guam in 1668, and these were followed by five more in 1670; but nearly all the Spanish missionaries were killed in 1670, 1672, and 1681. From 1700 to 1766 the Marianne missions were entrusted to German Jesuits, who in 1731 extended their work to the Carolines. After the suppression of the Jesuits the Marianne Archipelago was handed over to Spanish Augustinians in 1786, and the latter were replaced by German Capuchins in 1807.

Several attempts were made by the Jesuits on the Philippines to establish a mission in the Caroline Islands in 1709, 1708, 1739, and 1721, but all of them failed, till Father Cantova succeeded in 1731. Owing to the serious loss of lives, however, the Jesuits abandoned the field, and it was only in 1880 that twelve Spanish missionaries came to the Micronesia, and after the resumption 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 905 in 1914. With the exception of these two, divided as they are into 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 the Alexis Bachelot, accompanied by Abrahm Armand, Patrick Short, and Robert Walsh of the Pèpe Society, landed in Honolulu (Hawaii) to resume the apostolate in Oceania, the whole of which was placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Solagand, then prefect-apostolic of Oceania (1830). Three years later the vicariate of Oceania was established, and in quick succession the Roman Catholic missions were extended to the various island groups and entrusted to the two pioneer missionary societies in the Pacific, viz, the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (Pieus) and the Society of Mary (Marists). From 1827 to 1845, under Cardinal Prefect Capelli of the Propaganda and under his pontificate as Gregory XVI., the Society of Pères sent tram its missionary, Father Hawaii (1827), the Gambier Islands (1834), the Marquesas (1838), and Tahiti (1841), while the Marists went to Wallia, Tonga, New Zealand (1857), New Caledonia (1843), Fiji (1844), and Samoa (1845). Gregory XVI. divided Oceania into two distinct vicariates: Eastern (1833-44) and Western Oceania (1836-48), from which Central Oceania was separated in 1842. These three vicariates form, so to speak, the roots of the present ecclesiastical Pacific Church, and the Eastern vicariate were separated those of Hawaii, Marquesas, and Tahiti (1844 and 1848), and from the Central those of New Caledonia (1847), Samoa (1851), and Fiji (1863 and 1887), while the Western vicariate was divided into the Caroline Islands (1844-89) and Micronesia (1844-97). From Melanesia were separated New Guinea and New Pomerania (1889), and from Micronesia the Gilbert (1897) and the Carolines (1886). Some of the two 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 (1882-1903) three other missionary societies were asked to help: to the Carolines, the Caroline (1886 and 1904) and the Marianne Islands (1907), to the Pèpe Society the Cook or Hervey Archipelago and Kaiser Wilhelmshaven W. (1915), to the Society of the Divine Word (Steyr) Kaiser Wilhelmshaven E. (1906), to the Marists the New Hebrides (1887) and the Solomon Islands (1898), and, finally, to the Congregation of the Sacred Heart (Jassoun) New Pomerania (1852), New Guinea, British and Dutch (1884 and 1906), the Gilbert (1888) and the Ellice
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<td>4</td>
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<td>480</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>125,000</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
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<td>Tahiti, V.</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Pius Congr.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>5,500</td>
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<td>56(6)</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>1,920</td>
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<td>15</td>
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* According to *Katholische Missionen*, July 1914, the Roman Catholic population of the Marianne-Carolines is 6335, that of Guam, 12,400.
A.—SUMMARY OF R.C. MISSIONS IN THE 19TH CENT. (STATISTICS, 1905).

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<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia and Oceania</td>
<td>6,290,580</td>
<td>138,000</td>
<td>9,066</td>
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<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>855,061</td>
<td>120,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>890,992</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total A</td>
<td>8,221,637</td>
<td>405,000</td>
<td>12,305</td>
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B.—RESULTS OF FORMER CENTURIES.

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<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>6,700,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1,082,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>11,250,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total B</td>
<td>21,932,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total A and B</td>
<td>30,153,000</td>
<td>46,000</td>
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</table>

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 now acknowledged by the various European governments and their representatives, by explorers and tourists, and by missionaries of every denomination, whatever their attitude towards the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church may be.

Famous among the Roman Catholic missionaries in the Pacific are the two pioneer missionaries (later bishops), Batullion (1843-77) 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 Rouchouze of E. Oceania, etc. Nor must we forget Father Chanel, the proto-martyr of the Pacific and the apostle of Futuna (1841), Father Damian Devenster, the leper apostle of Molokai, or Fathers Bontemps of the Gilbert and Castanid 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 Krose (op. cit. p. 123).
extensive missions from the 16th to the 18th cent., the Reformed Churches during the same period were doing practically nothing. Indeed, their direct, if not total, subject of the Christian obligation to evangelize the world, 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 complex.

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 confederations within their borders. 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 these newly-found regions of America and Africa as well as the Indies, and this dominion they were able to, to a considerable extent, to make effective. The revival of the Roman Church which followed the Reformation naturally threw much of its best force into these national undertakings, sanctioned by ‘holy Church.’ With the armies and administrators of Spain and Portugal went the priests and friars, whose task it was to bring these new territories into the Roman obedience.

With the 17th cent. began the colonial expansion of England, which resulted in the Christianization of N. America, not by the labour of missionaries, but by the migration of Christian peoples. The English later the Dutch, freed from the rule of Spain, began to take over the dominions of Portugal in the East, and eventually founded a great empire in the Malay Archipelago; they also colonized the extremity of S. Africa and thereby founded the missionary nation in the time. 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 Far 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, lately, Germany, have played for the mastery in this quarter. It was through these political developments that the missionary sphere of the Protestant nations was opened up, so that, when their religious life was effecutively revived towards the close of the 18th century, the mission was the means of which they could specially responsible came to Reformend Christendom with irresistible force.

When we have indicated the main features of the expansion of Protestant nations, we have indicated also the main lines of their missionary development as compared with that of the primitive and the medieval Church. At first Christianity was conscious in principle of its universal destiny, but was practically confined by a limited world-outlook and the lack of communication between East and West. In the Middle Ages the Church on the one side was straitened by Islam, and on the other was grappling with the unfinished task of absorbing and training the barbarian nations of Europe. In both these periods the evangelist and the evangelized were, on the whole, of similar races and of cultures not radically different. In the modern period the world-outlook has become complete and practical, while, with the facility of intercourse, the greater progress since the 15th cent. by the Christianized 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 or early Christian, and in the case of Protestant missions in particular we may go back to the primitive records of the faith and to its early history in order to estimate their work. But in so doing we are at once struck by certain outstanding contrasts connected with the historical situation. Since in primitive times the missionary and his hearers belonged broadly to the same level of culture and to the same sphere of thought and language, and were members of the same or similar communities, the main problems connoted by the terms ‘home base’ and ‘foreign field’ was for them non-existent, and the economic problem of modern missions was present only in germ, or even in an inverted form, financial help being sent by the daughter Churches to the mother. Not unconnected with this feature of early conditions 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 professional missionary, as distinguished from the ordinary minister or layman, is conspicuous by his absence. There were great leaders in the work of evangelization among the bishops and other officials; but for associations distinct from the Church, set apart for evangelism, there was no place. Finally, the political relation of the missionary to his hearers was either simply that of a fellow-subject of the same great empire, or 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 irritation of the barbarians, and the rise of monasticism, these conditions were neither temporary nor rare. 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 sternly didactic discipline that the Church alone could exercise; repeatedly the arm of the State was vigorously used, and orders came into existence that were half-mock, half-warrior, such as the Knights of St. John and the Order of Teutonic Knights. The Reformed faiths of the West was largely accomplished through monastic and military agencies, 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 an open world for which they specially responsible came to Reformend Christendom with irresistible force.

The doctrine of the Reformation insisted on the liberty of the individual conscience and the freedom of individual access to God, together with the absolute sovereignty of His grace in the work of salvation. 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 in missionary work. The missions of the counter-Reformation were still closely linked with political conquest and administration, arts and science, and the modern Protestant missions in the East. Both were in reality survivals of the medieval method. The modern missionary method, both in the Roman and in the Reformed communions, is substantially that
MISSIONS (Christian, Protestant)

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 needed, on a similar basis; but the missionary societies of Protestant Christendom are, in effect, what they were in the 18th cent., nothing else. Nor do we find, in them, the exercise of individual freedom has been combined with obedience to superimposed organization and discipline for a common purpose. It would not be correct to say that Protestant missions are different from Roman Catholic missions on this account, though, the Church, for the good of the Church, has no objection to it, and, on the whole, prefers it to the exercise of absolute individual freedom. Similar conditions of service, in almost all cases, are directly administered by the controlling authorities of their Churches. There is, however, this obvious difference, that the missions of the Roman Church are and remain under the guidance and control of a single central authority which is conspicuously lacking in Pro- testant Christendom. On the other hand, the Protestant organizations are now systematically endeavoring to gain the benefits of unity, to churches—the first real Protestant missionary enterprise. In 1649 the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was formed, and it is still extant, but its activities have consisted chiefly in the collection of funds. In 1698 the English Church in Virginia, with the Church in Pennsylvania, was formed, which resulted in the formation of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. During the 18th cent., this aided the Danish-Halle Mission and other missions in India, but its principal work since 1850, has been the translation 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 Indians. This work 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 William iv., king of Denmark, feeling responsibility for his colonial dominions, found the men whom he needed in the colonial missions, but the Great Pietist leader, Gerhard August Francke, who was settled in the Danish settlement of Tranquebar in India, and there founded a work which was developed by many successors of note, especially Christian Friedrich Schwartz (1749-98). Their work was partly maintained by the S.P.C.K. The other far-reaching missionary movements 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 Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf, on his estate at Herrnhut in Saxony in 1722. Very soon their zeal led them to send missionaries to the Negroes of the Carib Indians, to the Danish settlers, to those who had been evangelized by the Norwegian, Hans Egede, but were left after his return unattended. This was the beginning of a world-wide work, carried on by a community never numbering more than 40,000 souls, but ships in direct service, and 15,000 members working abroad, and a roll of more than 2000 missionaries, sent out since its foundation. See, further, art. MORAVIANS.

The Presbyterian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in Scotland in 1799, deserves mention, because among a few missionaries whom it sent to the Indians of N. America was David Brainerd, the evangelist of the Delaware Indians. He died after only three years' work, but his biography powerfully influenced William Marsden of New Zealand, William Carey and Henry Martyn of Bengal, and many others.

By the middle of the 18th cent., these early movements of Protestant missions had only slackened owing to the religious deadness which had overtaken the various Churches. But the antidote to this was already working in the evangelical revival connected on the Continent with the names of John Wesley 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, when two great leaders and their immediate followers were ministers of the Church of England, but, owing to the deadness of their 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 fellow founded the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792. In 1795 followed the second society, at first called simply the Missionary Society. It was founded by Church of England, Independent, and Presbyterian ministers. In 1796 two Scottish associations were established, known as the Edinburgh and the London Missionary Society. The Evangelical members of the Church of England decided to establish the Church Missionary Society, and the undenominational society already mentioned became known as the London Missionary Society. Though others are not included, it had been, since then practically remained the organ of the English Congregationalists. The British and Foreign Bible Society was set on foot in 1804 by the joint action of churchmen and dissenters. The Wesleyan Methodists had already been carrying on missionary work in East and West since 1786 under the personal guidance of Thomas Coke, but after his death in 1814 they established their own Missionary Society. The societies united together with the revival operations of the S.P.G., represent the formative beginnings of Protestant missionary work in Great Britain. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, formed mainly by Congregationalists, 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 the East.

It is reckoned that the African slave-trade during the hundred years preceding 1786 conveyed
MISSIONS (Christian, Protestant)

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 treated even in public. In 1752 Chief Justice Mansfield said: ‘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 whole British empire. It was carried on in the House of Commons under the leadership of Lord Krapf, with the support of the British Government. The abolition of the slave trade did not end the struggle against slavery in the British colonies, but it marked a significant step forward. In 1818, the Anti-Slavery Society was founded, and in 1838, the Abolition of Slavery Act was passed. By 1873, the slave trade was abolished in all parts of the British empire.

It is interesting to note that the missionary movement in India was closely connected with the anti-slavery campaign. The abolition of the slave trade was seen as a moral victory and a step towards the establishment of a just society. The missionary movement in India was supported by the British Government, and the missionaries were given the same legal and administrative status as other British citizens. The missionaries were given the right to build churches, schools, hospitals, and other institutions, and they were allowed to convert non-Christians to Christianity.

In the late 18th century, the British government was interested in spreading Christianity in India. The British government provided financial support to the missionary societies, and the missionaries were given the same legal and administrative status as other British citizens. The missionaries were given the right to build churches, schools, hospitals, and other institutions, and they were allowed to convert non-Christians to Christianity.

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Most of these societies have associations in Ireland and Scotland, but the contributions and missionaries from these countries are not separately given.

(b) **English Free Churches.** — Only the chief societies can be dealt with here. The earliest is the **London Missionary Society** (1795). The discoveries of Captain Cook, the founders to send their first mission to the South Sea Islands, where John Williams, after years of work, was martyred on the island of Eromanga (1839). In 1798 S. Africa was opened by John Cook with 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 1804, extending to Bengal, the United Provinces, Madras, and Travancore. Robert Morrison of this society was the first missionary to enter China (1807), and missions are now planted in S., C., and N. China. C. Africa was taken up as a memorial to Livingstone 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 to 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 first mission in Bengal at the Danish settlement of Serampore, which became the centre of a 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 £99,000, and 25,170 Church members.

The **Wesleyan Methodists** had already begun work in S. and W. India before Thomas Coke in 1780, 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 1851 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 £30,000, and their adherents 307,000.

Of societies connected with the minor sects of Methodism it must suffice to mention the **Methodist New Connexion** (1824), working in China; the **United Methodists** (1857), in China, E. and W. Africa, and Jamaica; and the ** Primitive Methodists** (1869), in Africa. The Methodist missions generally bear little or no 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.

For convenience we may add here the **Friends Foreign Mission Association** (1855), working in Madagascar, India, Ceylon, China, and Syria. Like the Moravians, though very much later in time, the Friends prosecute their missionary operations to an extent that is in striking contrast to the smallness of their community, reckoned, as it is, at some 30,000 members.

(c) **Presbyterian.** — The Presbyterian societies, like the Methodists, are part and parcel of the Church organizations.

**Scottish Churches.** — The **Glasgow and Scottish Missionary Societies**, founded in 1798, carried on their work in the Indies, and the labours of Robert Morrison were followed by those of his yet more distinguished son-in-law, 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 1804, extending to Bengal, the United Provinces, Madras, and Travancore. Robert Morrison of this society was the first missionary to enter China (1807), and missions are now planted in S., C., and N. China. C. Africa was taken up as a memorial to Livingstone in 1877. In 1913-14 this mission had 294 missionaries, an income of £214,000, and 316,000 adherents.

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Salvation Army has been doing missionary work, principally in India; since 1875 its operations have been mostly of a social kind, such as industrial reclamation and rescue of criminal tribes. The North Africa General Mission works mainly in Algeria and Morocco; the Egypt General Mission as indicated by its name; the Regions Beyond and the Sudan United Missions in W. and C. Africa.

(c) Missionary publishing societies. — In all Protestant missionary work the rule has been to give convert and others access to the Christian Scriptures as soon as possible. Occasionally this may have resulted in premature productions which had afterwards been the cause of misunderstanding or hindrance, but, taken as a whole, the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the non-Christian world has been one of the most signal and fruitful achievements of modern missions. The Bible, as a whole or in part, is now printed in about 200 languages and dialects. The great bulk of this work has been and is being done by the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), which has issued 487 of these versions up to 1914. The number of these is being increased year by year, and the work of revision of older versions in the light of the best scholarship is constantly proceeding. Many scores of these languages possessing no actual script have been reduced to writing by the missionaries, who soon followed up the spelling-book and the school-reader with the Gospels, and gradually added the whole NT and in many cases the OT also. The B. and F. B. S. circuited the world 10,196 times, and its publications. It received a charitable income (exclusive of sales) of £110,000. The National Bible Society of Scotland and the Trinitarian Bible Society in the same year circulated respectively 2,792,616 and 138,060 copies of the Bible and its works (besides those dealt with by the larger society).

For the production of Christian literature of a more general kind the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, already noticed, is the oldest society. It helps Church of England missions in all parts of the world, principally with books of devotion and theology, but also with works of a more general nature. It has published in 99 languages. The Religious Tract Society (1799), with an income from donations of £7,186, does similar work on an idenpendentious basis, and it has been the means of founding several daughter societies in India and China. It publishes in 290 languages. The Christian Literature Society for India and neighboring countries (1848) has been a more general nature. It has published in 99 languages. The Religious Tract Society (1799), with an income from donations of £7,186, does similar work on an interdenominational basis, and it has been the means of founding several daughter societies in India and China. It publishes in 290 languages. The Christian Literature Society for India and neighboring countries (1848) has been a

The American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions, founded in 1810, sent out its first missionaries to India in 1812; but, owing to the hostile attitude of the E. C., they did not secure a footing in W. India till 1814, and in the same year they entered Ceylon. The other principal steps forward were to Oceanian (1819), W. Africa (1830), S. E. Africa (1853), China (1847), and Japan (1868), with the cessation of the B. and F. B. S. activity.

1 The figures given are exclusive of work among Indians or others in home territories. Unless otherwise specified, they are as on December 31, 1912. Generally speaking, the American Boards are part of the official organization of their respective Churches. The principal ones only are mentioned.

Board of the Dutch Reformed and the Presbyterian missions the A.B.C.F.M. represents the Congregationalists and the United Church in Canada the Brethren in Christ, with an income of £209,978; missionaries, 615; adherents, 193,742.

The American Baptist Missionary Union came into existence in 1814, when Adoniram Judson entered Burma. In 1827 he began a remarkably successful work among the Karen tribe, which has come over in masses to Christianity. Another Indian mission of the A. B. M. U. in the Telugu country (from 1840) has been the sphere of a large movement. The Union entered China in 1843, the Congo Territory in 1856, and Japan in 1852. The Southern Baptist Convention, an offshoot from the main body, carries on missions in China, W. Africa, and Japan. Income, £222,885; missionaries, 701; adherents, 505,600.

The Methodist Episcopal Church represents the Wesleyan movement in the U.S.A. The larger, or Northern, branch carries on its missions to non-Christians in S. India (1833), China (1847), N. India (1856), Japan (1872), Korea (1885), and Malaya (1889). The Southern branch began missionary work in 1816, and carries it on in India, China, and Japan. The foreign work of this denomination has spread rapidly and widely. Income, £296,506; missionaries, 1,396; adherents, 687,368.

The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. is also a leading missionary body. It has carried its work from that of the A. B. C. F. M. in 1857, and has missions in Syria, Persia, India, Siam, W. Africa, China, and Japan. Its educational work in India especially is of a high order. The Presbyterians of the Southern States (Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; 1861) work in China, Japan, Congo Territory, and Korea. The United Presbyterian Church (1839) maintains a vigorous work in China, India, and Egypt (the last named chiefly among Copts); in their Panjshir Mission in Afghanistan, and in 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 £561,142, 1,537 missionaries, and 570,238 adherents.

The Lutheran Churches of the U.S.A., numbering over 2,000,000 communicants (and, say, 16,000,000 adherents) has a large work in China, Japan, and elsewhere; whose first mission was undertaken in 1841. They work mainly in India, where their most important mission is in the Telugu country. Income, £208,907; missionaries, 81; adherents, 70,426.

The total budgetary for Protestant Missions in N. America amount to 6627 missionaries and 1,596,631 adherents.

Canada has eight leading Protestant missionary societies. The principal of these are the Baptist, the Presbyterian, and the Anglican.

In addition to the Boards connected with the various Churches, one organization, connected with no church in particular, has powerfully influenced the missionary life of all, not only in America, but in the United Kingdom, and on the continent of Europe. The going out of the 'Cambridge Seven' to China in 1884 excited great interest among the students of America as well as among those of Great Britain, and at a conference of students summoned in 1886 by Moody at Mount Hermon, Mass., the Student Volunteer Missionary Union was formed on the basis of a declaration by each member of his or her intention to become a foreign missionary. The same movement continued in a less organized form until it was officially established there also, in Edinburgh, in 1892. It soon became evident that the appeal for missionary

1 It is impossible to estimate accurately the distribution of income between home and foreign missions.
service could not be effective without a strengthening of the general Christian life of the student world at large, and in 1893 the Student Christian Movement for Great Britain and Ireland was started. This has now a membership of over 9000 students, including those of theological colleges, and it is affiliated to the World’s Student Christian 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 missions among its members and outside 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 mission-field; 700 are still in college, and 600 are undergoing post-collegiate training for missionary work. The Union sends out no missionaries itself, but only through the societies.

III. GERMANY.—In the latter part of the 18th century, the colonization of the mission-field (Kwantung), and the missionaries being taken over by other societies. The Moravian quietly continued their work and celebrated their first centenary in 1832 with much cause for rejoicing; their influence was felt, too, in home 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 income from the mission-fields. The free-will offerings in the mission-field, government grants, and trade profits. The fields of work are largely the most remote and intractable lands, such as Greenland, Labrador, Alaska, the Mississippi Valley, and China, 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 Jaenickel from 1800 to 1827 carried on a missionary seminary in Berlin whose alumni were sent out from Holland and England. They included pioneers in Timneville (C. T. E. Rhenus) and China (C. Gutzlaff). In S. Germany Christian life was strongest in Wurttemberg, Baden, and German Switzerland, and here under the influence of the Basel Missionary Institute 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, which, thanks to the efforts of Christian Gottlieb Barth, their first permanent mission was started on the Gold Coast in 1823.

In 1843 work was begun on the south-west coast of India, in 1846 in China (Kwantung), and in 1846 Kamerun, becoming in 1857 through the efforts of Christian Gottlieb Barth, their first permanent mission was started on the Gold Coast in 1823.

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VI. SCANDINAVIA.—In Scandinavia, the Danish Missionary Society was founded in 1862, and works in S. India and China. The Norwegian Missionary
Missions (Christian, Protestant)

Society (1852) has missions among the Zulus and in Madagascar. There are minor missions connected with China, Inland, 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 1875, with missionaries in Algeria, the Congo, Ural, Finland and China, besides minor associations. Finland has a Lutheran Missionary Society with work in S. Africa and Free Church missions in China and India.

vii. British Colonies.—The British colonial Church, of various denominations, maintains a considerable and increasing amount of missionary work. This is done partly through societies locally formed, partly by assisting the older societies in home lands. Australia and New Zealand, in addition to work among their own aborigines, send men and women principally to Asiatic countries, the S. African churches to the pagans of their own territories, the now independent W. Indian Churches to their own neighbours and to their rice-fellows in Africa. In India and China, though very few churches are self-supporting, various indigenous missionary societies have been formed, such as the Tinnevelly Missionary Society and the National Missionary Society, for work in various parts of India. These have about 2148 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 were forced to request considerable 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 to which largely fell to their lot, but not a few distinguished scholars developed among them. The Free Churches in England and America have drawn their missionaries mainly from the theological colleges of their denominations, but the Scottish Churches have usually sent out graduates of the universities. In the Anglican Church, missionary seminaries have a more important position, the most prominent being the C.M.S. College at Islington (217 missionaries, chiefly from the C.M.S. and other Scottish and English colleges); and St. Augustine's College at Canterbury (367 men and 5 women respectively). On the Continent the great majority of missionaries are seminarians, but their training is generally more thorough, and they seem to have placed their many scholars in proportion as the university-trained men. In America and Britain 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 mission-field.

Till recently good theological training with a university degree was considered the best 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 beside the power 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 by the American Board of Missionary Studies, which is working on a somewhat wider basis, taking in theological subjects as well as others, whereas the British Board of Study, by mutual agreement, as an interdenominational body, deals only with general subjects (history and methods of missions, phonetics, linguistics, comparative and special study of religions, ethnography, anthropology, sociology, hygiene, business methods, educational methods). Some colleges and denominations believe more or less to the teaching of these subjects: in America the Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford, Conn., the Missions Department of Yale University, the New York Teachers' Training School, New York, the College of Missions, Indianapolis, the Cincinnati Missionary Training School, in Britain the U.F.C. Women's Missionary College, Edinburgh, and the Kingsmead Training Institution, Birmingham, take up many of these subjects, and it is in connection with 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 1860 (126 members); London, Mildmay Park, 1878 (148 delegates); London, Exeter Hall, 1888 (1494 delegates); New York, 1900 (2300 members); and Edinburgh, 1910 (1206 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 sent to the General Council of the Congregationalists, while Assemblies, Africans, Australasians, Americans, and Europeans of many nationalities took part. The conferences have no legislative or executive authority, but the 'findings' which are formulated as the result of their debates exercise great practical influence on missionary work and methods. The reports of these conferences form a valuable record of the progress of missionary life and policy and a storehouse of missionary thought and argument. The report of the Edinburgh Conference especially (in 9 vols., London and New York, 1910) is indispensable to the student of missions. Its investigations and discussions are carried on by a Continuation Committee, which publishes the quarterly International Review of Missional Literature.

The same kind of work has been carried on in the mission-field by periodical conferences of representatives from different missions at such centres as Madras and Shanghai, and in 1922-13 R. Meit convened series of Conference Committees in India, China, and Japan, the findings of which are published in a bulky volume (New York, 1913). By these and other means a large amount of practical union in work has been attained, and the tendency in the mission-field and at the home base towards closer unity has been promoted.

4. The field.—i. America.—The spread of Christianity in this continent has been mainly through immigration. Paganism is now only a fringe of the total population of 170,000,000. The work of Protestant missions has been chiefly in N. America, among Eskimos, Indians, and Negroes. For our purposes we confine the term to the United States and Guiana go together with N. America. S. America has been touched in Patagonia and Paraguay.

(a) Eskimos.—The Norsmen who immigrated to Greenland in the Middle Ages had a bishopric of their own, but both they and their faith died out before the 16th century. In 1721 a Norwegian pastor, Hans Egede, having heard of them, repaired to the west coast of Greenland and began work among the Eskimos under great difficulties owing to their utter indifference. It was continued, how-
ever, by his son, and eventually taken up by the
Danish M. S. The west coast population in this
region is Christianized, and missionary work is
going on among the pagans of the east coast.
Further south on the west coast the Moravians,
beginning in 1735, founded the settlement of New
Herna in, and from that centre Christianized the
tribes, 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 mainly brought in by the Hudsonians, and they
are cared for with the help of trade carried on by
the mission ship 'Harmony.' On the other side of
the continent the U.S. territory of Alaska contains
a relatively considerable population of Eskimos,
besides Aleutians, Indians, immigrant Chinese, and
white men. Here in 1877 a Presbyterian mission
was founded, followed by Moravians, American
Anglicans, and others, totalling about 6000 Christi-
ans. The race, about 40,000 in number, is intel-
tellectual and very anxious to 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 ex-
ploitation and is being resisted.

(b) Indians.—These number now in the U.S. and
Canada under 400,000. Over one-half live on res-
ervations; 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 fully established and a more sensible
and humane policy was gradually intro-
duced. The present missionary enterprise is
wanting. John Eliot (from 1646), David Brainerd
(from 1743), and David Zeisberger (from 1745)
gathered many thousands of Indians into Christian
congregations of peaceful citizens, but again and
again their work was destroyed by civil war. The
later and more gradual settlement of Canada was
advantageous to the Indian population, as the
missions of all Churches were able to gain a hold,
lethal and grabbling and commercialised; and even
strongly to the fore. The first Protestant mission
was begun in the Hudson's Bay Territory in 1820;
it has been developed largely by the C.M.S., and
much heroic work was done by its pioneers among
the mixed race population. The work of the
missionaries in Great Britain among the mixed race
population of the U. S. in the U. S. has been more and more taken over by the various
Churches, and the still pagan Indians are a small
remnant. Their assimilation as citizens of the
Republic is still an incomplete process. Here
(c) Negroes.—These number (including coloured or
mixed population), in the U. S. 9,827,703 (1910),
and in the W. Indies 1,280,000. Their introduction
into the latter dates from the Spanish conquest, into
the U. S. from Africa 1840. Of the African mission
the U.S. Negroes practically began about 1860, but
during their time of slavery large numbers had been
Christianized, especially by the Methodist and
Baptist Churches. The bulk of these Negroes are now
connected with the various Protestant Churches.
In 1913 they contributed about $20,000 for home
missions and $10,000 for foreign missions, besides
maintenance 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) South America.—The territory of Guiana is
closely connected with the W. Indies. Anglicans,
Moravians, and Methodists have gathered converts
among the savages. 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播散 the Gospel 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
in the project, and the mission among them has been
recognized by their government. In S. America the
missionaries are the best mediators 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 intensive Christian
proselytism in the Protestant lands, especially with N. America. The
endeavour to influence Africa directly by means of
the liberated slave is chiefly represented by the
little republic of Liberia, founded in 1824 by the
American Colonization Society. The Negroes who
settled there were hardly ripe for administering the Free State proclaimed in 1847,
but from this centre work is being carried on by
sundry societies among the neighbouring non-
Christians. About 88,000 members of the various
Churches have been sent as missionaries to Africa by their
Churches in the U.S.A., but the effective shaping of
their work is a problem that awaits solution.
The north-west coast of Africa has the
Senegal borders on sparsely-inhabited Muham-
madan territory which has scarcely been entered
as yet. From this to the mouth of the Congo is
the region of Protestant mission-work.

At Sierra Leone the settling of liberated slaves
began in 1808, after the abolition of the slave-trade,
and its capital received the name Freetown. Up
to 1846, 50,000 African slaves had been brought
there, chiefly by British cruisers. For years great
loss of life among the colonists came in. Now the
whole dominion is parcelled out in dioceses of the Anglican Church, and
work among the Indians is carried on by other
denominations also, Presbyterians and Methodists
leading the active. Sending the separation from
England the evangelizing of Indians in the U. S.
has been more and more taken over by the various
Churches, and the still pagan Indians are a small
remnant. Their assimilation as citizens of the
Republic is still an incomplete process. Here
east, has considerably developed missionary work from that country, during the last few years, amounting that in Africa; one thousand.

The community numbers some thousands.

The work in the lower basin and delta of the Niger has assumed increased importance since the conclusion of the treaty with Nigeria, the Belgians, and the English in the African possessions, as a Crown Colony, with a population of 18,000,000. The first mission stations (from 1846 onwards) were started to look after natives of the Yoruba country who had returned from Sierra Leone to their own people. Lagos, the great port of the palm-oil trade, and the large interior towns of Abeokuta and Ilodan 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 1861 was consecrated bishop. The work was carried on by Africans, with some vicissitudes but with substantial progress, till Crowther's death in 1864, when W. Equatorial Africa was placed under an English bishop, assisted by two 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 effective advance was made into this territory, where a predominantly Muslim population alternates with large patches of paganism, while the spread of Islam continues in a southerly direction. The work here is still in its infancy. In Calabar at the south-east 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 river was first opened up completely by Stanley in 1876-77, and the Congo Free State, under the protection of Belgium, has been the scene of rapid missionary advance along the river. Yakassé, the furthest point, near Stanleyville, is 1,291 miles, and the most remarkable for the first explorers in detail were the English Baptists G. Grenfell and W. H. Bentley from 1875 onwards. Other missionaries of various nationalities followed. Owing to the difficulties of climate and the great multiplicity 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 are the century that an effective advance of Islam from the north, the decoralization of commercial intercourse caused by the liquor-trade, and the unsettling effects of a rapid acquisition of wealth formerly unheard of. On the other hand, the removal of the evils connected with the slave-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 in 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 Kaiks), the Nama or Hottentot, and the Baskman, the last two scarcely remaining pure, the first virile and productive, and the latter degenerate. The mischief work 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 specially affects the work of missions, since the higher level, religions, moral, and social, and at giving them the best education which they are capable of assimilating. The earliest Dutch colonists regarded the natives as an inferior class of beings whom it was both lawful and expedient to keep in subjection, and this attitude has not been confined to one section of the white races. Thus there has been a persistent prejudice against, and often actual antagonism to, the work of missions, sometimes aggravated by lack of prudence on the part of the missionary and by unbalanced policy on the part of the government. The conviction is gaining ground, however, that without the moral influence of Christianity the problems resulting from the contact and blending of two cultures cannot be thoroughly solved. Among some 4,000,000 natives there are now about 750,000 Christians, the result of the work of 30 missionary societies belonging to 8 nationalities. The racial factor is especially in evidence in the missionary work of the 'Ethiopian Order'; the remainder do not appear to be progressive either in internal life or in external expansion.

In what became in 1886 German S.W. Africa the principal work has been done by German missionaries of the Rhenish Society since the forties. The fruits of their persevering and systematic efforts have suffered greatly through colonial wars, Protestant Christians in the colony number, by last figures, 13,000.

The largest indigenous Christian population is in Cape Colony, numbering 1,145,000 out of a total of 2,500,000; it comprises westwards, broadly speaking, bastardized Hottentots, and, eastwards, Kaiks of relatively pure race. The Moravians, who began work in 1737, were followed in 1799 by the L.M.S., whose missions in the Bechuana are remarkable for their great pioneers, R. Moffatt and, above all, Livingstone. The persistence of John Mackenzie and the intervention of the British government, all attempts to block the northward way of the first explorers in detail were the English Baptists G. Grenfell and W. H. Bentley from 1875 onwards. Other missionaries of various nationalities followed. Owing to the difficulties of climate and the great multiplicity 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.

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it became a Crown Colony in 1884, has been worked principally by the Paris M.S., which now counts about 94,000, adherents, at the head of which stands the Bechuana Protectorate 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 generally solved by the cooperation of labourers, both Christian and non-Christian, in the mine compounds of Johannesburg and the Rand. The thinly-populated Bechuana and Protectorate includes Khama's Country, where a Christian African prince rules his people well, of thinly-populated Bechuanaland. Madagascar has been a land of great vicissitudes in missionary work. The first missionaries of the L.M.S. began work with considerable success among the Hova, the ruling race of the central province, in 1820. In 1850 the accession of a hostile queen brought about the expulsion of the missionaries, and for twenty-five years the Chris-tians were severely persecuted, yet they increased considerably. In 1861 a new ruler recalled the missionaries, and, when another queen was baptized in 1869, conversions began in masses. To cope with the situation other societies, Friends, S.P.G., and Norwegians, entered the island. In 1855 Madagascar was annexed by France, and Protestant work was begun for the first time, and it was considerably 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 C. Africa.—Missionaries helped to open up these lands both from the east coast and from the interior southwards. In 1844 Ludwig Kraff, a German in C.M.S. service, landed on the island of Madagascar, and of Mombasa and of Mozambique, and 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 Kraff was joined by John Rebmann, who after nine years Kraff was succeeded; Rebmann held on for twenty-nine years. By their discovery of the snow-peaks of Kilimanjaro and Kilimanjaro the equator, and of the great inland-sea of Nyasa, they revolutionized the geography of C. Africa, and for their linguistic labours prepared the way for later workers in a fruitful field.

The yet greater work of David Livingstone is part of history. From his first station of Kolobeng in S. Africa he incessantly 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 stop the slave-trade, and to open up Africa to legitimate commerce and to Christian culture with faith as its root. The Universities Mission to Central Africa undertaken by members of the Churches of England, and the L.M.S. mission on Lake Tanganyika, and the Scottish Presbyterian missions in Nyasaland are the direct results of his lifework; but it affected the whole missionary enterprise of inland Africa. To Stanley it was given to complete the work of Livingstone by his exploration of the Congo valley, and in the course of it he gave the impulse which has resulted in the formation of a virile Christian State in the centre of Africa, now the kingdom of Uganda. Stanley founded the king, Mutesa, hesitating between the claims of Christianity and Islam. Through a

Sahalish Christian interpreter he put the Christian case before the monarch and straightforwardly appealed to English Christians to enter the open door. The result was the sending of the well-known C.M.S. mission in 1875. The murder of James Hannington and the barbarous persecution of the early converts only served to increase zeal and confidence. There was a great risk of abandonment by the Colonial Office, Uganda became a British Protectorate, under which mission work has gone forward peacefully. The country now contains 86,600 Protestant Christians, with a somewhat larger number of Roman Catholics, and a smaller number of Muhammadians. 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 provinces 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 large group of C.M.S. missions remains round Mowapa, and another of the U.M.C.A. opposite. The German work is chiefly on the northern frontier and on the north shore of Lake Nyasa and its vicinity. The principal missions of the Nyasaland Protectorate are those of the Scottish churches, with the two industrial centres of Livingstonia in the north and Blantyre in the south—it contains memorials 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, exemplified in medical missions, and brought under training in civilized industry and commerce. The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in its Muslim part is closed to missionary effort by government ruling; among the pagan Dinkas, Azandis, and other tribes missionary work is in its first stages.

iii. OCEANIA.—Mission in Oceania date from 1769, and owe their first impulse to the interests excited by the story of Cook's voyages in the South Seas. The major part of this 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 mental stamina has remained weakly. Owing partly to this and partly to unscrupulous exploitation by white and black traders, the result of contact with the white races has been the rapid diminution, and in some cases, as in Tasmania, the entire extinction, of the native races. The work of missions has therefore largely consisted in the rescue of weaker races from extermination through contact with exponents of higher civilizations not imbued with the Christian spirit. In no part of the world have the results of missions been more rapid and wide-spread, but stability is sometimes lacking. The effects of kidnapping, strong drink, and disease have been 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 broke out, and in 1841 the strong Han Han apostasy, a recrudescence 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 organizations. The New Zealand Parliament also has its Maori members. The Maori population of New Zealand is about 30,000, 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 74,000, living mostly in the northern parts of the continent. After several abortive attempts to settle the continent, a strong industrial element, have been continuously carried on since 1851 by English bodies of various denominations, as well as by Moravians and Lutherans. Despite pessimism, the aborigines have proved susceptible to the elevating influence of the gospel, and decedence has been to some extent arrested, though independence is not yet in sight. The number of Protestant Christians is computed at 6000.

The Islands of the Pacific may be roughly grouped into Polynesia (south of Hawaiian, 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 1829 onwards and Christianized within fifty years. It has sent out and supported missionaries to several other islands. Tahiti, occupied by missionaries of the L.M.S., had a similar history, but after the annexation of the group by France it became impossible for the work to the Paris M.S. Rainaete, the sphere of the famous John Williams, has remained in British connexion. In the Tonga and Viti, or Fiji, Islands the Wesleyans have been the principal workers, practically the whole population is Christian, and is efficiently ruled by princes of the same faith. Education is wide-spread, and evangelists from Fiji have carried the faith to many other islands.

Melanesia has a population of 475,000, of whom 111,000 are Protestant Christians. The gathering in 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 1871 called forth much enthusiasm and service, and during his long life John G. Paton of the United Presbyterian Mission saw 20,000 natives converted in the New Hebrides and contributing £19,000 in one year for Church purposes.

On the Micronesian Islands, now under British, German, and American protection, developments since 1852 have been similar. Missionaries from America have taken a large place, and Protestant Christianity is stronger here than in the other islands; out of 20,000 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 (1856-1901). The Christians now number 35,000. Anglican, Wesleyan, German, and Dutch missionaries have taken a large part.

In various parts of Oceania, especially Australia, Hawaii, and Fiji, missionary work is carried on among the Asian immigrants from India, Japan, and China with the help of native preachers from those countries, not without some result. The barriers of caste and social opposition are less rigid at home, but the restraints of conventional morality are also loosened.

The total population of Oceania, excluding Australia, New Zealand reckoned at some 2,000,000, of whom 321,000 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 in a manner land and island, and 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 philosophy, socially by the unique system of caste (q.v.). Its contact with the outer world during the past three thousand years has been through the immigration of foreign invaders, who have brought with them the monotheistic religion and polity of Islam, so that Indian Mussalmans now constitute by far the largest Muslim nation of the world. Most recently, however, India has come into connexion with a scattering 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 Byzantium, founded by P. Maron, who settled on the Malabar Coast in their early days. From about the 4th cent. a trading and landed community accepted the Christian faith, and has continued as a local caste to the present day. Early in the 7th cent. the New Testament was translated into Kashmiri, and from this translation the popular and liturgical forms of the faith spread, while the canon was accepted as closed.

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 earlier 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 (laid 1760, died 1793). The 20,000 Christians whom he gathered in Trangore and elsewhere were mainly from the village labourers. After his death the work dwindled, till it was taken over by the Anglican Church, and during the first half of the 19th cent. the work of the C.M.S. and S.P.G. in Travancore (Catholic work of the Debrogna, together with that of the L.M.S. in S. Travancore, yielded much more than half the entire number of Protestant converts in India, and naturally also the best organized churches. In 1851 these missions had 31,355 adherents, the remainder of the Madras Presidency 23,821, and all the rest of India 16,916. In the succeeding sixty years these missions and others in S. India have greatly developed, largely through the agency and work of American societies. The Protestant Christians now number 870,425 (besides over a million and a half Roman Catholics and Syrians), and they contribute £33,281 to the support of worship and schools. The Indian ministry includes 452 ordained men, an army of 537 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 Travancore Mission, supported by 130 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, V. Azariah of Dornakaal, when he was consecrated.

In Travancore a similar movement has made headway in the L.M.S. and C.M.S. missions, which
now number 57,000 and 57,000 Christians respectively. Still more widespread is the movement in the tropical country north of Madras. Here, especially since the great famine of 1877-78, the out-caste village labourers have pressed into the churches in myriads. The Christians belonging to Anglicans, American Baptists, Lutherans, and others are estimated at 75,000.

In Bengal an older movement in the forties of the last century left a considerable church in the Nadia district; more recently the Nāmaśādras of E. Bengal are turning their hopes towards Christianity. At the moment India, admit some hundreds from among them. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the Chānārs (leather-workers) and sweepers have been principally gathered in by the American Methodist Episcopalian, whose recent congregations numbering 102,000 adherents, while other Protestant missions have 22,000. The most rapid movement during the last decade was in the Panjab, where the Christians entered in the government Census returns had increased from 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 a large and growing number of conversions to Christianity all form part of one upward tendency of populations representing the 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 steady lives." (Census of India, 1911, Calcutta, 1915, vol. i. p. 133).

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 Musalmāns 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 aborigines, living mainly in hilly regions, as among whom the Christian faith has found ready entry. Such are the Kacres of Burata, the Khāsis 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 out-castes the expansion of the movement appears to be limited only by the capacity of the Christian Church adequately to shepherd and educate the candidates for discipleship. The effect of education and Christian influence in raising the status of the Christian community as compared with its Hindu and Muslim neighbours has been very marked. Some progress has been made in the governmental education, but the influence of the Church in the Panjab the Christians have been recognized by Government as an agricultural tribe, and in the irrigation colonies there are several flourishing villages of Christian cultivators, holding land direct from the State.

Education of a simple kind, including that of girls, was from the first a regular part of missionary activity, but it was brought into prominence by the Scottish missionary, Alexander Duff (1800-57). 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 Hājī Rām Mohan Rāy, the founder of the Bārhām Samaj (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 in Bengal.

His school also had a powerful effect on the development of the Brahman Samaj and other liberal movements in Hindūism, and not less did he influence the educational policy of the Government. It was the first Papal mission to have an appreciable amount of public instruction, and in 1857 established universities in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, followed later by others in Lahore and Allāhābād, and recently by a Hindu university at Benares in this respect is no longer marks the past, but is developed into a college, and no fewer than 8 other colleges were founded in different parts of India during Duff's lifetime. The most noteworthy contemporary of Duff as an educator was John Wilson of Bombay, who founded the college which bears his name, and added to his English work a profound acquaintance with Hindūism. There are now 38 Protestant missionary colleges in India, containing, in June 1847, 17,566 students, the latter practically all Christians. Of the total, 4,481 students were Hindūs, 530 Muhammadans, and 436 Christians. There is a fully-organized missionary college for women in Lucknow; and a college was opened there 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 1854. The grants are made to the managers of the high schools; a grant of Rs. 10 to each girl, Rs. 40 to each boy. The result of this policy has been to raise the number of Christian scholars in Hindūia from about 2,000 in 1862 to 57,941 in 1912. Among these are 26,662 boys and 8400 girls; 300 boarding-schools contain 24,153 boys and 17,566 girls, all Christian. In 87 theological schools 1852 students are in training, and 127 training-schools have 1804 male and 173 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 in non-religious thoughts, as among the educated class, is of great importance. 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 Hindūs generally, and little, if any, behind the Brahmins. The number of Christian officials and teachers is large in proportion to the size of the community, and it is not easy to keep pace with their need for a highly educated ministry, while satisfying the educational wants of the large rural populations. The provision for primary education in the Hindūia is the most urgent missionary problem of the day. There is a large body of converts, but the local population of these communities is mainly 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 Marshman and Ward, he worked chiefly at Bible translations into a multitude of different languages, and also founded a missionary college in Serampore. Most of these versions were mere ballons d'essai, but the Bengali became the foundation of all further work in that
tongue. Henry Martyn, at the same time produced his remarkable Urda version of the NT, and a long line of translators and authors followed, several of whom are mentioned above. Krishna Mohan Banerjea among Hindu converts, Taimid-din among Muslims, and John Murdoch among English writers 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 works. These are directed both to the training of the Christian Church and to convincing the people of their errors.

Among the philanthropic auxiliaries to the gospel message, medical work takes a foremost place. The effective prosecution of this in India dates from the middle of last century, when W. Lockhart of the L.M.S. was sent to Travancore, and Henry M. Schindler of the American Board to Ceylon. The chain of medical missions on the N.W. Frontier was begun in Kashmir in 1864, and has since then extended to Peshawar, Bannu, Dera Isanath Khan, and quetta. The attitude of a turpentine, fanatical, and treacherous Muhammadan population has been greatly modified by the work of medical missions, and, while converts have shown their faithfulness in martyrdom, Christian Scriptures such as illustrated by the example of an interested Christian love, have penetrated far into regions otherwise inaccessible to the missionary. Similar effects have been produced on the intolerance of the caste-proof Hindu, and, while suffering in a degree relieved, resulting from a creed or condition, the ministry of healing has brought many to the discipleship of the Healer. The first qualified woman-doctor came to India in 1880, though medical work by women had been carried on long before. Medical missionary work have led the way in relieving the once hopeless suffering of secluded Indian womanhood, given over to treatment by ignorant and clumsy midwives and barber-women. Of the Indian women-doctors now serving under the Dufferin Fund and other public bodies the great majority are Christians, with a sprinkling from the Brahman Samaj.

Closely allied with general medical work is the that of the leper missions. Of the unfortunate leper communities there are care in Christian institutions, and many of them have accepted Christianity. Christian institutions for the blind and the deaf and dumb are the only ones for these classes in India. Famine missions have furnished a minuscule and appreciable fraction of the Christian community, especially in N. India; these have in recent years found imitators among non-Christians, and, owing to the influence and example of mission schools and colleges, the conception and practice of social service are spreading among Indian students, as shown by the society of the ‘Servants of India,’ promoted by G. K. Gokhale.

India affords the largest and most influential sphere of work among the Muslins of the world. Its Mussalmân community numbers 65,000,000, and it is both specifically Indian in type and cosmopolitan by ties of religion—a fact which gives this community a greater political importance than its numerical proportion to the Hindu population would warrant. The largest Muhammadan community of India, that of Bengal, now numbering 24,000,000, came under British rule after the battle of Plassey in 1757, but the first effective Christian work among them was done by the missionary Henry Martyn when he translated the NT and much of the OT into the Muhammadan lingua franca of India—the Urdu, or camp dialect of Hindustân. His one convert, ‘Abd-al-Maâb, was the forerunner of many ex-Muslins who have joined the Christian ministry. It is impossible to estimate accurately the number of converts among the Muslins of the country, but it is not too much to run into several myriads. The circulation of the Scriptures, which the Muslim profoundly recognizes as divine, is especially effective as a means of evangelism.

Among the Buddhists of Burma and S. Ceylon the results of work have been similar to those among the middle classes in India; i.e., conversions have been sporadic, occasionally in families, with here and there outstanding personalities. The Census of 1901 gave the number of Protestant Christians in India as 4,152,759, compared with 950,385 in 1901. The largest proportion is in S. India (626,000), 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; Panjab, 165,000; Bombay, 51,000; Central Provinces and C. India, 21,000. In the native States they are generally fewer i.e., Haidarabad, 29,000; Mysore, 9,000; Panjab States, 500; Kashmir, 700.

Syncretism, in the shape of reform movements, both religious and social, is much in evidence. The earliest and most famous was the theistic Brahman Samaj, founded in 1828 by Rajâ Ram Mohan Ray—a small sect, but influential owing to the social standing, literary ability, and philanthropic zeal of its members. The teaching of its sects derived from a variety of Hinduism to a kind of Unitarian Christianity with Indian atmosphere. The Arya Samaj (q.v.), founded in 1875 by Dayânand Sarasvâti, represents a crude modification of original Hinduism, professing to hold to the Vedas and Yoga, but supposed to be merely a continuation of traditionalism, and it is strongly forcing their interpretation to fit modern standards. It has a strong political and nationalistic 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 condition of the Indian, and the Arya Samaj actually admits them and also Muhammadans into the ‘Vedic religion’ by a ceremony of purification (budhî).

Modernist movement among the Muhammadans dates from the efforts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad, who began in 1838 to arouse his fellow-religionists to the imperative need for English education, which resulted in the establishment of the Anglo-Musulman College at Aligarh and the All-Indian Muslim Conference. It has also produced something of a school of liberal theology. A more widespread movement was inaugurated by Ghalam Ahmad of Qadian in the Panjab in the year 1879. He, like Dayânand, harked back to his sacred Scriptures, and treated the Qurân 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 Woking. Despite their attitude of opposition, these new sects all owe more or less of their originating impulse and of their specific doctrine to the message of Christian missionaries. The Indian national movement has a tendency to bring the reformed religion in the Christian community also in a certain touchiness and impatience of foreign influence. At the same time there are signs of an increased feeling of responsibility for the evangelization of
India, marked by the establishment of the National Missionary Society and other efforts. The Dutch possessions known as Indonesia were previously under Hindu rule, but since the 12th century, they have gradually been overrun by Muslims, chieftains, and out of the total population of 35,000,000 all but 2,000,000 are now Musilam Muslims. The Dutch East India Company, while building up the Dutch Empire, educates the natives after a fashion, but their condition at the beginning of the 19th century, was very low. Since then, it has improved, and the so-called 'spiritual' conquest of Java, Sumatra, and Borneo is being attended by a corresponding development of the native population. Inland and coastal trading stations, purchased outright or leased, are under the care of missionaries appointed and maintained by the European powers.

In the 19th century, China was opened to Western influence by treaties and the Boxer rebellion. The number of foreign missionaries in China increased almost 50 per cent (278,500 to 417,500) during the second decade of the 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 Retak country on the north coast of Sumatra, and in the Malacca district of Celebes. In the second half of the 19th century, 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 400,000.

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 began in China with Robert Morrison, the missionary, and linguist, in 1807. He landed the first convert in 1814, and before his death (1834) he had translated the Bible into Chinese, besides writing many pamphlets. But neither he nor his colleague, Robert Milne, was able to establish the European settlement in China; they only existed 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 missionaries, 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 influence. It was during this period that the first missionary, Robert Morrison, worked in Hangchow, Tientsin, and Canton, that Protestant missions first gained a footing. Up to 1856, 3 English societies, 1 German, and 7 American had begun work, and the converts may have amounted to 200,000. A few 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 the Christian missionary, and he claimed to have received a divine revelation to destroy idolatry and to put an end to the Manchu dynasty. The second of these aims was accomplished half a century later by another great convulsion, and we may believe that the Taipings did much towards preparing the way for the first, which is yet to come; but we may also be thankful that their iconoclasts did not prematurely succeed before the constructive forces of Christian charity and practice were ready to step into the breach. Meanwhile, missions on the coast were increasing their work, and the year after interior China had been quieted (1865) Hudson Taylor founded the China Inland Mission, which led the way to the formation of a network of mission stations during the last half century, now extending to the remotest interior of the Republic. This mission alone now numbers 1,076 foreign missionaries, as against 473 of all societies and nationalities in 1877. In that year the number of converts was reckoned at 13,000.

The final break-up of the Manchu dynasty was first marked by the Boxer outbreak of 1900, directed, with the connivance of the Empress, against both foreigners and Christian missionaries, 500 of them, with 33 of their children, were killed, and some 16,000 Chinese Christians were massacred, many of them accepting death willingly rather than dishonor. A strong impression was created by the refusal of missionary societies to accept a money indemnity from the Chinese Government for the missionary lives laid down freely for the gospel. During the succeeding decade the number of foreign missionaries in China increased to almost 50 per cent (278,500 to 417,500) during the second decade of the 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 Retak country on the north coast of Sumatra, and in the Malacca district of Celebes. In the second half of the 19th century, 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 400,000.

The revolution of 1911-12 was the final stage in the opening up of China to Western culture and Christianity. There has, it is true, been a slight reaction from the abolition of Confucianism as the religion of the State, but a stronger power than the iconoclasts is shaking the foundations of the old cults, namely the re-creating of the world-old system of Chinese education in Western and 20th century moulds. Moreover, the official request made by the Chinese Government on 27th April 1856 to the first Protestant mission in China, to destroy all idolatrous subjects, whatever motives of policy may have inspired it, was a recognition of Christianity as a power affecting deeply the interests of the nation; and Sun Yat Sen, the leader of the Cantonese revolution, was a Christian who seeks to model his political policy on the principles of the Bible. Happily, too, the establishment of the Chinese Republic has coincided with the final abolition of the Indian opium traffic on the Chinese coast, and the Chinese, who have always had a strong respect for their literature, but now they are ready to welcome Western language, literature, and science. Great efforts have been made, especially by the American missions, to grapple with the task of providing centres of higher education on a Christian basis throughout China, and in this, as well as in general work, the tendency towards cooperation among all bodies is strong and helpful. No fewer than 62 university colleges are in effective operation, 7 in coast provinces, 1 in the centre, and 1 in the west. In several the medical faculty is strong, and Christian missions at present lead in the training of qualified doctors for China. There are now some 264 mission hospitals (1912) with 220,788 in-patients and 2,120,774 out-patients for the year. Among the agencies which have been particularly active in taking advantage of the present opportunities the T.M.C.A. has been especially in evidence. The evangelistic meetings conducted by J. R. Mott, and still more by George Sherwood Eddy (1912-14), were attended by large audiences of educated Chinese, sometimes up to 4000, in many of the principal towns of China. Among the harrassers were officials of high rank, of whom one was captured, while thousands of men promised to study
the Bible, and hundreds have actually joined the Christian Church.

The creation of a Christian literature for China has been carried on mainly by co-operation between the missionaries represented in the English Literary Society for China, under the guidance of Timothy Richards and others. The rapid opening of the mind of China to appreciation and reception of Western thought has given missionary scholars both the opportunity and the task of providing not only religious but general and scientific literature for readers, whether Christian or non-Christian. Both this and the work of Bible translation in China have been greatly facilitated by the existence of a common writing 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 quarter copies of Bibles, New Testaments, or single books were circulated; in 1914 two million and a quarter.

The first L.M.S. woman missionary to China was appointed in 1868. The work among women has been greatly encouraged by the evolution of foot-binding and by social prejudice, but these have been in great measure overcome, largely as the result of missionary effort, and the desire for the education of women is greatly on the increase; some are using their education not only 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 heathenism. The tendency is to use work for the formation of an indigenous Chinese Church free from Western control, and some progress is being made 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 30,000. The devoted work of James Gilmore (1790-91) in Mongolia left little visible result, and the societies which are following it up are gathering a few converts, but are as yet without large units. In Chinese Tibet these are insurmountable, and the only quarter from which the gospel has entered that land is Little (or Western) Tibet, belonging to Bhutan, where Missionary societies 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 stage of work.

vi. JAPAN, KOREA, AND FORMOSA.—Here, as in China, we have countries in which, after periods of notable success on the part of Roman Catholic missions, the native rulers have turned upon them as having grown dangerous and have violently per- mitted the Christian Church, almost to extinction, till, through political changes, intercourse with the West has been resumed, but on a different footing, and with this the way has been opened for missions of the Reformed Church. In the case of Japan this re-opening dates from the year 1859, when American missionaries were the first to settle in the country. The first Protestant Christian was baptized in 1861, 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. Emsor (C.M.S.), who arrived 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 period of foreign influences, among 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 1912, 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 connexion 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 of Missions, Oct. 1912, p. 654). The number of Protestant Christian adherents in 1913 was numbered as 19,000. A further increase has been recorded by Horiuchi, in 1918, as 30,000. For particulars see Historical Sketch of the Protestant Missions in Japan. The work of the missions in Japan has been carried on as follows: about 1,000 Christian children have access to well-worked 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 pursuing its activity. Christian missionary efforts among the aboriginal Ainus 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 these dying race.

Among the dependencies of Japan, Formosa, first entered in 1885, now has some 30,000 Christians. Korea, after three and a half centuries of absolute seclusion, was not effectively reached 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 1905-06. Adherents in 1918 numbered 15,000, and Methodist missions under education in mission schools, and 25 hospitals and 25 dispensaries were in operation. This progress has been accompanied by remarkable zeal in the study of Scripture and by reformation of life.

vii. THE Near EAST.—Under this term we include the lands, stretching from Morocco to Persia, in which Islam first arose and spread. Owing to the long dominance of Islam the work of Christian
missions to Muslims in this region is either non-existent or in its infancy. For our present purpose, we are not dealing with missions to the surviving Abyssinian, Coptic, Armenian, Syrian, Nestorian, or Jacobite Churches. We are, however, noting that the educational work carried on among Oriental Christians, principally by American missionaries, in the Turkish empire and Egypt has resulted in the formation of considerable Protestant communities, the progressive organization, morality, and zeal has raised the Christian name in the eyes of the Muslims and reacted favourably on the ancient churches by stimulating a desire for reform and progress. There is among the Protestant population, also, a 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 a growing multitude of heathen souls. The work of converting these multitudes, though fairly frequent, but the building up of Christian communities is a slower process, hampered by special obstacles.

In Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli, among a total population of about 14,000,000 work is carried on mainly by the N. Africa Mission and other un denominational agencies. There are converts here and there. The principal agency, besides that of colportage, is schools, which are being established in Egypt work was begun in 1854 by the American United Presbyterians, principally among the Copts, and resuscitated by the C.M.S. in 1858. Considerable access has been gained among the Garamantes class, and a number have been baptized, while the work has not failed to make inroads, in both town and country. Schools, primary and secondary, contain 17,994 pupils (largely of Coptic faith or origin), and a scheme for the establishment in Cairo of a Christian university is being promoted by a German and English missionaries are pushing out into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and, though Christian propaganda is barred among the Muslims of that region, yet in Omdurman some educational work is being done. Cairo is the chief literary centre of the Muhammadan world, and from the Christian side vigorous efforts are being made by the Nile Mission Press, an Anglo-American undertaking, to produce and circulate evangelical literature in Arabic.

In Asia Minor and Syria Protestant work has been done chiefly by American missions working among the ancient churches. The system of education which they have developed, however, note schools to colleges, especially the Roberts College in Constantinople, has notably affected the Muslim community in thought and attitude towards Christianity. Medical missions, in Palestine especially, have extended 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 G. 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 Tisdall and others. In 1871 American Presbyterian organized work among the Tribes of N. Persia, which in 1875 S. Persia was occupied by R. Bruce of the C.M.S. Medical and educational work has developed largely, and the demand for schools on a Western model far excels the power of the missionaries to supply it. The Mussulman spirit, however, in the reform movement, has borrowed freely from Christianity but does not so far make much return (see ABRABABAB). Throughout these missions work among women, visiting, teaching, and medical, has been initiated or helped on the independent perception of 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 85 societies and individual missionaries. The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (253 missionaries; income in 1914, £51,000) is the principal one. Statistics are quite imperfect. Some 250 of the Anglican clergy are engaged in evangelizing Jews, and a considerable number of Western converts, J. F. de la Roë obtained baptisms during the 19th cent. in Protestant churches at 72,740; Roman Cathole, 57,300; Greek, 74,500. The theologian of the Arabian Jewish community, the missionary bishops Schereschewsky, Hellmuth, Alexander, and Golub, were Christian Jews.

III. General Aspects. —1. Principles. —As a result of the work of missions by the Reformed Churches since the end of the 19th 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 first and last of these missions the conception 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 and His faith was the legitimate and necessary consequence of the principles which He enunciated and exemplified. To suppose that the Originator of this life and teaching, which have persisted in spreading their vitalizing influence till it reached all the peoples of the world in all centuries, was Himself without desire for or intention of producing such an effect would be to face the most insoluble enigma of history. The development which we have sketched makes it abundantly clear that the act of mission, the birth of the Church as a result 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 to the reconstruction of thought which our age is experiencing in every sphere of life should leave the conception of foreign missions entirely unaffected. Among the Reformed Churches more especially Zinzendorf's 'souls of the Lamb' as the one goal of missionary effort for the Lamb, as the one goal of missionary effort for the Lamb, as the one goal of missionary effort for the Lamb, as the one goal of missionary effort for the Lamb, was the one goal of missionary effort for the Lamb, was the one goal of missionary effort for the Lamb, has expanded with the influence of teachers like G. Warneck in Germany and B. F. Westcott in England, into the wider and deeper conception of a call to regenerate, from the primary, possible, intellectually, and socially, and to build up the universal Church of Christ. Moreover, the results of research into Christian origins have helped us, with a purer historical perspective, to test our contemporary missionary work by the example and spirit of the Apostolic Age. From subsequent early and medi eval history, too, the Church have been learning lessons of the manifold adaptation of the form of missionary work to the conditions and needs of different ages and peoples, and of these lessons the
whole modern development is an amplification. But this larger sweep of outlook and effort has by no means made the first aim of individual conversion a secondary one. On the contrary, this remains the vital centre of the whole, and it is as this is expanded and co-ordinated in the larger aim that the true end of missionary work is attained.

2. Methods, apostolic and contemporary.—The radical question is raised again and again whether the close following of the methods of St. Paul is not the true solvent of our most fundamental difficulties, particularly of the lack of spiritual and economic independence in our mission churches. Was the evangelist to make brief sojourns instead of settling down, to devise authority straightforwardly on native helpers instead of keeping them in long tutelage, to demand instead of giving penurious assistance, Christian congregations might, it is urged, be smaller, but they would be stronger and self-reproducing. Each of these paths has been tried in modern missions, generally with scant success, for the same end under different conditions may demand different means. Where there was a Jewish diaspora standing at the threshold of Christianity, teaching and discipline had been as-illuminated which may now require a generation; where habitat and civilization of evangelist and evangelized were practically identical, the problems now arising from the extension of civilization to the distance of an abode were non-existent. Recognising 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 of efficiency, whatever these may be. 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 Pauline method, rapidly following the main lines of evolution, and the city 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 today. But both of these have the defects of their qualities.

The effect of modern thought on the adaptation of the principles to contemporaneous missionary work may be traced in the development of the chief missionary methods. The mission school and college have no precedent in apostolic times, and they differ greatly from the cloister school of mediæval monasticism, the universities, the theological seminaries, being designed to serve as 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 certain that their 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 much of the work which commonly fails to produce result will prove eventually accomplished beforehand. But there is need of balanced judgment and steadfast will, lest elaboration of the scaffolding delay or even prevent the erection of the building. Similarly, in the now indispensable work of medical missions the physical benefits conferred were at first entirely subsidiary to the spiritual aim; but the conception of a method to be realized in things temporal as well as spiritual has led to emphasis upon the fact that the work of healing, even apart from any spiritual effects, is a worthy aim of the missionary. This involves the risk that the mission may be merged in the philanthropist. The modern medical missionary would not, if he could, ignore the demand for the greatest possible scientific efficiency, for he will not allow Christian zeal to be the bond of his 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 society has modified the method of approach by the Christian messenger to non-Christians. He is less inclined to attack their observances and rites than to elicit the need latent in each human heart of something higher, less prone to controvert their doctrines and duties than to set forth Christ in life and teaching. The conviction is gaining ground among his hearers that he is no ruthless iconoclast of their national religion, but a sympathetic guide who would lead them to satisfactions which it fails them to find. But his aim must still be that they may be ‘redeemed from the vain manner of life handed down from their fathers’ (1111) and come to know the only true God. Without attacking concrete sin and error this cannot be done. The manner of controversy has been rightly modified, and it is well to use points of agreement as a basis for approach; but the reason for adopting one faith in place of another cannot lie in their points of resemblance, but only in those of difference. Hence controversy or polemic, in the right form, can never become obsolete as a missionary weapon. Once more, in the case of missionary work for women its first, and most worthy, aim was simply to deliver sisters whom the Christian woman found in degradation, ignorance, and suffering from these evils into the liberty of Christian womanhood. As, in the course of generations, they laboured for this end, the great task of training new types of Christian motherhood awaited each nation gradually dawning to the thing, and they became aware that they had stimulated a greater awakening than they had dreamed of among the women of China, India, and Africa. But Christian personality remains the keystone of the movement, which is growing in East and West alike, finds its true regulative everywhere in the principles of the gospel.

3. Cognate activities.—A bare mention must suffice of the achievements of missionaries in works ancillary to their main calling. The names of Livingstone, Krapf, and Robbmann among explorers, of James Legge, R. Caldwell, H. A. Jaeschke, and Carl Meinhof among philologists, and of Codrington and John Roscoe among anthropologists are but a few among many. In civil life, too, missionaries have sometimes held a prominent place—e.g., C. F. Schwartz in Tanjore and John MacKenzie in Beehanadli; and in India municipal offices have occasionally been held by them. To outsiders these public services have been a vindication of the missionary’s usefulness; to some among the missionary public it has seemed that they might be a hindrance to it. In the nature of things, these services must be being accomplished beforehand. But there is need of balanced judgment and steadfast will, lest elaboration of the scaffolding delay or even prevent the erection of the building. Similarly, in the now indispensable
4. Results and problems.—The present condition of the world mission-field shows offshoots of the Reformed Churches in every stage of growth. Their members, as always, vary in gynessines and strength, but everywhere they include whole-hearted followers of Christ. Many have advanced greatly in tone and conduct from their former non-Christian manner of life. The animist, the pantheist, the agnostic, and the deist have come to believe in one almighty Father, one sinless Saviour, one indwelling sanctifying Spirit, from this faith grow the fruits, both of higher morality and of societal amelioration, enhanced culture, 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 training 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. More so, the more so variations in the intellectual formulation have been fully worked out by previous heresies, the weaknesses of which have been pointed out to them. Moreover, no incomparable part of the effect produced by the Christian mission is due to the possible variations in the formulation of intellectual processes, which have been found to be 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 field the analogues of early Christian heresies are to be found in teachings of bodies outside the Christian Church. Thus the Brahmi Sanaj reform of Hinduism represents a kind of Arminianism; the Bani-ohshof of Islam would stand for one variety of Gnosticism, and theosophy (q.r.) 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 now than in the early centuries, though it is a pillar of which the abler intellects of the young churches need to beware. Analogous to this is the problem of unity in the Reformed Churches. The majority of the divisions which have sprung up in the West from local sects have naturally no meaning to the Eastern convert; and the same holds good of many dividing lines in doctrine. The resulting tendency to unity in faith and practice, in face of powerful opposing forces, is hungry and hopeful. To hinder this 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 independent Christianity. A sound attitude of the missionary teacher towards questions of race and nationality will do much to meet this danger.

Next to the essential spiritual element no factor in missionary work is more weighty than the social progress which it has initiated or stimulated. From these successes a difficulty often springs. In the contact of two deeply-separated civilizations the convert naturally assimilates that of his Western Christian, but wishes to be the exercise of wisdom and restraint he may evolve a more careful attitude of Western culture without its balance and restraint, thereby repelling all his own countrymen and his Western fellow Christians; and among higher races he may acquire new and habits which will involve him in economic difficulties. Meanwhile, Western culture and commerce are ceaselessly floating into mission lands, and the change of life connected with them is affecting non-Christians scarcely less than Christians. As a result of this the efforts of the missionary to promote a simple indigenous style of living may be resented as intended to repress the progress of a body; this is one of missionary’s most difficult and delicate tasks to decide and to convince his charges what is justly due to the decrees and progress of Christian life and what is illegitimate as ministering to extravagance and pride. 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 preachers, teachers, and other members of indigenous races is estimated at £7,000,000. 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 must be more for some time to come. Almost every new convert is a forward step for a mission. The indigenous Christians and missionaries who also contribute largely to the maintenance of worship, pastoral care, and teaching. In the last resort the economic dependence of mission churches is part of the larger problem of Christian 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 and the successive missions have been in proportion to that 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, and as the enterprise in the mission-field has developed into the national. Everywhere the missionary is met, actively or passively, by insistence on rights of the race in its own sphere and a demand for equal opportunity, as against the old idea of the inherent superiority of the white man. The opposition this engendered reacts against the white man’s religion, and there is on each continent a restiveness and impatience of control on the part of converts and missions which exist in the social world.

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 the wisdom. Premature independence and unduly delayed emancipation both have their dangers; but social efficiency may be made an ideal; but it is also a temptation to 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 missionaries who understand the national and racial feeling, and whose watchword is the responsibility of the stronger.


Mission 1(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
MISSIONS (Muhammadan)

historians appear to have been singularly inquisitive as to the spread of their own faith, and only scanty information concerning this period is found at rare intervals in the vast historical literature of the Muhammadan world. The absence of a priesthood or semblance of one, the want of any attempt to hasten the acceptance of the doctrines of the faith, has had its counterpart in a lack of ecclesiastical annals; there have been no Muslim missionary societies (except towards the end of the 18th cent.), no specially trained propagandists, and very little continuity of missionary effort; even the religious orders of Islam, which have at times done much for the spread of the faith, have not cared to set on record the story of the success that has attended their preaching. There is, therefore, nothing in Muhammadan literature to 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 and other publications of the various Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary societies. In fact, the fullest details as to Muslim missionary activity are generally to be found in the writings of the Christian clergy who have been called to the reduction of the Mohammedans; yet 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 Prophet; and as the numerous biographies of the Prophet are full of stories of his efforts to win over unbelievers to the faith.

In the Qur'ān itself, the duty of missionary work is clearly laid down in the following passages (the quotation is given in chronological order according to the date of their revelation):

1. "Summon thou to thy Lord with wisdom and withnice warning: dispute with them in the kindest manner" (xxi. 139).
2. "They have indeed received the Book after thee (i.e. the Jews and Christians) are in perplexity of doubt concerning it. For this cause summon thou (them to the faith), and exalt uprightly therein as thou hast been bidden ... and say, in whatever Book God hath sent down do I believe: I am commanded to decide solely between you; God is our Lord and your Lord: we have our works and you have yours: between us and you there be no strife; God will make us all one: and to Him shall we return" (iii. 14).
3. "Say to them ye have been given the Book and to the ignorant, Do you accept Islam? and if they accept it, then they are indeed Muslims; and if they reject it, then they are of those whom We sent against these, but if they turn away, then thy duty is only preaching" (iii. 10).
4. "Thus God clearly秀示st thou his signs that perchance ye may believe that there may be among you people who invite to the Good, and enjoin the Just, and forbid the Objectionable: and if they dispute with thee, then say: God best knoweth what ye do" (xxxi. 60).
5. "If any one of those who join gods with God ask an action of thee, grant him an asylum in order that he may hear the word of God; then let him reach 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.

1. "Of a truth (i.e. the Qur'ān) is no other than an admonition to all created beings, and after a time shall ye surely know its message" (xxviii. 87f). This (book) is no other than an admonition and a clear revelation, to warn whosoever liveth" (xxxi. 60).
2. "We have not sent thee save as an mercy to all created beings" (xxi. 107; cf. also xxv. 1 and xxiv. 25)."It is he who hath sent His apostle with guidance and the religion of truth, that He may make it victorious over every other religion, though the polytheists are averse to it" (xxvi. 99).

In the hour of Muhammad's deepest despair, when the people of Mecca turned a deaf ear to his preaching, when he who intended to be the models for converts were his wife, Khadijah, his adopted children, Zaid and 'Ali, and some members of his immediate circle. He did not begin to preach in public until the third year of his mission, but he met with the scolding and conclusion of a task, which in a central position, much frequented by pilgrims and strangers. The conversion of 'Umar b. al-Khattāb about two years later was a source of great strength to the little band of Muslims, who now began publicly to perform their devotions together round the Ka'ba. Though Muhammad continued to teach for ten years, the number of converts remained very small, and an attempt to win adherents outside Mecca, in the town of Taif, ended in complete failure; but some pilgrims from Yathrib (or, as it was afterwards called, Medina) showed themselves to be more receptive, and Muhammad sent one of his early converts, Mus'ab b. 'Umair, to Yathrib to spread the faith in that district; he was successful: that in the following year he was accompanied by more than seventy converts in the pilgrimage to Mecca; they invited Muhammad to take refuge in Yathrib, and he accordingly migrated thither in September 622, the date which was afterwards regarded as the beginning of the Muhammadan era. In Medina the little Muslim community gradually developed into a political organism that spread over the greater part of Arabia before the death of Muhammad in 632, and political expediency tended to replace religious considerations into the background; but the proselytizing character of the new faith was not lost sight of, and the Arab tribes that submitted to the political leadership of Muhammad accepted at the same time the faith that he taught.

But of distastefully missionary activity there are only scattered notices, and for some time after the death of Muhammad there is a similar lack of evidence of distastefully proselytizing effort on the part of the following century. This was a notable exception in the conduct of the Umayyad khalifah, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz (717-720), who was a zealous propagandist and endeavoured to win converts in all parts of his vast dominions from N. Africa to Transoxiana and Sind.

With the decline of the Arab empire the Muslim world was faced with the task of converting its new rulers. The conversion of the Turks proceeded very slowly; the earliest converts appear to have been the Turkish soldiers who took service under the khilifah at Baghdad; there are a few legends of proselytizing efforts in Turkistan, but the history of the conversion of the Turkish tribes is obscure, and Islam seems to have made little way among them until the 10th century, when the Seljuk Turks migrated into the province of Bukhara, and there adopted Islam. The conversion of the main body of the Afghans probably belongs to the same period or a little earlier, though national tradition would carry it back to the days of the Prophet himself.

A more formidable task was the conversion of the Mongols, and here Islam had to enter into competition with two other missionary faiths, Buddhism and Christianity, both of which at the outset met with greater success. The devastations
of the Mongols had brought ruin to the centres of learning and culture in the Muslim countries which they overran, and it was only by slow degrees that Islam began to emerge out of the ruins of its former ascendency and take its place again as a dominant faith. From the latter part of the 13th cent. converts began to appear among the Mongols, and a new epoch in Muslim missionary history then commenced, in which the religious orders, and the Naqshbandi, in particular, played a prominent part. In the profound discouragement which filled the Muslims after the flight of the Mongol conquest had poured over them their first refuge had been in mysticism, and in the pir, or spiritual guide, who during this period began to exercise an increasing influence, because of special importance among the proselytizing agencies at work. The first Mongol ruling prince to profess Islam was Baraka Khán, who was chief of the Golden Horde from 1236 to 1247; according to the account, he owed his conversion to two merchants whom he met coming in a caravan from Bukhára; but the conversion of their prince gave great offence to many of his followers, and half a century later, when Özbeg Khán (who was chief of the Golden Horde from 1313 to 1356) attempted to convert the Mongols who still stood aloof from Islam, they objected, 'Why should we abandon the religion of Jenghiz Khán for that of the Arabs?' In other parts of the Mongol empire the progress of Islam was very rapid and more or less fluctuating, and it did not become the paramount religion in the kingdom of the Ilkhans of Persia until 1295, or among the Chaghatáy Mongols until three decades later. The first Muslim merchant kingdom of Kashgar (who preached in Kashgar in the Chaghatáy dynasty had erected into a separate kingdom) was Tuqal Timür Khán (1347-83), who is said to have owed his conversion to a holy man from Bukhára, by name Sháhí Jamá'l al-Dín; but so late as the end of the 13th cent. a dervish named Isáq Wáli found scope for his proselytizing activities in Kashgar and the surrounding 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 establishment of their faithful in China dates from the 13th cent., and the settlement of the inhabitants from the west, which were founded from that period, developed into the great communities of Chinese Muslims of the present day—through various provinces of which it has been once. The rise of the Mongols was also incidentally the cause of renewed missionary activity in India; Islam had gained a footing in Sind and on the Malabar coast as early as the 8th cent., and in the north after the establishment of Muhammadan rule at the close of the 12th cent., but the terror of the Mongol arms caused a number of learned men and members of religious orders to take refuge in India, where they succeeded in making many converts.

To the period of the Mongol conquests—though in no way connected therewith—is traditionally ascribed the first establishment of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. Sumatra appears to have been the first island into which it was introduced—probably by traders from India and, later, Arabia; but the extension of the new faith was very slow, and even to the present day large sections of the population of this island remain unconverted. The conversion of Java, according to the native annals, began in the 15th cent. and spread from this island into the Moluccas and Borneo. The arrival of the Portuguese and, later, of the Spaniards, in the 16th cent. checked for a time the growing influence of Islam in the Malay Archipelago, and the rival faiths of Christianity and Islam entered into conflict for the adherence of its peoples; but the oppressive behaviour of the Spaniards and their attempts to enforce the acceptance of their religion made it possible for the success of the Muslim propagandists, who adopted more conciliatory methods for the spread of their faith, intermarried with the natives, and conformed to their manners and customs. The missionary activity of Islam has been carried on spasmodically in these islands up to the present day—for the most part by traders. From the very nature of the case, there has been little historical record of their labours, and this little is chiefly found in the reports of Christian missionaries. Legendary accounts of the arrival of the earliest apostles of Islam in several of the islands have been handed down, but they are uncredited and of doubtful historical value.

The history of the spread of Islam in India by missionary effort is not quite so scanty, but it has largely been overshadowed by the absorbing interest of political events; for, though the Indian Muslims of the Mughal empire and of the great and fantastics, there is evidence of the activity of a number of missionaries from the beginning of the Muhammadan period. Among these may be mentioned Sháhí Ismá'il, a Bukhári Sayyid who carried his influence to the city of Kashgar, the patron saint of Trichinopoly (where he died in 1039), and 'Abd Alláh, who landed in Cambay in 1067, and is said to have been the first missionary of the Mustáfíll Ismá'ilí sect (known in India as 'Bóboráh'). Towards the close of the same century another Ismá'ilí missionary, but of the Khójah sect, Núr al-Dín (generally known as Núr Sátá'ír), carried on a successful propaganda in the Hindu kingdom of Gujarát. In 1236 there died in Ajmér one of the greatest of the saints of India, Khwájah Mu'in al-Dín Chishti, who settled in that city while it was still under Hindu rule and made a large number of converts; ten years later died one of the apostles of Islam in Bengal, Sháhí Jalál al-Dín. A long series of missionaries in that province. Of importance in the history of Islam in the Punjab is the settlement in that part of India of saints of the Suhrawardí order; e.g., to the preaching of Bahá al-Din Zakáríyá, and of Sayyid Jálal al-Dín and his descendants, many of the tribes of the Punjab owe their conversion. These are but a few of the long series of preachers of Islam who carried on a distinctive missionary work, side by side with the various influences, social and political, that contributed to the spread of Islam in that country.

Of the vast history of the spread of Islam in Africa it is not possible here to give more than a brief sketch. For the early period of the Arab conquest of Egypt and N. Africa, though conversions took place on a large scale, there is little evidence of active missionary effort. The opposition of the Berbers occurring early that is located in the Nile valley checked for a time the southward movement of Muslim influences. By slow degrees, however, Islam penetrated among the Berbers, but acquired an ascendency over them only when it assumed the form of a national movement with the rise of the native dynasties of the Almoravids in the 11th, and the Almohads in the 12th. The Berbers introduced Islam into the lands
watered by the Senegal and the Niger, and Arabs from Egypt spread their faith in the eastern Sudan during the 12th cent., to which period the conversion of Kordofan and Kano appears to belong. In the 15th and 16th centuries the zealous missionaries of Islam, to be followed by the Hausas, whom they had converted, and the Hausas who have carried their faith with them from one end of the Sudan to the other. 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 19th century. The continuous c.r. /c. the deviate In the say conscious teachers Europe be ha’e great Islam, Egypt the propaganda. similar (W. him as Hausaland far from there the last decades of the 19th cent., and such Muslim missionary societies as are. 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 Grâh in Abyssinian (1528-43) were signalized by numerous conversions to Islam; but there is little evidence of any direct propagandist movements.

A great revival of the missionary spirit of Islam followed the Wahhabî reformation; this movement stirred the whole of the Muslim world—either to sympathy or to opposition—and thus directly or indirectly contributed to the great missionary movements of the 19th century. In India the Wahhabî preachers aimed primarily at purging out the many Hindu practices that caused the Muslims to deviate from the ways of strict orthodox Islam, and to intercede on a propaganda among unbelievers, and their example was followed by other Muhammadan missionaries, whose preaching attracted to Islam large numbers of converts throughout the country. In Sudan the Wahhabî reformers 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 Wahhabî 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 Hansaland; the methods of the Fulbe were violent and political, and they endeavoured to force the acceptance of Islam by means of their truncheons or swords. On the other hand, a peaceful propaganda was carried on in the Sudan by members of the Amirghaniyyâ and Qâdiriyyâ orders; the former takes its name from Muhammad 'Uthman al-Amir Ghanî, 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 Qâdiriyyâ order had been introduced into Western Africa in the 15th cent., but awakened 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 a-pieces of the Qâdiriyyâ, and their organization provided for a regular and continuous system of propaganda among the heathen tribes. Another order, the Samîshyyah (founded in 1837), has also been very active and successful in proselytizing.

A fresh outburst of Muslim missionary zeal in Africa exhibited itself 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 propagating Islam by means of roads and railways, 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 at times given rise to large movements of converts for various reasons—political and social—wholly unconnected with missionary enterprise; at the same time it has always retained its primitive character as a missionary religion, 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 appear to have owed their origin to a conscious imitation of similar organizations in the Christian world. The most characteristic expression of the missionary spirit of Islam is, however, found in the proselytizing zeal of the individual believer, who is prompted by his personal devotion to his faith to endeavour to win the allegiance to it of others. Though there have been religious teachers who may be looked upon as professional missionaries of Islam, especially on the mainland of Africa, it is the trader who fills the largest place in the annals of Muslim propaganda; but no profession or occupation limits the believer for the office of preacher of the faith, nor is any priestly or ministerial function necessary to 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 moment il se présente à l'homme, qui sait le prosélitisme sauf le marché, un prosélite'; 'Il est mis en une sorte de prison, et il se réagit comme il le peut pour qu'il quitte l'erreur'; 'A tout moment il se présente à l'homme, qui sait le prosélitisme sauf le marché, un prosélite'; 'Every moment there is a missionary available'.

However exaggerated such an opinion may be, stated thus as a universal, it is certainly true that there is no section of Muslim society that stands aloof from active missionary work, and few truly devout Muslims, living in daily contact with unbelievers, neglect the precept of their Prophet:

'Summon thou to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and with kindly warning' (Qurân, xvi. 126).

Even the prisoner will on occasion take the opportunity of preaching his faith to his captors or to his fellow-prisoners, or to any man or creature who can be reached. This spirit of Islam into 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 Muhammadan neighbours, and was brought to the country of the Pechenegs (between the lower Danube and the Don) in the beginning of the 11th cent.; before the end of the century the whole nation had become Muhammadan. In India, in the 17th cent., a theologian, named Shiukh Ahmad {Abul Abul}, who had been unjustly imprisoned, is said to have converted several hundred idolaters whom he found in the prison. Women as well as men are found working for the spread of their faith; the influence of Muhammadan wives made itself felt in the slow work of converting the pagan Mongols, and in Abyssinia in the first half of the 19th cent. The Muhammadan women, especially the wives of Christian princes, who had to pretend a conversion to Christianity on the occasion of their marriage, brought up their children in the tenets of Islam and used every means to spread their faith. In the present day the Tatar women of Kazan are said to be zealous propagandists of Islam.

The individual character of Muhammadan missionary effort partly explains the absence of detailed records of conversion; there is a similar lack of the common apparatus of modern Christian
missions—e.g., tracts and other missionary literature for general distribution; but in learned circles a vast controversial literature has been produced, to which some of the ablest of Muslim thinkers have contributed—e.g., al-Kindi (1753), al-Mas'udi (1805), Ibn Khaldun (1811), etc. as well as a number of converts who have written apologies for their change of faith and in defence of their new religion. Several documents making a direct appeal to unbelievers have been prepared; the closest parallel of Muhammad addressed to the great poten tates of his time, the emperor Heraclius, the king of Persia, the governor of Yemen, and the emperor of Egypt, and the king of Abyssinia. To the reign of al-Mansur (813-833) belongs the missionary correspondence and authorship of Ibn Khaldun. It is not unlikely that his zeal has been zealous in his efforts to spread the faith of Islam, belongs the interesting treatise of 'Abd Allah b. Ismail al-Hashimi, in which he makes an impassioned and affectionate appeal to the Christians corresponding to accept Islam. Of a much more formal character are the two letters, one in Arabic and the other in Persian, which the Timurid prince, Shah Rukh Bahadur, addressed in 1412 to the emperor of China, inviting him to '_conversion,' thus to the Prophets, the Apostle of God, and 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 royal missive was also written by Mawlānā 'Abd Shihāb al-Morocce, to King James II. in 1629. Coming from such an exalted source, these documents have been preserved, while the humble folk have remained unrecorded. The publication of tracts and periodical reports of missionary societies makes its appearance only in the latter part of the 19th century.


T. W. ARNOLD.

MISSIONS (Zoroastrian).—Zoroastrianism began as a distinctly missionary religion. According to tradition, Yima (on whom see art. BLEST, ABBEY OF THE [PERSIAN]) was the first mortal asked by Ahura Mazda to remember and to cherish the faith (Vend. ii. 3), but he professed himself unequal to the task and—unless the tradition is deviant (i. 1111), etc.—was as well as a number of converts who have written apologies for their change of faith and in defence of their new religion. Several documents making a direct appeal to unbelievers have been prepared; the closest parallel of Muhammad addressed to the great potentates of his time, the emperor Heraclius, the king of Persia, the governor of Yemen, and the emperor of Egypt, and the king of Abyssinia. To the reign of al-Mansur (813-833) belongs the missionary correspondence and authorship of Ibn Khaldun. It is not unlikely that his zeal has been zealous in his efforts to spread the faith of Islam, belongs the interesting treatise of ‘Abd Allah b. Ismail al-Hashimi, in which he makes an impassioned and affectionate appeal to the Christians corresponding to accept Islam. Of a much more formal character are the two letters, one in Arabic and the other in Persian, which the Timurid prince, Shah Rukh Bahadur, addressed in 1412 to the emperor of China, inviting him to ‘conversion,’ thus to the Prophets, the Apostle of God, and 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 royal missive was also written by Mawlānā ‘Abd Shihāb al-Morocce, to King James II. in 1629. Coming from such an exalted source, these documents have been preserved, while the humble folk have remained unrecorded. The publication of tracts and periodical reports of missionary societies makes its appearance only in the latter part of the 19th century.


T. W. ARNOLD.
MISSIONS (Zoroastrian)

described as ‘desired after’ (dārūn-drākta) [17, xi. 17]. On the other hand, the missionaries sometimes had to face opposition, as when Kesreghni sought to suppress them, but was driven from his kingdom by Iraana (†. ix. 24), though the present writer is inclined to regard this account as an Iranian reflex of a Vedic myth, the role of the heavenly gods, in disguise, to punish a king for his idolatry. In certain other figures surviving from the period of Indo-Iranian unity.1 When, in like manner, the Pahlavi Sīkand-gāmānī-Vījar states (xv. 67.1) that the sons of Viṣṇuṣpa ‘even wandered to Aram [the Byzantine empire]’ and大厅ard the Hūdūds, outside the realm, in propagating the religion,’ the tradition of missionary activities in these countries (on which see Jackson, pp. 85-90) does not credenre, and equally apocryphal is the statement of the Dinkart (SBE xxxix. p. xxxii) that the Astvā was translated into Greek.2

From the close of the Avestan period to the dynasty of the Sassanids (224-631), there is almost a blank in the history of Zoroastrianism, so far as Sasanids nor Partisans seem to have taken much interest in the religion.3 Nevertheless, there was considerable diffusion, if not of orthodox Zoroastrianism, at least of Iranism during this time. We have already had occasion to note the spread of Iranism in Central Asia in the Middle Ages. It is recorded that the names of that country (art. CALENDAR [Persian], vol. iii. p. 130) and a curious amalgamation of Semitic and Iranian religious ideas is revealed by a Pahlavian Aramaic inscription of the 2nd century B.C. (N. L. Radford, Monuments du Monde Epigraphique, i. [1902] 67-69), which runs as follows:

‘This (ci) Dēn-Mazdayanān (κατὰ τὸν θεόν), the queen (γυναικὶ), the sister and wife (εὐγαμία) of Bel, spake thus: “I am the wife of Bel, and I beseech Bel, the Bel of Bel, the universal Bel, and the Bel of the godheads; and therefore have I made thee wife of Bel (Ω)’.

The prayer to Manẓuqah (on which see MARRIAGE [Iranian], p. 2) is also of interest.4

An inscription of Antiochus i. of Commagene (1st cent. B.C.) at Nimrud Dagh is of much value as the expression of the religious fervor of a prince who traced his lineage, on the paternal side, to the Achaeamenid kings, and also as showing the character of a late Zoroastian cult in a foreign land. The relevant portions of this text (ed. most of them, with translation, by O. W. Butterfield, Inscriptions of Commagene, Oxford, 1892, p. 268-269) may be summarized as follows (cf. also F. Cunow, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux cultes de Mithra, Brussels, 1896-99, i, 11, 233, 238, p. 574, n. 754)

1. Considered πιατασ (πειτάσ) not only the strongest expression of all things good, but also the sweetest joy to men, and held it to be the criterion both of fortunate power and of blessed usefulness (πειτασ καὶ ὁμορροφία καὶ ἀραχήσις). Throughout my life I was seen by all to be the most faithful guardian and the inimitable delight of my kingdom (11-19); and to this all his success during a long and hazardous career is due. When he ascended his ancestral throne, he appointed a consistory of priests (for all the gods θεοὶ δικαικοσταὶ . . . δικασταὶ) with divine images, and handed them over to him, who, imitating the Pahlavi god-sages, decreed the Zoroastrian religion, and honoured them with sacrifices and hand-2

2. For the individual inscriptions to all these see Dittenberger, nos. 804-905 (s. 804-905).

3. Cf. art. INDIA AND INDIA (Persian). The term ‘buddhism’ (βουδισμὸς) looks very like a literal translation of Av. vādāna, ‘wisdom,’ as opposed of an individual to Amrita Manda and Amrati, but she is neither her sister nor her wife.

4. It is implied in H. xii. 16 that Dāna (Religion personified) is identified with the mother of Amrita Manda and Amrati, but she is neither her sister nor her wife.
merely academic attitude is amply proved by the records of persecution of the Christians by the Sassanid rulers in Persia. 3 The Pañhāvī portion of the Nirāṅgātā (ed. D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1894, fol. 16, 17v) bears witness to the admission of proselytes, and the Pañhāvī Āṭ̣ anātā-bhūtā P. J. Houtum, H. Z. K. M, xxxvi. (1914) 347 ff.) states that a slave belonging to a Christian should be renounced by Zoroastrians from his master if such a slave embraces Parsiism, though he is not to be set free. If such a slave becomes a Zoroastrian together with or after his master.

During the period under consideration there was some extension of Zoroastrianism in China (cf. Jackson, pp. 278-280), though no details are thus far known. We lack laws of our own. Over the discoveries made by M. A. Stein, A. Grünwedel, A. von Le Coq, and P. Pelliot in Turkestan, where Buddhist, Persian, Turki, Greek, and Zoroastrian relics lie intermingled, that Zoroastrianism passed along the great trade routes it may be doubted whether there was any active propaganda. 3

We have just seen that the Sassanids proceeded by force against non-Zoroastrians in Persia; they pursued a similar course in Armenia. Anonymous passages give in this Armenian historians, 3 and much further information is doubtless to be gleaned from the hitherto untranslated Acts of the Armenian Martyrs. 4 As an example it will be sufficient to summarize the data of the 5th cent. with the Church Hist. of Varden, tr. C. F. Neumann, London, 1850:

All non-Zoroastrians were oppressed in Armenia from the reign of Arisak (r. 341-367) till that of Artakēs IV. (425-439). The Persian Yazdegard r. 418-457 followed this example, urged by the Zoroastrian priests to extirpate the sect of the Christians, and to wrest from them their property. Oh that you would but exchange the heresy of your souls for the true and excellent religion! 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 form of converts, to the Christians replied (pp. 12-20). The persecution provoked a revolt, which was not suppressed until the Christian leader, Varden, fell in battle in 453. The whole account of Elias' which the clash of two religions, each of uncompromising character. Cruelty and craft were only too evident, the spirit of sincere conviction must be recognized.

With the overthrow of the Sassanian dynasty by the Byzantine Emperor, the possibility of Zoroastrianism practically came to a close. The plight of those who remained in Persia was—and is—too wretched to allow more than a reluctant and hostile toleration at best from the dominant Muhammadanism. 1 Those who, in the 7th cent., migrated to India and thus gave rise to the communities of Parsī (p.) were received with much too warm a welcome. As Dhalā observs p. 144, it is hard to their attainment from propaganda in India.

'The precarious condition in which they lived for a considerable period made it impossible for them to keep up their former proselytizing zeal. The increasing alienation of the integrating and absorption in the vast multitudes among whom they lived created in them a spirit of exclusiveness and insistence on the preservation of the racial characteristics and distinctive features of their community. Living in an atmosphere unaccustomed with the Hindu caste system, it is only natural that a certain safety lay in circumscribing their fold by rigid caste barriers. 2

Nevertheless, a certain amount of proselytizing continued as late as the 18th cent., especially in the case of slave-relics. The conversions of the festivals or to allow the proselytes to be enshrined after death on the Parsi 'Towers of Silence.' 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 was not more than the slightest question that the ruling of the Irani (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 has been instances in which a Parsi has married a non-Zoroastrian wife, or has desired to have children born by such a wife, or by a non-Zoroastrian. A. Brosset (ed. P. J. Houtum, H. Z. K. M, xxxvi. (1914) 347 ff.) states that the Zoroastrians hold that such proselytes are harmful to the faith, and that, if converts are admitted at all, it must be under conditions which put the sincerity of the neophytes' religious convictions beyond suspicion. The Zoroastrian community has no organization for training new converts; the matrimonial opportunities of Parsi girls is 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 impiety.

This attitude—so different from that of Zoroaster and of Zoroastrianism until the migration to India—is fraught with grave evil consequences in 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 (p.) is making a form of 'esoterics' Zoroastrianism which can scarcely be reconciled with the Avesta. Some of the radical wing of the 'reforming' party, at the other extreme, rationalize the religion until it becomes a travesty of its real content. Against all this must be reckoned many wisely conservative Parsis, both priests and laity, 2 but whether, so long as all accessions from without are forbidden, they can advance and extend the 'good religion' is a question for the future.


LOUIS H. GRAY.


MISSIO1E, (Zoroastrian) 751

1 See J. G. Garas and the literature there cited, to which may now be added five volumes of the Zoroastrian New World, 1913-1897, 393-318.

2 On all these movements see J. N. Fairburn, Modern Movements in India, New York, 1914, pp. 84-91, 317-319.
MITHRAISM. — The religion generally known by this name, which enjoyed a wide-spread popularity in the countries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, consisted in the worship of Mithra, a divinity worshipped in the Indo-Iranian period by the two most easterly branches of the Aryan race, as is shown by the fact that his name occurs among the divinities of the Vedic pantheon and in that of Mithra in the early religious poetry of Persia. The name coincides in form with a common noun which in Sanskrit means 'friend' or 'friendship' and in Aryan 'concert,' and it would seem to follow that from the earlier 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 fillers of the soil with unwinking eye' — phrases which suggest a solar divinity; and from the numerous hymns in which Mithra and Varuna are conjointly addressed it is abundantly clear that both divinities are manifested in the celestial light. In the Brhadaranyaka, indeed, the view prevails that Mithra represents the light of day, especially that of the sun, while to Varuna belong the 'thousand eyes' of night. This seems to be the early form of the development, the beginnings of which may be traced in the Atharvaveda, especially ix. 18, where Mithra unceases in the morning what Varuna has concealed. The theory of Oldenberg, 2 that the group of divinities known as Adityas, who are said in Rigveda ix. 18 to have a home in Varuna, is one of the sun (Mithra), moon (Varuna), and five planets, and was borrowed from a Semitic race, has little to commend it. It is more probable that Varuna was the origin of the sun-god existing in numberless forms in later Vedic literature and a name borrowed by the Rigveda, which is applied to gods, more especially to Varuna and Mithra, and is plausibly suggested to have connoted the possession of occult power.

2. Mithra in Iran. — Among the Iranian peoples the worship of Mithra attained an importance which it never possessed in India. The early history of this worship is very obscure, owing to the uncertainties which beset the interpretation of the Avestan texts. From the inscriptions found by H. Winckler at Boghaz-keui in 1895, especially the treaty between the Hittite king Suphabihuana and Mattianuza, the son of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, it appears that Mithra, Varuna, India, and Mitra (or 'Mitra') were worshipped in the district of Mitanni in the 18th cent. B.C. Eduard Meyer (Das erste Auftreten der Arier in die Geschichte, SE.IV, 1898, p. 14) regards this fact as a proof that an Aryan community existed in Mitanni. In E.B. xxi. 210 he suggests that the Aryan texts in question were a caste-ruling over a non-Aryan people. It is, however, uncertain whether we should regard them as the ancestors of the Iranians, and even possible (as J. H. Moulton has suggested, Early Zoroastr. Poetry, London, 1915, pp. 7, 26) that we have here the relics of a historic migration backward from India to the North-West. It is to be observed that the name Varuna is otherwise unknown in Iranian texts, while the name Ahura is among the divinities of the Zoroastrian list of divinities of about 650 B.C. (published by F. X. Moulton, Early Zoroastr. Poetry, Cambridge, 1911, and further details in the same author's Early Zoroastr. Poetry, ypp. 129, 357).

1 Cf. the name Mithra (Mithra, Mithraea, Zoroastrians). — The name Mithra is found in the Zend Avesta and in the later Zoroastrian literature. It is generally regarded as a name of the太阳神, and is derived from the Sanskrit word भगवान् (Bhagavan), meaning 'the Lord', or 'the God'.

(but not Anahita) and the six Amesha Spentas (or Anumihspandas), which are among the most characteristic features of Zoroastrism properly so called. For our knowledge of Mithra-worship among the Persians we naturally turn to the Mithir Yasht (Vt. x. Eng. tr. in SBE xxiii. [1889], by J. Darmesteter, more accurate in general, than the older translation of F. Wolf, Avesta, ii. vebcr, Strassburg, 1910, pp. 198–221). The opening lines of the poem show clearly the high position enjoyed by Mithra, although, as a yazata ('adored one') he stood technically on a lower level than the six Amesha Spentas of Zarathushtra's creed.

"Thus spake Ahura Mazda to the holy Zarathushtra: When I created Mithra, lord of wide pastures, then, O Spandita, I created him as worker of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer at myself, Ahura Mazda' (Vt. x. 1)."

The Yasht speaks with no uncertain voice either of the physical or of the ethical character of the god:

"The first of the spiritual yazatas, who rises over the mountain before the immortal sun, driver of swift horses; who foremost attains the gold-decked, fair summit, whence he surveys the whole dwelling-place of the Aryans, he, the mightiest' (Vt. x. 15).

This is clearly neither the sun himself nor any individual object, but the heavenly light in general, and it suits well with the recurring formula of the hymn:

"To Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, we sacrifice, the truth-spreading, eloquent assembly, eloquent, thousand-careed, the shapely, the myriad-eyed, the exalted, (lord of) the broad look-out, the strong, the sleepless, the vigilant, the sharp (of speech)...

This is a guardianship of truth and good faith that gives Mithra his special character; but he is also invoked, like other divinities, as the protector of the needy, whom the poor man, who follows the teaching of righteousness, when wounded and deprived of his rights, with upturned hands invokes for help' (Vt. x. 84), and his aid is sought 'in both worlds, in this world of the body, and in the world of the spirit' (Vt. x. 95).

The last trait may remind us that among the functions of Mithra was that of assisting the souls of those departed in the faith on their journey to Paradise. He is implored to 'be present at our sacrifice, come to our libations... bear them for atonement, lay them down in the House of Prayer' (Vt. x. 73).

It is natural, therefore, to find as his companions Varsha ("obedience") and Rashnu ("justice"), who, in later Zoroastrism, are found beside Ahura Mazda in the Final Judgment. In the Yasht, however, they figure as his henchmen in the great struggle between the powers of light and darkness.

"Mithra strikes terror into them, Rashnu strikes a counter-terror into them, Varsha drives them together from every side toward the protecting angels' (Vt. x. 41).

Throughout the poem Mithra appears as preeminently a god of battles; he was, therefore, esteemed to be a dark-rider, as he did in later times, the favourite deity of the Roman soldier. Of the ritual of Mithra-worship the Yasht tells us little; the formulae (pr. v. r.) and milk were offered to him in libation; and the Mazdayasniyan is hidden to sacrifice 'beasts small and great, and birds that fly,' and to prepare himself for the sacrifice by abstinence and penance (Vt. x. 112–122).

4. External influence on Mithraism.—(a) In Babylonian.—The picture thus sketched—and nothing essential would be added by drawing on the later portions of the Avesta or the Palavi 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 took place 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 (q.v.), who, in spite of her associations with the Oxs, was a goddess of an easily recognized Semitic type, point to a close relation between Persian and Babylonian cults. The most important feature of later Mithraism, due to Chaldean influence, was the prominence of astrology. There is nothing to show that this was a feature of early Iranian religion; thus, it seems probable 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 zodiacal figure used as the 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 doctrine were worked out in detail on the banks of the Euphrates. The brief account of Zoroastrism given by Plutarch in the de Iside et Osiride shows how far the Maqians had already carried the transformation of the simple Persian creed into a system which meets us in the Bundishkiran and other Palavi texts of the Sasanian 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 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 at once the commander under whom the individual shares in the fight against the infernal darkness and the savior 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. 113) Mithra and Anahita are jointly invoked, just as Mithra and Varuna are in the Vedic hymns.


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the purifying spirit to the sphere from which it came, we may believe to be characteristically Iranian; to Chaldea we shall attribute the clear line of the act of mithraism connected with the influence exercised by the planets upon the soul in its passage through their spheres, and the prominence given to the conception of Destiny as revealed in the unchanging order of the heavenly process, carried on throughout unending time (zravr akbarav in later Zoroastrianism). Fatalism was the necessary corollary of these doctrines; but its acceptance in theory did not prevent Mithraism from becoming an intensely practical creed. Both of stimulus for the activity of the individual.1

(b) In Asia Minor.—It is much more difficult to say what was the effect upon Mithraism of its diffusion throughout Asia Minor.2 We have no contemporary evidence for the stages by which this took place, but it is at least probable that the later Achemenian kings, who were, as we have seen, ardent votaries of Mithra and Anahita—Artaxerxes Ochus is said3 to have erected statues of the goddess in many places—established the worship of these divinities in the outlying portions of their dominions. It was not long before they became assimilated to those which were indigenous to the land; Anahita was readily identified with the Greek Artemis whose worship, as Anaitis or Anatolin (see art. MOTHER OF THE GODS), and thus the way was paved for an alliance between Mithra and Cybele (p.v.). Mithra himself took the shape of Men in Pontus (see below), and was assimilated in art with Attis (p.v.). In the profound differences of nature and function between the two, more than this we can hardly say, for the primitive features of Mithraic ritual, to be considered later, were not necessarily borrowed, but may go back to the period when the religion of Mithras was part of the Avestan legend, and of the theo- drus or horemnas.4 This was conceived as a kind of mystical effulgence or aureole derived from the heavenly light, and possibly borrowed some of its features from the Greek divine nimbus.5 In the story of the Fall, embodied for the Iranians in the myth of Yima, sin entailed the loss of this precious talisman; and in the Mith. Yasht the dath-horemenas, 'he of evil glory,' is the man who 'thrusts Mithra into his molar and lying' (Y. x. 195). But the horemenas was more especially the talisman of the royal house of Iran, and as such is the main subject of an entire Yasht (Y. xix.), which deals with those who have or will possess it, beginning with Ahura Mazda himself and ending with Sasanian, the future deliverer of the world from evil, but giving in the main, as Darmesteter points out (SBE xxiii. 286), 'a short history of the Iranian monarchy, an abridged Shah Nama.' Historically, therefore, the horemenas is 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 the devotion and loyalty of the fervent worshippers of Mithra, 'the spiritual Yazata who rides through all the Kartshavas, bestowing the horemenas' (Y. x. 16). The prevalence of this conception is but thinly veiled by the disguise which the horemenas attained among half-Hellenized Asians as the Τάγα Μαδέα. It was doubtless at the courts of these mushroom monarchs that the Hellenization of Mithraism, which was the indispensable condition of its further diffusion, was brought about. In this respect the earliest instructive monument is the enormous cairn set up by Antiochus I. of Commagene (69-38 B.C.) on the tumulus of Nimrud Dagh, on either side of which was a terrace with identical series of five statues.6 These, as the king tells us in his inscription, represented (1) Zeus-Oromasdes (= Ahura Mazda), (2) Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, (3) Artagnes-Herakles-Ares (= Verethragna, *victory*), (4) Commagene, (5) Antiochus himself: of the last the king says that by setting up the fashion of his own form he has 'caused the honour of ancient deities to become coeval with a new Τάγα.' The identification of Mithras with three Greek divinities illustrates the elastic methods of syncretism; that the Hellenistic 'world' is passed through with the world beyond the grave,7 and, at the same time, it may be, with allusion to the planet assigned to him (in common with Apollo) by the Greeks, since Antiochus was a confirmed astrologer and has left us a list of the planets, in the retaining-wait of the terrace; yet Mithras is also, as so often later, identified with the sun himself, Antiochus's father, it may be added, was one of the numerous bearers of the name Mithradates; and another of these shows Antiochus clasping in the right hand of Mithras, represented in Persian costume with the radiate nimbus. This grouping of the god with the ruler whom he protects is a motive which recurs in various quarters, especially, as M. I. Rostowzew 8 has shown, in Scythia. On the coinage of Trapezus (Cumont, ii. 189-191) Mithras, in Persian costume, appears on horseback—in one instance flanked by the figures of Cautes and Cautopates (see below)—hence we are able to recognize him as the external source of the trampling on a prostrate foe) represented on various works of art found in the tomuli of the Scythian princes in the Caucasus and southern Russia. A notable example is the silver rhyton from Karagodarai, his evil cheek, evil eye, trampling and drinking-horn, is faced by a Scythian prince, also mounted, who uplifts his right hand in the gesture of adoration.

5. Contact with Greece and Rome.—It was in Asia Minor that Greek art was enlisted in the service of Mithraism and created the sculptural types which were diffused throughout the West and form the chief source of our knowledge of the cult. The group of Mithras the bull-slayer, to be described presently, though ultimately inspired by the bull-slaying Nike of the Athenian acropolis, is manifestly the creation of a Pergamene artist, and adorned every sanctuary of Mithras. In spite of this fact, however, it is to be noted that Mithraism never became popular in Greek lands; it is not found, c.g., at Delos, where so many foreign cults flourished in the later Hellenistic age, and its

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1 Astral theology, as a system foreign to the Avesta; the worship of Tishtrya (Zoroastrian) to whom Y. viii. is addressed, forms no real exception to this rule. Of the conceptions only the great Bear is mentioned in this hymn (Y. viii. 132).

2 This Mithraism came to Asia Minor from Scythic sources is proved by the Greek-Aramaic bilingual inscriptions of Cappadocia, in which from Bithynia (the Persian records of Monts de Bithynie, ed. P. P. J. de Courbet, Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscriptions, 1851, p. 430), and also (as Cumont points out) by the fact that the form Maithraeus is a transliteration from the Aramaic.

3 Hellen. Alex. Propest. 6.

4 It is, however, probable that the compound names which the Greeks wrote Μιθραζής, Μιθραζής, etc., cf. for other examples Μιθραζής (ibid., p. 431), and also (as Cumont points out) by the fact that the form Maithraeus is a transliteration from the Aramaic.


6 Th. pl. i. 1.
traces are rare (and generally of Imperial date) throughout the Roman province of Britain, in Gaul, Dacia, and even in the far-off Helvetia and Egypt. Even in the 2nd cent. A.D. Lucian writes of Mithras as a barbarian god, ὁδὲ Μίθρας τῇ γῇ γῇ (Deorum Conc. 9).

The cult of Mithras is said by Plutarch (Pomp. 24) to have, in the course of time, passed from Rome; and by Cicero, De B. Nat. 1, 5, to have spread all over Italy. The earliest Mithraic inscription as yet found in Rome was set up by a freedman of the Flavian dynasty (CIL vi. 782 = Cumont, ii. 165 f.), and, although the British Museum contains a statuary group of Mithras and the bull dedicated by a slave of T. Claudians (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.

Mithraism 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—precisely those regions in which the specialized form of the cult had been developed by the 1st cent. B.C. or the 1st cent. A.D. have been the headquarters of the army in the Roman east for centuries. During the Parthian wars under Claudius and Nero a considerable number of Parthian captives were taken by the Roman army. The Parthian wars of Nero were transferred by Vespasian to the Danube, bringing the cult of Mithras to its camp at Carnuntum in A.D. 71. Another important centre of the cult was Aquincum, the headquarters of Legio II. Adjutrix, founded by Vespasian from the sailors of the Ravenna fleet, who, as freedmen, were doubtless in many instances of Oriental birth. But the spread of Mithraism on the frontiers was largely due to the auxiliary corps—alae and 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 the Northern British Provinces. In the Flavian and the 1st cent. A.D. for a century or more, the Rhine and the Danube were frontier provinces; and under Trajan the Rhine became the front line of the Empire. The Mithraic monuments and inscriptions found in Britain belong either to the legionary camps at Isca (Caerleon-on-Usk [CIL vii. 99 = Cumont, ii. 160]) and Eboracum (York [CIL vii. 37 = Cumont, ii. 162]) or to the forts on the eastern wall, such as Boroviciæ (Housesteads [CIL vii. 645-650 = Cumont, ii. 161, 393-396]), Ambogbanna (Birdoswald [CIL vii. 531 = Cumont, ii. 162]), Brewnich (High Rochester [CIL vii. 163 = Cumont, ii. 162]), Vindolanda (Rutchester [Cumont, ii. 392 f.]), and others. So, too, in the two Germanies the sanctuaries of Mithras (with some few exceptions) are found either in legionary camps, such as Vetera Castra, Bonna, and Mogontiacum (Cumont, ii. 359, 523-525), or in the forts along the limes Germanicus, where they are lacking in none of the principal posts—Baltzach, Friesberg, Saulburg, Hedderheim, Grosskrotzenburg, Osterburken, Böckingen, Murrhardt (ib. ii. 351-400, 472 f., 362-381, 383-384, 385-386, 387-388), Vindonissa (Rutchester [Cumont, ii. 392 f.]), 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, Viminacium, Oescus, Durostorum, and Troesmis (ib. i. 365, ii. 329-335, 489 f.), again at the same time as the principal centres.

In Africa also the camp of the Third Legion at Lambesis, and several military posts, such as Muscula and Stiftis (ib. ii. 165, 170, 405 f.), have furnished Mithraic monuments; and in the country of the Danubian tribe of the Gepids some traces of the cult are found. But, relatively rare as they are often found in the colonies of veterans—e.g., Emerita (Merida) in Spain (ib. ii. 166) and Patrai in Greece.

(b) By slaves.—Next in importance to the army, in the diffusion of Mithraism, were the slave population employed by the State, the municipalities, or private individuals. The first class comprises especially the employees of the custom-houses and the State-proprietors, such as mines and quarries. These, as in the Danubian provinces, especially Dalmatia and the Pannonias, the stations of the custom-house-barrier at which the vectorial Illyrici was levied have furnished a number of Mithraic dedications, due to slaves working in the Eastern provinces, and to the sources of whom bear Greek names and were, therefore, doubtless natives of the Eastern provinces. Again, the presence of numerous Mithraic monuments in Noricum (ib. ii. 170-172, 355-359, 475 f.) is accounted for, not so much largely the number of Mithraic monuments, but through the station of Commagene, which clearly takes its name from an auxiliary regiment, forms a natural exception—as by the mines owned by the State in that province. In Italy the sacri publici of the municipium of the source of the station was served by a colonnate. At Neronia a slave employed as arcaurus restored a Mithraeum (CIL iv. 4109 f. = Cumont, ii. 129). It goes without saying that private slaves—especially in the households of the wealthy in the East—played a large part in the spreading of Mithraism.

(c) By trade-routes.—We may in part trace to imported slaves the spread of Mithraism along the trade-routes which were in communication by sea with the Eastern Mediterranean and, although the merchants themselves were often worshippers of Mithras. Thus in the African provinces, apart from the military stations mentioned above, the only traces of Mithraism are to be found in such coast towns as Carthage and Cirta (ib. ii. 171, 168, 170, 406 f.), and in Southern Gaul we can trace by the presence of Mithraic monuments the spread of the cult on the trade-route which followed the valley of the Rhone and in the towns of Narbonensis, which, owing to its great influence from its nearness to Massilia, and Aquileia, whence the trade of the Mediterranean found its way into Central Europe, was itself both a centre of Mithraic worship and a stage in its further diffusion. It is thus, e.g., that we may explain the remarkable prevalence of Mithraic monuments in the upper valley of the Adige and on the Brenner route to the Upper Danube, as well as on the North-Eastern route from Bonn and Ptolemais. No colony of the Empire is richer in remains of Mithraism than Dacia, where all the principal sites—Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, Napoca, Potaissa, etc. (Cumont, ii. 131-139, 280-306, 308-319)—have furnished material of this kind. We can hardly explain this entirely by the influence of the army which occupied Dacia and the neighbouring Danube provinces, and are forced to conclude that among the settlers planted by Trajan in the

1 It may be noted that an officer of the Seventh Legion dedicated an altar in this sanctuary (De Amicitia Epigraphica, 1904, no. 25). The finds have recently been published fully by Père Paris (Rel ii. [1914] 15 f.).
province and drawn 'ex tota orbis Romana' (Eutrop. vii. 8) were many Orientals who brought with them their native faiths, among which the worship of Mithras was found in a notable 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 plains and districts of which mention has already been made, traces of the cult are few and far between. In Greek lands, in Western Gaul, and in Spain, taken together, the sites that have been found may almost be counted on the fingers. Hence Toutain has argued that the cult of Mithras never became widely diffused in the West, outside the area and certain regions in direct communication with the East, and that the notion that it was at one time not far from achieving the triumph which was reserved for Christianity is much exaggerated. Toutain leaves out of account Rome and Italy—which makes his presentation of the evidence one-sided. He endeavors to reinforce his argument by a consideration of the social condition of the adherents of Mithraism. He points out with justice that the dedicators of votive sculptures and the like Mithraic remains of Mithraic sanctuaries are very largely drawn from the ranks of provincial governors, military commanders, or procuratores etc., employed in the civil administration. As early as the age of the Antonines we find legion and tritci militares among the votaries of Mithras in the reign of Commodus, C. Valerius Maximianus, governor of Dacia, dedicates an offering to 'Sol invictus Mithras' (CIL iii. 1122 = Cumont, ii. 133; under Septimius Severus, C. Julius Cassius, governor of Panonia, consecrates an altar to Mithras (CIL iii. 3490 = Cumont, i. 141), and in the number of similar instances is multiplied in the 3rd cent., after Christ, while imperial procuratores in Noricum and Dacia follow their example. It would be natural to infer that Mithraism was at least favourably regarded by the government; and, in fact, we learn from the Historia Augusta (cap. 9) that Commodus was initiated into the mysteries, while an inscription at Antioch in Pisidia, in the reign of Caracalla (CIL ii. 2327 = Cumont, ii. 100) mentions a 'Sequestor ex Mithraeis Augustanaceis, and the largest Mithraeum at present known was discovered in 1912 in the Thermes of Caracalla; in this was found an inscription in Greek (CIL ii. 2327), which shows that the identification is explained by Caracalla's special devotion to the Egyptian divinity. This imperial patronage goes far to explain the popularity of Mithraism in the 3rd cent.; it also accounts for the fact that, though by no means confined to the public services, military and civil, it was mainly found among their members and took no general hold on the population of the western provinces, so that the withdrawal of imperial favor was a fatal blow.

8. Grades of initiation.—Our knowledge of the doctrines and ritual of Mithraism is largely drawn from the inscriptions and monuments found in the Mithraeum, to the interpretation of which something is contributed by ancient texts, especially those of Christian apologists. The most important of these is a passage of St. Jerome (Ep. ci., vii.), who describes the destruction of a 'cave of Mithras' and the 'monstrous images' used in the initiation of the votaries, who are enumerated as follows: Corax, Grypheus (MSS manuspy or nymphes), cicadas, leao, Perseus, heliodromus, pater. These names are naturally taken to indicate seven grades through which the neophyte passed in succession; and this is confirmed by other texts. The inscriptions found in a Mithraeum at Rome (CIL vii. 7494 = Cumont, ii. 93.) mention similar ceremonies; for instance, the words 'tradidit heredom Mithrae, leontica, persica, heliacen, patricia'; the epigraphs closely correspond with five of the grades mentioned by St. Jerome. We find also a Mithraeum in Egypt (Pap. Lond. 2782, xiv) which resembles, in its use of the words 'tradidit heredom Mithrae, leontica, persica, heliacen, patricia'; the adjectives closely correspond with five of the grades mentioned by St. Jerome. The title pater ('pater patrum') for the highest grade is common in inscriptions; and a passage of Porphyry refers to the others, in this way:... to aliter metropitos taw avtow orixwv mosta lahtos kalov, ou d' ev gnwvavolwv xamwv, ou d' ev avantopwv xamwv ev. to te tov tptwv'... autov xwv kai eva xamwv kai evopwv xamwv... 'to the lekentoy parakolymmenoiv metwtoiv xwv omop tnoxrovo (of Aslin, iv. 16).

We infer that the xamka was a low grade, and that initiation into the mysteries proper began with that of koi (cf. tois taw lektwv xamowv (Porph. de Antro Nymphe, 13)). The mention of women called xamwv stands alone; it has been proposed to read leao (cf. leao, Porph. de Antro Nymphe, 13), though there is no evidence of female initiation in the discovery of a tomb at Oa in Tripoli in which a husband and wife were buried and described as leao and ko (Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscriptions, 1908, p. 587 ff.). For the 'eagles' and 'hawks' independently classified as grades I and II, unless two inscriptions from Lycaonia which mention xamwv are Mithraic (cf. Bonner Jahrbücher, 1902, p. 12). Porphyry, it will be noticed, speaks of the animal disguises worn by the boans. In the Questions whether the Mithraic inscriptions falsely attributed to St. Augustine (PL xxx. 2348) we read how 'some flapped their wings like birds and imitated the voice of the crow; others roared after the manner 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 leaves marked with a cross; beside the table are two lions and a bearded man. On either side are two figures; on the left a sepulchre, i.e. a man wearing the mask of a crow, and a 'Persian,' distinguished by his dress; to the right a leao, wearing a lion's mask, and a figure the upper portion of which is unfortunately lost. It will be noticed that the name of St. Jerome in this passage is replaced by other sources—though the use of the term in Mithraism is confirmed by a passage of Justinian de l'orsu, des sanctuaires (cf. L. G. M. T., p. 14, where the title miles plus in two inscriptions from Wiesbaden (CIL xiii. 757, 765), in Greek σπάστας, spasta (inscription of Julian, ρήμαν τοις ερμηνιοι, du Pont, 1910), it is possible, therefore, that the mutilated figure of the Konjica relief represents the xamwv, and that the xamwv was believed to the rank and file of Mithra's soldiers, was not admitted to partake in the mysteries. He was, however, initiated by a ceremony described by Tertullian (de Corona, 10): 'to the leao, xamwv, kai eva xamwv kai evopwv xamwv... to the leos toh patrothei smwv, kai th tim paratptote, gka kai th xamwv kai th xamwv kai th xamwv kai th xamwv.'

In the passage previously quoted Tertullian speaks of a soldier of Mithras as 'branded in the forehead'; and we shall see that some vestiges of which Gregory of Nazianza speaks (Orat. iv. 70 (PG xxx. 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 are moistened daily by the water from the rivers. Of the ceremonies which accompanied the higher degrees of initiation we know little; Porphyry (loc. cit.) tells us that the leao had both hands and tongue purged with honey, which was also used in the instruction of the Fereon. In the passage quoted above Gregory of Nazianza mentions the λέαον to which the initiates were submitted.

1 A relief from Acre, now at Sofia (AEW v. 1912 pl. i. 4), shows a kneeling figure wearing the leao, held by a veil held by two other figures. Kostowsew (p. 59) explains this with reference to the phrase quoted in the text.

2 Notice degli Stati, 1912, p. 325.
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jected; and his commentator Nomius (PG xxvi. 980, 1058, 1042) enlarges on this topic and speaks of 'eighty punishments' by water and fire, food, hunger, thirst, and journeys, in an ascending scale of severity. These may to some extent be imaginary; but it must be remembered that the Mithraeum (§ 122) speaks of ablations and stripes. Teren. Fast. (xv. 1) for which, in (iv. 40) uses the phrase 'imago resurrectionem,' which suggests a simulated death; and the biographer of Commodus tells us that the emperor 'sacra Mithriaca vero hominidio poletus.' Thus the little that we know of the Mithraic rites of initiation shows that they were of a type well known in primitive religion, and carry us back to a stage far earlier than the developed theology of later Iranian times. Nor can we say more of the rites in which the initiates partook: Christian writers found an analogy to the eucharist in the Mithraic communion of bread and water (σαρον καὶ πορφυρό βάρος [Justin, Apol. i. 66], τετρις ὀλίβου [Tert. loc. cit.]), which seems to be represented on the Kompane relief.

9. Sanctuaries, ritual, and monuments.—The central act of worship in Mithraism, however, appears to have been the sacrifice of the bull, the prototype of which was the slaying of the bull by Mithra himself, represented on the supposed too late in every Mithraic sanctuary. These places of worship were described by the term speleum (CIL iii. 4420 = Cumont, ii. 146), for which we also find crypto (CIL iii. 1066 = Cumont, ii. 132) and enthrus (CIL vi. 131 = Cumont, ii. 94), and were often established in natural caves or grottoes, as, e.g., on the north slope of the Capitol at Rome, beneath the church of Arazell. As a rule, however, the place of the grotto was taken by a subterranean crypt, appropriately named the chapel attached to private houses were naturally placed in cellars, e.g., the Mithraeum below the church of San Clemente in Rome. It should be noted that the Mithraeum are never of great size, and, where the adherents of the worship were numerous, the number of speleum was multiplied. Thus Ostia possessed live, Aquincum at least four, and Carnuntum three sanctuaries. The more elaborate examples show a fore-court, or praemus (the term is used in CIL xiv. 61), leading to a small chamber, whence the staircase descended to the crypt in which the mysteries were celebrated. This was traversed by a central passage, on either side of which were speleia about six feet broad with inclined surfaces. While Cumont, who has visited these places, knelt upon these, or reclined upon them while partaking of the ceremonial banquet, it is hard to say. At the extremity of the crypt, which often took the form of an aper (called exeptra in CIL iii. 1066), was placed the relief of Mithras and the bull, often accompanied by other sculptures, such as figures of Cautes and Cautopates or the lion-headed Kronos.

The symbolism of these monuments is not easy of interpretation, and ancient texts help us little. In the central scene, the type of which (as was mentioned above) was certainly fixed by a Pergamean 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.2 The scene of the action is a cave, the prototype of the speleum, which sometimes contains plants or trees. The earliest use of these trees seems to be the idea that human sacrifices were offered in Mithraism is unworthy of credence.

2. The best examples Mithras wears an expression of pathos, as though he were the unwilling instrument of heaven; A. Lehdy (Jd. xir. 1902) 530 suggests that this is because god and victim are, in a sense, one; but this seems fanciful. The 'Android' type used by the artist was a 'romantic' creation.

187 Scorpions fastens on the testicles of the dying bull, while a dog, and usually a serpent also, drink the blood which flows from the death wound. A crow is almost always present, perched either on Mithras's mantle or on the edge of the cave. Finally, we have a significant detail in the ears of corn in which the tail of the bull terminates (Tract. ii. 14, etc.) Here Mithras stands beside the hoop of the slain bull, holding a drinking horn in his left hand and receiving from the hands of the sun-god a bunch of grapes. On either side are the figures of children holding baskets of fruit; in the background a radiate cap is planted on the head, and in an upper register we have a scene in which a central figure, unfortunately defaced, is surrounded by animals (dogs, wild boar, sheep, ox, possibly horse). The explanation of these scenes can hardly be doubtful. We read in the Bundahish (esp. xix. 46), that was the first creation of Ahura Mazda, and was slain by Ahriman, but through its death gave birth to vegetable life on the earth; from its spinal marrow grew fifty-five species, and twelve represented the species of medicinal herb. The scene, which was 'carried up to the moon, where it was purified and produced the manifold species of animals' (ib. 3). From its blood, again, sprung 'the grape-vine from which they make the wine' (ib. 2). Though we cannot definitely trace this concept from the Mithraic to later Avestan sources, it is indubitably of great antiquity; and the Mithraic monuments offer a remarkable modification of it. Here the central structure by which the death of the bull was the source of life, both animal and vegetable, remains the same; but the killing of the animal is not the act of the evil spirit, but a sacrifice performed by Mithras himself, probably acting as the minister of Ahura Mazda, whose messenger we may see in the crow.3 The function of the creatures of Ahriman (scorpion and serpent) is limited to that of endeavoring to nullify the miracle in process. But the significance of the scene was not only cosmological; it was also eschatological, for the new creation to which the Zoroastrian looked forward at the end of time was to be heralded by the sacrifice of a second bull, this time by the 'redeemer' (Saeshyanta) (Bundahish, xxx. 25). Nor can we doubt that the worship as the ornaments were interpretations of a rite older than mythology, and that the sacrifice of the bull was in origin intended to promote fertility and ensure the annual renewal of life on the earth, the bull being chosen as the victim on account of his great generative power.

10. Myth.—The myth of which Mithras was the hero and the slaying of the bull the culminating episode can no longer be reconstructed in its details, but many of its episodes are represented on the monuments. The reliefs of the bull-sacrifice are often enclosed in a framework broken up into small panels, on each of which an episode of the myth is shown. The chief of these are the following:

(1) Birth of Mithras from the rock.—One of the most important of all the Mithraic monuments is the figure of the god is seen emerging from a rock, the 'petra genetrix' of several inscriptions (CIL iii. 8675 = Cumont, ii. 139, etc.); cf. the expression θεὰν τε εἰρήνα (Piramida, de Ecc. prof. relig. 209, πτεροειδὴς Μιθρᾶς (Lyd. de Ment. iii. 26), etc. The scene is sometimes completed by the addition of a shepherd or shepherdess (or heathen) who witness the miraculous birth.

(2) Mithras and the tree.—On some monuments the figure of Mithras is seen being hailed by a tree from which it seems to be emerging, or, again, which he is stripping of its foliage. The first might be considered as a variant of the birth-scheme, and if it did not occur on the same monument it seems to show that Mithras was on one side a vegetation spirit.

(3) The archer and the rock.—Mithras, in Oriental costume,

1 For the crow in Zoroastrian literature cf. Bundahish, xiv. 52.
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discharge an arrow at a rock, from which a stream gushes out; a kneeling figure washes the water in his hands or refreshes his throat. Sometimes a single knell before Mithras and
imparts the same performance.

(1) Mithras and the Sun. Here there is a series of scenes, of which one is not unimportant in wit: (a) invocations from the sun by Mithras; (b) the anguished knees before Mithras, who
places the radiate crown on his head with the left hand, while
in his right an individual object, probably a drinking-horn; (c) alliance of Mithras and the sun; the figure of
this is represented clasping the right hand in token of friendship;
(d) Mithras conveyed in the sun's chariot across the
ocean, represented as a redening figure in the style of Greek art; (e) animals and Mithras and the sun (sometimes with doors and guests); they recline on a couch, generally holding drinking-
horns, and before them is a small table with cups.

(2) Mithras and the Bull. — Though the slaying of the bull is never found except as the principal scene, other episodes of the legend will be described by the word (Ch. II. in
1432, 27 and 28).

(3) Scenes in which Mithras takes no part. — These are either simple representations of other divinities in the form given to them by Greek art, such as the unexplained head of the Oster-
lord (pseudo-Dionys. Cronos), the figures of the Egyptian gods, Atlas, of Oceanus, and the three Fates, or scenes in which Zeus is shown, either receiving the thunder-bolt as the symbol of power at the hands of Kronos or in combat with the giants.

No successful attempt has been made to explain the series of representations just described; the last class, no doubt, cloths in Greek form conceptions derived from Persian sources, the identi-
fication of which can at best be a matter of guess-work. 1 We can, however, be certain that whatever the original content of the Mithraic legend, it has been profoundly modified by the astral
religion of Babylonia. Mithras, as we saw, was born by origin a god of the heavenly light; and it is possible that his birth from the rock may symbolize either the appearance of the dawn on the mountain-
top or the influence of light from the vault of heaven conceived as a solid dome. At any rate, there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the two torch-bearers, dressed in the same Oriental costume as Mithras himself, who regularly appear on either side of the bull-slaying, and are also found at the birth of Mithras. One holds his torch aloft, the other lowers it, and these actions clearly symbolize the rising and setting of the sun, 2 so that Mithras and the torch-bearers form a triad hinted at, in the phrase Mithra 

The zodiac is also commonly found either as a framework encircling the scene of the bull-slaying or, as in most of the reliefs from the times
Hermonimit, as a border to the upper edge of the scene. With this, the more elaborate reliefs are almost always decorated with busts of sun and moon, while many also exhibit the planets, or symbols which repre-
sent them. We also find the seasons and the winds; and it is beyond doubt that the Sun, the 
father, 3 and the serpent must be combined with these last as emblems of the elements. It may be added that the sea (oceans) and heaven (etery) are both mentioned on a stele from Hesderheim (Cumont, ii. 321). It is clear, therefore, that in the Mithraic mysteries a complete system of cosmography was taught; nor can there be any doubt of its application to the soul and its destiny.

The doctrine of the mecos, which pervades all the speculations of later antiquity, was popularized by the Stoics, especially by Posidonius, and, together with the astrological doctrines which accompanied it, was derived from Oriental sources. It formed part of the common stock of teaching imparted to the votaries of the *other worldly* religions of which Mithraism was one which became diffused throughout the West from the beginning of the Christian era onwards. We should be able to give a more definite account of Mithraic eschatology if we could.

Mithracauitj was published by Dieterich from the Paris magical papyrus (Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Grec. 574) deserved that name. This document, com-
mitted to writing about A.D. 300, is in its present form part of the stock-in-trade of any Egyptian
magician, and is interspersed with necus magic and supplemented by directions for its use in the
advances of this practitioner. The question is whether the compiler made use of a genuine Mithraic document; this is supported by the
words, which may be translated as follows:

1 Be gracious unto me, Providence and Fortune, to me, who am writing down the first of all the divine mysteries that are of the immortal

2 But the monuments show that the heavenly pheno-
mena played a still more important part in Mithris-
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 Mithraea. 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
hardly comprehensible, except even apart from the fact
that we find the signs of the zodiac engraved on its
body in certain instances. It represents eternal
time, the zeno diophrse which became the chief
divinity in one of the theological systems that
sprang up in the bosom of later Zoroastrism, and
dedoan to have been described in Greek as
Kprrx, though we have no direct proof of this.

1 Explanations differing in some respects from those of Cumont are given by Tontain, Kern iv. 390. 145 ff.
2 See above, note 1.
3 No explanation can be given of the names (a) Mithra and (b) the sun, (d) the left hand of Mithras himself. These symbols represent the elements, and their repetition indicates that each planet contained all four.
4 *Ardenio naturae sacramenta bene Mithrae philosophantium* (Tert. adv. Marc. 1. 18).
5 *Dekos* in Mithraic is more often a term for a tree or wood (Porphy. de Anto. Nymph. 18).
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 (up. Origen, c. Cel., vi. 22) explicitly tells us of a 'ladder with seven rungs on which the seven metals assigned to the planets which was shown to the initiates; Porphry, quoting a certain Enublus, who attributes to Zoroaster the doctrine that the 'cave' was a symbol of the universe, of which Mithras was the creator, speaks of it as containing seven ascending stages of the sphaerae cosmicae and the seven planets, which are represented on the dossis and the signs of the zodiac on their upper surface (Cumont, ii. 243-245). Beyond this all is speculation; and Porphry himself probably knew little more than we do, for he mentions (de Mith., ii.) more easily than the mysteries a certain Pallas, who explained the animal disguises worn by the initiates either as symbols of the zodiacal constellations or as shadowing forth the doctrine of metempsychosis of the pantheistic school of Mithraists. It is not necessary to repeat the astrological speculations, confined in themselves, by means of which Porphry endeavours to interpret the symbols of Mithraism; but there can be no doubt that the alchemical and theosophical influence of the Mithraic doctrines. Thus we sometimes find that the figures of Cautes and Cautopates hold the symbols of the bull and the scorpion, the signs which mark the beginning of spring and winter.

In its final phase, Mithraism was absorbed into the 'solar pantheism' which supplied Roman society in the 3rd and 4th centuries with a theology reconciled with contemporary philosophy and science, and, under Aurelian, the official religion of the Roman State. 'Sol invictus,' as the ruler of the universe was called in a phrase of Oriental associations, was represented on earth by the emperor, and his identification with Mithras, together with that of many others which syncretism was able to effect, made Mithras, 'demi-invincus Mithras,' or, in full, 'demi-Sol invictus Mithras,' the commonest title of the god. It was this modification of Mithraism which gave rise to the last quarter of the 3rd cent. A.D. to become a world-religion. The State-cult of Sol was no more fitting than the worship of the emperor to satisfy the religious instinct; but Mithraism could supply the block through its mysteries of brotherhood; and it was, besides, per excellence the religion of the army and the official classes. In A.D. 307 Diocletian, Galerius, and Licinius, meeting in conference at Carnuntum, dedicated an altar to Mithras, 'fatori imperii salvi,' in one of the oldest centres of his worship in the empire; but the victory of Constantine dispossessed him in favour of a rival creed, which had struck its roots more deeply in those populations of the empire which were least immediately in touch with the legions and the official hierarchy. It became clear that the vogue of Mithraism was in large measure an artificial one, created by the powerful machinery of the imperial government. When Mithraism sank from a position of privilege to one of toleration, and before long became an object of persecution, its days were numbered. It lingered on, on the peripheries of empire and in the Alpine valleys, while, on the other, it became the symbol of a lost cause to the group of cultivated pagans which maintained the defence of paganism in the Senate-house. The cult of the emperor, whose influence, e.g. see below, was a characteristic exposition of 'solar theology,' was a votary of Mithraism; but his attempt to revive the defunct creed of the pagan emperors and to give it an organization resembling that of Christianity was Mithraic. As in his death persecution began in earnest, and, as far as the evidence enables us to judge, the destruction of Mithraism was widespread during the reign of Gratian. The letter of St. Jerome quoted above, which describes such an act performed in Rome by Gracecus, perfectus 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 Macrob. Sat. 1. 19. 9 gives a picture.

Vettiius Agorius Pretextatus (+ A.D. 385) is called 'pater sacrorum' (CIL vi. 1779 = Cumont, ii. 95) and 'pater patrum' (CIL vi. 1778 = Cumont, ii. 85), and these inscriptions are the last traces of the cult of Mithras in the Roman world. The measures of Theodosius gave the death-blow to the practice of pagan worship; and the Mithraea at Saarburg in Lorraine was destroyed in his reign.

12. Relations with other cults. Mithraism lent itself readily to alliances with other worship, especially those of female divinities, which it seems to have been specially associated with the cult of the Magna Mater; and women were admitted as members of the Mithraic order. Thus in an inscription from A.D. 180, one of the names of the deities worshipped in the Mithraeum at Strassburg, a 'patria' or mother-goddess, is Mithra. In the Danube region a curious by-form of Mithraism is known, which is revealed particularly clear in the two inscriptions of a female deity with the name Elara, which were found at a notices of the inscriptions, which we must recognize as a duplication of the horseman Mithra found on the coasts of the Black Sea.

LITERATURE.—The great work of Franz Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, 2 vols., Brussels, 1886-92, superseded all previous treatises, a fact of which he gives in vol. i. p. xiv.; he also published an abridgment of his larger work under the title Les Mystères de Mithra, Paris, 1913, in which the bibliography of the subject is brought up to date; the earlier editions of this work have been translated into English and German. Among recent works the most important are A. Dietrich, Eine Mithraigruppe aus Paris, Paris, 1910; and J. Tousan, Les Cultes puniques dans l'Empire romain, Paris, 1908-11, 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 Mitra see A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, Strassburg, 1887, 3rd ed. 1914, and authorities, esp. G. F. A. Hillebrandt, Yaruna and Mitra, Brussels, 1877; H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, Berlin, 1894; A. Eggers, Der arische Gott Mitra, Darmstadt, 1911. For the Avesta Mitra see especially M. N. Dhalla, Zoroastrian Theology, New York, 1914, pp. 185-111. H. STUART JONES.

MOAB.—The name 'Moab,' like that of the neighbouring peoples, Israel, Edom, Ammon, Aram, etc., appears to have been the name of a race rather than of a district, but for A. Smith has pointed out (EBI, art. 'Moab,' § 4).
the river. For a time, indeed, Moabite aggression was checked by Ehud, but we find Israel and Moab again at war during the reign of David, and perhaps also during that of Saul. But, although David’s treatment of Moab is said to have been drastic enough, Moab was not incorporated in Israel. The Song of Moses (Deut. 33:8) says, ‘as my father,’ given in Gn 31:22 (LXX), which doubtless gave rise to the malicious 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 19:38); therefore it was probably supposed that the settlement of Moab preceded that of Ammon. Whether the Moabites themselves possessed any tradition of emigration from Mesopotamia may well be doubted, the statements of Gn 11:13-16, being perhaps mere inferences from the belief that the Israelites were connected with Mesopotamia. Since, however, the expression ‘children of Lot’ (Dt 21:21; Ps 89) soberly rests directly on the OT, and with all probability also the late antiquarian note in Dt 21:21 implies that the population of Moab was not altogether homogeneal, while the place-names clearly show Canaanite influence.

The constant boundary of Moab on the west was the Dead Sea and the Jordan; 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 Hazz road to the east. The Wady Nimrin, some 8 miles north of the Dead Sea, may be taken as the extreme northern limit (see G. A. Smith, op. cit. § 2).

Beyond the mere mention of Moab as included in the conquests of Moses nothing is known of its history before the period of the Israelite invasion of Palestine. According to Nu 21:19-32, shortly before the arrival of Israel, an Amorite king, Sihon, seized the Moabite territory north of the Tigris and circumscribed the area. The invasion of Palestine from the east is not certainly known, but it is not unlikely that the Israelites attacked Sihon in response to an appeal from the Moabites (as Wellhausen, EBS, 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 treaty. The first covenant of Hebron was the first-born son of Israel naturally implies that Reuben was the first tribe to obtain a settlement, while the assignment of Moabite territory to Reuben, and the belief that Moses died and was buried there, as well as the tradition that the Israelites crossed the Jordan near Jericho, all point to a belief that N. Moab was occupied at least for a time by Israel. After the invasion of S. Palestine, however, the Israelites were displaced and the area occupied first by the Edomites, and then by the Ammonites, and finally by the Moabites, 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 49:7; Dt 24:9), and Moabite rule was established over the Jordan valley west of

1 The summary of Saul’s war (1 S 14:5) bears such a strong resemblance to that of David’s (2 S 8) that it may be doubted whether there was any definite tradition of war against Moab. Hostilities between Saul and Moab would not indeed be inconsistent with 1 S 25, and David, when he succeeded to the throne, engaged in a short 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 49:7, Dt 24:9), and Moabite rule was extended even over the Jordan valley west of

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 that, although by the son of Omri’ Moabite probably means Amah, the expression would not preclude a later successor (see W. H. Bennett, The Moabite Stone, pp. 20-22).
of Moab coincided with that of the king of Ammon, who apparently intended by the murder of Gedorash to compel Judah to join a confederacy against the Chaldeans. Further, the invasion was un succeded, however, by a danger even more formidable than that from Assyria or Babylonia; east and south the country was exposed to invaders from the desert, and Ezekiel (25:11) already perceived the coming disaster. The criticism of Jeremiah (34:6) which describes the devastation of Moab, is extremely difficult; the chapter, however, appears to be to a great extent a compendium of various earlier passages, and this in itself implies a late date. Is 15-16, which is used by the author of Jer 48, notwithstanding the corrupt condition of the text and later modifications, gives a clearer picture of Moab's disaster.

Here it is evident, if we argue from the names of places which may be identified with tolerable certainty, that the invaders advanced from the south-east to north or north-west, and therefore cannot be the Assyrian, Chaldean, or Persian, but must be a foe from the desert. With this invasion the national existence of Moab came to an end, though Jewish writers long continued to mention the country by the old name (Is 25:1, Is 66:29 108). It is remarkable that the name Moab does not occur in 1 Maccabees. It is found, however, in Dn 11, and Josephus (Ant. 1, x, 8) uses the term "Moabites" to denote the Nabataean Arabs.

The language of Moab, as we know from Meshia's inscription, was Hebrew, differing only dialectically from the language of the OT. It is, indeed, not improbable that what we regard as peculiarities of Moabite speech once belonged also to the spoken Hebrew of W. Palestine. Although portions of the OT are earlier than the 9th cent. B.C., they were probably long preserved in an oral form, in which case peculiarities of dialect may well have been modified.

The land of Moab affords many proofs even in these days of its former fertility and prosperity. The OT has several references to the cities of Moab, many of which are named, and mentions its vineyards as well as its sheep. Being situated off the direct line of communication between Egypt and the great Asiatic empires, it was less likely to be involved in a battle, but though doubtless there was constant need of warning off the attacks of dwellers in the wilderness. On the whole, however, Moab seems to have had a far more peaceful history than Israel. Is 15. 2 gives the name Jer 49, which mentions the name Mesha, and settled on his less, and had not been emptied from vessel to vessel, neither had he gone into captivity. 1

The religion of Moab presents many parallels to the popular religion of Israel in pre-Hellenic times. There is no evidence, however, that any great Moabite prophets, if such existed, could point, as did the Israelite prophets, to a tradition of pure religion in the past. Like Israel, Moab had taken possession of a land containing stone circles (in OT language, gizeh) 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 existence of such names as Baal-Meon and Baal-Por it may be inferred that the pre-Moabite religion of the land resembled the pre-Israelite religion of W. Palestine, and was in fact Canaanite. This inference is confirmed by the occurrence of the curious compounds 'Ashtar-Chemosh' (Moabite Stone, line 17); for Ashtar is probably a masculine form of the name familiar to us as Ashtoth, and the combination of it with Chemosh suggests that some ancient sanctuary of Ashtor or Ashthoreth had been appropriated by Chemosh, just as the ancient sanctuaries of Canaan in W. Palestine came to be considered sanctuaries of Yahweh. We know both from the OT and from the Moabite Stone that Chemosh was the national god of Moab exactly as Jahweh was the national God of Israel. Indeed, the Moabite conception of Chemosh appears to have coincided with the ordinary Israelite conception of Chemosh. The name Chemosh appears compounded in proper names precisely as the name Jahweh. Thus Meshia's father's name was Chemosh in combination with some word which can be vaguely rendered as 'blesser' and god; a Chemosh-nadab (cf. the Israelite name Jonadab) paid tribute to Sennacherib; and the name Chemosh-yahb (cf. the Israelite Yahweh) is inscribed on a gem found near Beira1 (EBi, art. 'Chemosh'). Meshia speaks of Chemosh with similar terms as an Israelite of his day might have used in speaking of Jahweh, and in Nu 21:2 the Moabites are called 'the people of Chemosh' and also his 'sons' and 'daughters.' Evidence of the existence of other cults in pre-Moabite times may be found in the occurrence of such a name as Nebu, but there is no reason for supposing that such worship continued among the Moabites. The name Dawdah, or Dawdah, occurs on the Moabite Stone (24) apparently as a divine name; last, since Atothoth, where the altar-hearth of Dawdah was seized, was Gadite, the name throws no light on Moabite religion. Whatever the worship of Chemosh may have been before the permanent settlement of Moab, it is extremely probable that it was then replaced largely with Canaanite elements. The OT makes it abundantly clear that the worship of Jahweh was tainted in precisely the same way, and Nu 25 affords an example how the Moab was worse than Israel in this respect; only, whereas, by the 6th cent. B.C., Israelite religion had to a considerable extent been purged of the grosser Canaanite elements, that of Moab remained unaltered. Besides religions profane the indications of the prevalence of drunkenness in Moab have been found in Gn 19:27, Jer 48:8; and, having regard to the references to vine-culture, this is not improbable, though the Israelites were scarcely in a position to take a lead in this. Jer 49:12 says that Meshia, when hard pressed by Israel, sacrificed his son, and we may therefore assume that human sacrifice was a definite feature of Moabite religion. Human sacrifice, not only of the infant first-born, but on occasion even of his son, was current in Israel down to the 7th cent. B.C. Meshia's sacrifice of his son should probably be compared, not with 2 K 16, Mic 6, for in the case of Ahaz probably only the ordinary offering of the infant first-born is meant, but rather with Dg 11:21. Cf. also Gn 42, 2 S 21:1, 1 K 16:1. Further evidence of the general agreement of Moabite religion with that of Israel is to be found in Meshia's boast (Moabite Stone, line 17) that he has banished or made tabu that population of Nebi.

The danger to Israel of intimate intercourse with a people closely akin in race, speaking the same language, and holding religious ideas similar to those of which the prophets had so earnestly laboured to rid Israel, was clearly perceived by the Israelite reformers, and will partly account for the stringent law in De 23, though political considerations may also have dictated this.

LITERATURE.—See the excellent articles on Moab in Heb and Eji; also W. H. Bennett, The Moabite Stone, Edinburgh, 1911, with the bibliography there given (p. 64).

R. H. KENNEDY.

MOAB.—See CHAMANS.
MODERATION. — Cicero in an interesting passage expresses some hesitation as to the proper Lat. equivalent for the Gr. μετριότης: "Virtus etiam sinit illud est, qui sit temperatus, quem Graeci μετριότης appellant, canique virtutem μετριότητα vocant, quam subiectum est ad virtutem de rebus moderatiis et proportionibus et nonnullam utam moderationem; red hand soli an recte e.a. virtus frigida alta appellari possit."

He proceeds to describe the virtue in question as follows: "Eius virtutis proprium, motus animi appetitum sedare, semperque adversamentum ibidem, moderatam in omni re." 1

Moderation, according to this view, is a part of temperance. If temperance consists in self-control in regard to the pleasures of sense, moderation is self-control in regard to the difficulties of life. Limitation (modus, moderation) is, of course, a feature in all virtue; this idea has a long history in the philosophy of Greece, and takes formal shape in Aristotle's doctrine of 'the mean' which gives expression to the peculiarly Greek idea that virtue is a mean between extremes of passion and vice.

Following the guidance of Aquinas, we find that moderation is chiefly concerned with these 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 III. ii. 161-169.

(1) As regards the desire of superioritv, the virtue which moderates it and regulates it is humility (q.v.).

(2) The virtuous control of the desire of knowledge is called by Aquinas 'moderatio in intellectum' as opposed to a form of excess which he calls curiositas (cf. Aug. Conf. x. xxxv. 54). Little need be added to the discussion in Summa (II. ii. 166, 167). We may, however, call attention to a fine passage in Bernard of Clairvaux (cfr. Summa, cxxxvii, 5), who points the way in II. I Co 8: St. Paul 'non proibit multa scientem, si scienti modum nesciat.' Christian moderation, he says in effect, will prescribe the limitations under which knowledge should be pursued, with the consent of the rest of the community, of degree, of zeal, and the purpose of the student. He lays great stress on the question of motive. Those who wish to know merely for the sake of knowing give way to 'turpis curiositas.'

Those who pursue knowledge 'ut auditur' are guided by charity; those who seek it 'ut audientur, by prudence (cf. T. Wilson, 'Maxims of Piety and Morality,' no. 429 [Works, Oxford, 1847-53, v. 423].

(3) Moderation in the matter of work and recreation and other corporal actions and movements is discussed in Summa, II. ii. 168. What Aquinas says practically amounts to this—that man's external behaviour is always consistent with his inner dispositions. He goes on to say, "It is the part of a reasonable being and with the claims made upon him as a member of a community. What St. Paul means to imply in the words σπανίτις and κατανόησις is here in point" (I Thes. 3:9). 2

1 Cf. Panhelenon, I.R.E. viii. 25: 'Ego fratres nostrorum, id est, moderatum in temperantia, virtutem eum maximum habuimus.' (quoted by Aug. de Beata Vita, 31). 2 Cf. Augustin, De Civ. Domi. 3; Aquinas, Summa, II. ii. 147. 2

(4) The virtue of moderation finally finds scope in the mistitute of external apparel, furniture, and other conveniences of life (cf. Cic. De Off. i. 39: 'eadem mediocritas ad omnem nusum cultumque vitae transferenda est'; see also i. 35, and cf. Basil, Homo. de Humilitate, vi., and Ambrose. 3

1 Theodore of Canterbury (on i Thess. 3:9) remarks that the words σπανίτις implies a good behaviour in voice, appearance, and gait, δώρα κατ' αὐτόν εἶναι ρήματα διαίτητας, λόγος νοοποιείται νόμον. 2 The virtue concerned with the matter of dress, according to Aristotle, is ἐραυνία, for which urbanitas or clementia might be a fair Latin equivalent. As to the peculiarly Greek grace of ἐραυνία see Eth. Nic. vi. 7, 8, 41.

MODERNISM

Off. Min. i. 18). We may note that the word *moderation* is applied to the dress of women (I Ti. 2.), and a similar expression, *sive magnum sive minus*, is found in Tit. 2. 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 may chance to be engaged (work, or religious vocation). In the country the matter of which he represents *Paternum* 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 conduct the sobriety of your mind; that your outward dress may resemble the inward plainness and modesty of your heart. For it is highly reasonable, that you should be one man, all of a piece, and appear outwardly just such as you are inwardly ( *Sacrae Script. ch. xviii., 5* ). As to the matter of women see what is said of *Mirinda* (ch. x.).

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 are regulated by moderation, sobriety, and temperance respectively. There is, however, practical convenience in following the line suggested by Aquinas. He may be criticized as over-systematic, but we need not suppose that his classification is intended to be exhaustive. The virtue which "in minimis modum potius" will be differently estimated according to the various circumstances in which men find themselves placed: some may use one sort of language, others another: the sovereign, persons, and modest, and temporal. This is essentially the spirit enjoined by St. Paul (1 Co. 6:18). Cf. Ambrose, *de Off. Min. i. 18; (20)*

Magna sicut modestia, quae cum sitia sunt juris remissio, nihil sit usurpa, nihil vindiciar, et quod mandato intra viros suis contrassura, dives est apud Deum.


R. L. OTTLEY.

MODERATISM.—See EVANGELICALISM.

MODERNISM.—Modernism is the name given by the papal encyclical which condemned it to a complex of movements within the Roman Church, all alike inspired by a desire to bring the tradition of Christian belief and practice into closer relation with the intellectual habits and social aspirations of our own time. These movements arose spontaneously and, for the most part, in entire independence of one another during the last decade of the 19th century. Since they had thus a common inspiration and a common purpose, it was neither unnatural nor unfair that the authority which condemned them should unite them under a common designation in a common censure. Yet it is necessary to insist that, in the earlier stages of their development, the various movements grouped together and logically correlated by the author of the encyclical *Pascendi* had little or no conscious connexion, and that it was only the external pressure of adversity that gradually forced them at a later period into mutual relations of a more intimate kind.

It may be well in the first place to sketch briefly the history of this complex movement as a whole, and then to give some account of the various forms which it has assumed. These may perhaps best 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 Catholic 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 recently to the spell of the Revolution, Lamen-

1849, and Montalembert, *Les Chiffres des noms in France; in Italy, Ghiberti 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 Church was achieved by means of collaboration and in another spirit. The Council of the Vatican seemed, both to the victors and to the vanquished, to be the definite repudiation of the generous dreams which had made it possible. Its reactionary character was accentuated by controversies—

—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 and traditional in tone and perhaps still more so in intention, were nevertheless no less capable of being turned to account by the progressives. Of these encyclicals, three may be specially recalled: *Eterni Patris* (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: *Rerum Novarum* (15th May 1891), which dealt with the condition of the working classes; and *Protestantismissrin Don* (18th Nov. 1899), 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, dated 8th September 1899, and addressed to the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of France. It may be said that the whole history of Loth's initiative and its subsequent movements, is to be found in a comparison of the last of these documents with its three predecessors. Such a comparison reveals a growing alarm on the part of authority at the development both of those new tendencies in apologetics and excuses 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 organized country on the Roman Catholic scene, that the reason for it can be most clearly traced. In 1875 the French episcopate secured from the government of the Third Republic the right to establish what were practically Roman Catholic universities directly under State control. Of the foundations thus authorized the most important was the Catholic Institute of Paris, which came into existence in 1878. Among its first professors was Louis Duchesne, a scholar who, though 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 specially aroused the hostility of the traditionalists, and in 1883 his name was compelled to suspend his chair at the Institute. It was not till 1893 that Loisy was forced to resign his chair—a resignation which was followed by the condemnation, in the encyclical Providentissimus, of the principles of Biblical interpretation which he had upheld during a decade of connexion with the Institute, however, a group of scholars had been formed who, having become teachers in their turn, carried an enthusiasm for the critical method into the other Catholic Institutions of the country.

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 also a revolt against dogmatic dogmatism. New 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, recently having founded these new tendencies to account in the interests of Christian apologetic in a thesis entitled L’Action, sustained before the Sorbonne for his doctor’s degree on 7th June 1898. A year or two earlier, a group of young 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 had found in the encyclical Rerum Novarum and in Leo XIII.’s advice to French Roman Catholics to rally to the Republic the long-awaited opportunity of a great crusade against modernism. Numerous Roman Catholic democratic journals were started, the democratic clergy were invited by many bishops to explain their views to the students of the diocesan seminaries, and public conferences were organized in 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 letter to the French bishops, which had been slowly, but persistently working throughout the Roman Church during twenty years. In Italy, Germany, England, America, and even in Spain, Loisy was suddenly 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 dogmatism is illustrated in a book called in Francais: L’Action (chef to L’Évangile et l’Église) served to demonstrate to the social reformers within the Church a close kinship between their own aims and methods and those of the theological reformers.

Loisy had all unexampled, trenchant knowledge and skill in the centre of a movement which knit together all the various elements of reform and extended its ramifications throughout large sections of the Roman Catholic world.

The election of Pius X., to the papal chair was an opportunity for stern dealing with this new threat to the fixity of Roman Catholic tradition. For some years before the death of his predecessor the peril of the new doctrines had been vehemently proclaimed by the traditional theologians, notably by C. F. Turiniez, 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 aimed at some reconciliation, and he therefore shrank from direct condemnation. Pius X. had no such difficulty. Reconciliation implied that tradition was perfectible, which he could not admit. He hastened, within a few months of his election, to strike at the theological and the social activities of the reformers. On 16th December 1903 five of Loisy’s books were placed on the Index, and two days afterwards a motu proprio was issued which aimed at regulating
ʻpopular 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 part of the supporters of the Modernists, was observable in the press. But Blondel's 'philosophy of action' was developed in his books. Heraldism, a principle of the Oratory, in a series of articles published for the most part in the Annales de philosophie chretienne, and afterwards issued in two small volumes—Essais de philosophie religieuse and Le Religion christen et l'idéologie positive. In the Quarterly, a review edited by Georges Foncegrive, a professor of the university, another university professor, Edmond Le Roy, inaugurated a discussion of the nature of religious dogmas which provoked a considerable controversy. Le Roy afterwards published, in the form of a volume entitled Dogme et critique, a collection of replies to his critics, together with the original articles. In Italy Antonio Fogazzaro, the novelist, launched a programme of ecclesiastical reform, which he defined as an object a general renewal of Christian life, in his novel Il Santo (Milan, 1906). In the same country Giovanni Serenari, a Barnabite, did much by his lectures on both the historical and the philosophical aspects of the dogmas for new ideas, while Romolo Murri, a secular priest of the diocese of Fermo, continued his crusade on behalf of Christian democratic action, undisguised by numerous manifestations of hostility on the part of the Pope. Among the more notable of his 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 and of Isaiah. In England the movement was represented principally by the writings of George Tyrrell, a member of the Society of Jesus, and Friedrich von Hügel. The latter had read a paper on the progress of OT criticism as it concerned the Heptateuch at a Roman Catholic Congress held at Fribourg-in-Switzerland in 1897, which afforded ample evidence of his accurate scholarship and of the freedom of his critical method and conclusions. Since then he had been engaged on an important work, The Life of Moses, as well as on the second edition of his book, The Mosaic Religion (it was not published till 1908), which revealed his originality and depth as a thinker on all the problems connected with religion, while it gave further proof of his competence as a critical historian. Meanwhile, in France, another, to the Quarterly, Il Rinnovamento, 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 Pontifical 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 had been privately circulated, and his consequent expulsion from the Society of Jesus (Feb. 1906), that brought him to the forefront of the movement, and so did make him the universally acknowledged leader till his death in July 1906. In Germany 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. An Ultramontane he defined 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 himself and others). Kraus's book has been described as an essay in the series Die Klasseiker der Religion, p. 39, where the letter is given in full as the work of Kraus). Kraus, however, died in 1902, too early to be involved in the distinctively Modernist controversy. His pupil, Thoma Labertthonniere, a professor of the Theological Faculty at Wurzburg, had as early as 1896 published a book entitled Katholizismus als Prinzip des Fortschritts, which provoked long and bitter controversy. As a result certain bishops of the Church of Germany forbade their priests to read his lectures. Two years afterwards controversy was renewed over Schell's views on eternal punishment, and four of his books were placed on the Index. Schell made a formal submission after receiving an assurance from the bishop and the Theological Faculty of 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 to be the leader of the Modernist movement in German Roman Catholicism. Among his most influential disciples were Albert Ehrhard of Strassburg; Joseph Schnitzer of Munich, and Hugo Koch of Brannsberg. 

Fio. x. illustrates the 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. Another series of decisions by the Biblical Commission were pronounced in 1906. In 1902 the Seculars and the Congregation of the Index. But it was not till the beginning of 1907 that the storm burst in its full fury. Murri was suspended 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 evils from the Church. At the end of the same year the Congregation of the Index wrote to Cardinal Ferrari, archbishop of Milan, enjoining him to procure the suppression of Il Rinnovamento, a Modernist review which had been launched at the beginning of the year. The Cardinal had contributed to Il Rinnovamento after the strong terms in which it denounced the review as 'notoriously opposed to Catholic spirit and teaching,' but also because it took the unusual course of expressly naming certain writers—Fogazzaro, Tyrrell, von Hügel, and Murri. In May the archbishop of Paris, inspired, no doubt, 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 collaborate in Le Roy's Revue d'histoire et de litterature religieuses. The professors of the Catholic Institute of Paris were at the same time forbidden by the bishops who controlled that seat of learning to contribute to Denkmal, a small Modernist weekly which had been founded at Lyons in 1905. In June Pius X., in a letter of felicitation to Ernst Commer, a professor at Vienna, who had written an attack upon the theology of Hermann Schell, described those who had projected a monument to Schell's memory as 'either ignorant of Catholicism or rebels against the authority of the Holy See,' though among them were the archbishop of Bamberg and the bishop of Passau.
preparing 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 Inquisition, late in the year 1907, and the encyclical Pascendi Dominici gregis, of 8th September in the same year. The decree Lamentabili was a mere collection of sixty-five propositions which were to be condemned. No indication was given of the sources from which they had been derived, and no writer was condemned by name, but thirty-eight of the propositions were directly concerned with Biblical criticism, and Loisy, in some notes on the decree which he published at the beginning of the following year, accepted its condemnation as directed in large measure against himself. The encyclical Pascendi was a document of much greater importance, and was recognized as such by the leading Modernists. Tyrrell met it with vigorous criticism and open defiance in two articles which appeared in the Times on 30th September and 1st October, in the full knowledge that he was exposing himself to the severest censures of the Church. On 28th October the Pope decreed his excommunication by the decree of Rome under the title H Programma d(ol modernist). The encyclical had deduced from an unsound philosophical principle all the various errors which it grouped together under the name of Modernism, and it maintained that the Modernists as the adherents of the Church and the Bible were 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 the new apologetic 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 cite the anti-Modernists. 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 Luce, and remained till his death its most consistent adherent. But the difficulty of giving effect to the policy soon became apparent. The chief difficulty lay in the economic dependence of the Modernist editors on the anti-Modernist press which prevented their action in the open. On the narrow 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 upon the wider world was largely discounted. Yet it was in Italy that resistance to the encyclical was most obstinate and prolonged. In spite of the assiduous suppression of Modernist journals, both scientific and popular, actively appeared in the country. Among these the most influential was Nova et Vetera, 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 peste modernista, published at Rome in the same year, began to appear. Meanwhile condemnations were launched against the leaders who had appeared in the open. Loisy was formally excommunicated on 7th March 1908. The same fate befell Schnitzer at the beginning of May. It was suspended in 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 Silton, the organ of the movement, was formally condemned on 29th July 1907, and the encyclical Rerum novarum was ordered to work benevolently for social reform under the direction of their respective bishops. Marc 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 Sacerdor Antidoting, 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 office and upon all ordinands. It fell, however, not to a priest or even to a layman, but to a woman, to make a protest to the Congregation of the Sacred Congregation of Christian liberty. Maude Petre, the biographer of Tyrrell, having been called upon by the bishop of the diocese in which she resided to subscribe to the condemnations contained in the encyclical Pascendi and the decree Lamentabili, and in addition of her admission to the sacraments, refused to do so on the ground that such subscription would imply a readiness to defend, it necessary with her life, every word of those documents as being equally important for faith with the Apostles' Creed itself. About the same time an anonymous document, purporting to represent the views of a numerous group of ecclesiastics belonging to all the French dioceses, appeared in a Parisian newspaper, the Siècle. 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 subjected of being Modernists, and the history of Modernism as an open movement in the Roman Catholic Church had come to an end.

2. Forms. — (a) Apologetic of immanence. — It was the aim of the philosophic Modernists, notably of Labertouville, to establish the cardinal points of Christian belief by the aid of the modern evolutionary or dynamic view of the universe. That involved a departure from the traditional scholastic method of apologetic. But they did not abandon scholasticism arbitrarily, simply because it was old. On the contrary, it was their sincere belief that the Aristotelian metaphysic and logic utilized by the scholastic theologians provided a less perfect instrument for the illustration and defence of specifically Christian belief than the more modern conceptions of life. It is, e.g., an essential part of Christian belief that God is personal and that He is creator. But it is only in the light of a 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. 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 Christians demand. 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, through the agency of which the power by which God has created it is exercised. Each past experience engenders a new present life, and the present life is itself the nature of which it remains the constitutive principle. Thus creation is God's transcendent reality introducing itself into the world and becoming immanent in it. And this act of creation is the act 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 Laberthonnère 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 encircled within the unity of His own Being. The doctrine of the Trinity assumes a vital and not a merely formal character. Thus the reality which we assign to life, because we already feel it there, is itself the motive of our belief in the personality of God. That personality is not a mere idea to which we attain by logical inference. It is a vital inference from our actual experience of life as creative action. This experience implies a more or less conscious communion of each separate creative unit with an original infinite source of creative life, and of all the units with one another in and through that life. With the terms which essentially religious experience has formulated to express itself—communion, inspiration, revelation, faith, judgment—imply a concretely personal character in God. On the other hand, these terms, when interpreted to us and by us through the logical abstractions of the Aristotelian metaphysic, lose much of their distinctively religious significance. The conception of faith, e.g., as an assent of the intelligence to the truth acquired extrinsically, by the teaching of a divinely deputed authority, fails to do justice to its concrete reality. That concrete reality of faith is an immediate response of the whole personal nature to the personal divine action upon it, a response in virtue of which it recognizes authority and the measure in which authority mediates the divine action to it. The intellectual element in faith exists, but it exists as a derivative from some profounder and more vital action of faith. So, again, revelation, when conceived as the final and immanent deposit of truth statements to be imposed upon the intellect from without, is shorn 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 as imposing His action upon it. And the perfect instruments of that revelation are Christ, the Incarnate Word, and the life of His Church in so far as it is a real extension of His life. The thought of the Church, its dogmas, its truth-statements, are but the partial and ever-perfectible translation in terms of one aspect of man's activity, his power of intellectually apprehending reality, of its living apprehension of God in Christ. Thus even if the Gospels themselves are not a completed revelation. They indeed enshrine the perfect revelation of the Christ-life. But that revelation can be apprehended only in proportion as it is lived, and by those by whom it is lived. The Gospels can be but the initial attempt of those who had lived it to read and interpret its mysteries. Thus history is not of merely accidental importance to Christianity, but is, on the contrary, of its essence. As Laberthonnère frequently puts it, Christianity has ever Laurel to conceive of God sub specie humanae. 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 all humanity and a contribution towards all future inspiration. So tradition acquires a vital, and not a merely formal, value.

(b) Historical criticism.—It was the aim of the philosophical Modernist to vindicate the Church as the supreme organ of the vital religious tradition of mankind. The historical Modernist sought to do the same thing in his own special field of study. The orthodox apologist, grasping himself self on the closed character of revelation as imperfect truth-statement, had to prove the practically formal identity of the dogmatic statements of the Church to day with the Scriptural revelation. For the historian, however, the admission of such a formal identity was impossible. The development of dogma from the most general to the most exact forms of statement, from the simplest to the most complex and detailed forms, was a fact of history. As a historian, the Modernist had merely to trace the development and expose its character. But, as a Christian apologist (the rôle which alone constituted him a Modernist), he had to undertake the much more difficult task of reconciling this development of dogma with its permanent truth. This he attempted to do by distinguishing between the spirit and the form of each dogmatic statement, ascribing to the former an absolute and permanent, to the latter a merely relative, instrumental, and mutable value. The dogmas such apologists meant its witness to some aspect of religious experience which was necessary to the reality of the religious life, and therefore universal or capable of becoming universal. But that witness could pass current only by the aid of some intellectual symbol capable of suggesting the actually experienced reality. Such symbols, necessarily shaped by the intellectual methods and habits of their period of growth, were clearly imperceptible. 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 reactivates upon life, the clear perception of an experience upon the experience itself, enlarging and deepening its import. And so many of the Modernist apologists were ready to find in the more developed forms of dogma a fuller expression of its spirit, the experienced reality by the ideal and adequate form of the witness to it. A similar method of treatment was applied by the Modernist historian to the growth of ecclesiastical government and institutions and all the formal aspects of the Church's life. In this they anticipated the orthodox contention that the actual fabric of Church order had been instituted by Christ Himself. But he claimed that the Church as a society had grown out of the spirit of Christ, and that each stage in the evolution of its order could be shown to have been the necessary means, under the circumstances of its particular historical moment, of preserving or extending the operation of that spirit.

(c) Ecclesiastical and social reform.—Yet the movement did not propose simply to divinize the existing Church. Her actual institutions came into existence in a distant past in response to the needs of the spirit then operating within her. But to-day those institutions may be suffocating her true life. They may even, as Fogazzaro's saint suggests, be introducing false and destructive spirits into her system—the spirit of falsehood, the spirit of clerical domination, the spirit of aristocracy, the spirit of private property. 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 carry out.

The Church is the hierarchy with its traditional concepts, and it is the world with its continuous hidden reality, with its special own truth, the unique theology, and the inexhaustible treasure of Divine truth which reacts upon official theology; the Church does not die, the Church does not grow old. It constantly creates new life on its lips the living Christ, the Church is a laboratory of truth in continuous action (46). p. 253).

Only when possessed by such a conception of her character and mission will the Church discover what reforms she needs to make her equal to both in the profoundly changed circumstances of contemporary history. It which has inspired the Modernist social reformer also. He has aimed at making Christianity the keaven of national, political, social, and economic life, and therefore the principle of a larger and humann".

E. Le Roy, Doynre et critique, do. 1907; E. von Higel, The M., London, 1914, La Science et foi, Rome, 1903, Doynre, gerarchia, e culto, do. 1902; R. Murri, La Vita religiosa del Libero, della Religione, della scienza, e dello stato, Milan, 1910; U. Fracassini, L'ore di Bibbia, Rome, 1919; Il Programma modernista, Turin, 1914. The author has added an excellent anthology, representative of the chief Modernists, writers of Germany, France, Italy, and England, selected by J. Schnitzer, and published more recently under the title Der Katholische Modernismus in the series Die Klassiker der Religion, Berlin, 1912. Unfortunately this anthology bears the same title as the same author's critical study of Modernism mentioned above. The chief pontifical condemnations are conveniently given in the following:

MOGGALLANA.

MOGGALLANA.—Moggallana was one of the two chief disciples of the Buddha. He was a Brahman by birth, and his mother's name is given in the Dharmabhikshu (p. 52) as Bhikshu-kanya. Nothing is known of his youth, but, from a long time to tell the story of his conversion.

There was a Wanderer (or Sophist) at Rajagahamana called Satyajata. Moggallana and a friend of his, another young Brahman, went to a nearby village called Sati. There he has rendered his service, and to his compliments had been exchanged, asked him who was his master, and what was the doctrine of the master. Then his men was so serene, his comeliness so bright and clear. There is a great man of religion, one of the sons of the Sākyas, who has gone forth from the Sākiya clan, and he as the doctrine of his master, was the reply. 'Well, what is the doctrine?' asked Sariputta. 'I am but a novice, only lately gone forth. In detail I can not explain, but I can not explain the meaning of it in brief.' Sariputta told him that was just what he wanted, the spirit, not the letter, of the doctrine. Then Asaji quoted a verse:

'Regarding a cause.

And he tells, too, how each shall come to its end,

For such is the word of the Sage.'

On hearing this verse Sariputta obtained the true eye for the truth; that is, the knowledge that whatsoever is subject to the condition of having an origin is subject also to the condition of passing away. (This is the stock phrase in the early Buddhist books for conversion.) He became once acknowledged that this was the doctrine that he had sought to discover in vain. He went immediately to Moggallana, and told him that he had found the ambrosia, and, when he explained how this was, Moggallana agreed with him in the view that he had taken, and they both went to the Buddha and were admitted into his order.

The story here summarized is repeated, in almost identical terms, in various commentaries. It is curious in two ways. In the first place, who, on being asked to give the spirit of the Buddhist doctrine in a few words, would choose the words of Asaji's verse? One by one the mainlanders of Buddha 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 impresion upon Sariputta and Moggallana. 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 only in other passages, such as Jot 14, where the ambrosia is brought into a mystical connexion with cause and with passing.

1 Finana, ed. H. Oldenberg, i, 30-44; translated in Riys Davils and H. Oldenberg, Vineya Texta, i, 139-151. The title was the same as the Satyajata of Boga, i. 58, the famous wed-ngezget.

2 Dhammapadita Cuduna, ed. F. Perning. Samyaj Samaj Com. on verse 1017: Agutara Com. on. 88, et al.

away. Here, in this new theory of causation, was a quite different view of things, which seemed to them to meet the demand.

It is also, at first sight, curious that they should have called this particular doctrine 'ambrosia' (αμμοσία). Though this expression was no doubt first used of the drink that preserved the gods from death, it must before the rise of Buddhism have acquired, among the Wanderers, the secondary meaning of salvation as being the ineffably sweet. It is true that the other idea of salvation, as being atonement (from evil, or from the eternal round of birth and death), is also found in Buddhist works (see Mokṣa). But it was natural, in the beginnings of speculation, to have varying attempts at the expression in words of so complex and deceptively simple an idea. Thus it is probable that the early Buddhists invented such a phrase as ambrosia, connoting, as it does, so much of the earlier polytheism.

Moggalāna is frequently mentioned in the canon, and usually with the epithet Mahā (the Great). A number of verses ascribed to him, including one long poem and several shorter ones, are preserved in the anthology called Theragāthā (Psalms of the Brethren). The Dīgha is curious about him. A whole book is assigned to him in the Saṅyutta; and about two score passages in the Majjhima and the Aṭṭhakūṭa, and elsewhere in the Saṅyutta, record acts done or words spoken by him. We need not give the details of all of these passages. The general result of them is that he was considered by the men who composed them to have been a master of the philosophy and of the psychological ethics, and especially of the deeper and more mystical sides, of the teaching. There is, e.g., an interesting passage where the Buddha compares Sāriputta with Moggalāna:

1 Like a woman who gives birth to a son, brethren, is Sāriputta, like a master who trains a boy. Moggalāna leads him on to conversion, Moggalāna to the highest truth. But Sāriputta can set forth the four Aryan Truths and teach them, and make others understand them and stand firm in them, he can expand and elucidate them.

In one characteristic Moggalāna is stated to have been supreme over all the other disciples. This is in the power of iddhi (potency). Both word and idea are older than the rise of Buddhism; and the meaning is vague. The early Buddhists, who had first to do with them, often did to pour new wine in 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, that the latter the modification which the Buddha sought to make in it. The former reminds us of the mena of the South Seas, or the orvanda of some American tribes, or sometimes of the strange accomplishments of a spiritualistic medium. Birds have iddhi, with especial reference to their mysterious power of flight. Kings have iddhi of four kinds (differently explained at Dīgha, i. 177 and Āvadāna, li. 454). It is by the iddhi of a hunter that he succeeds in the chase.1 Iddhi 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 unconquered man. That of the converted, awakened man is self-mastery, equanimity.2

Both these kinds of potency when regarded as innate, are, 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, Moggalāna, in the oldest records, is regarded as pre-eminent. An amusing and edifying story is preserved of the way in which, like an ancient St. Dunstan, he outwits the Evil One.3 We are also told how, in order to attract the attention of the gods to the very elementary exposition of ethics that he thought suitable to their intelligence, he shook with his great toe the pinnacles of the palaces of heaven.4 Other instances of Moggalāna’s instructing the gods are given in the Moggalāna Saṅyutta referred to above, and in both, while two anthologies, probably the latest and certainly the most dreary books in the canon, the Vināna Vatthu and the Peta Vatthu, consist entirely of short poems describing interviews which Moggalāna is supposed, on his return, to have had with spirits in the various heavens and purgatories.

Most of the episodes in which Moggalāna 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.5 Both Sāriputta and Moggalāna died in the November of the year before the Buddha’s death, just before the Buddha started on his last journey.6 Sāriputta died a natural death; Moggalāna, it is said, was murdered, at the instigation of certain jealous Jain monks, by a bandit named Samana-guttaka, at the Black Rock cave on the Isigili Hill near Rājagaha.

When Cunningham opened the topes (memorial mounds) at Sāんā, he found in two of them cartons containing fragments of bone and inscribed respectively ‘Of Sāriputta’ and ‘Of Moggalāna the Great’ in Pāli letters of Asoka’s time.7 A similar discovery was made in the neighbouring group of topes at Satdhāra.8 It is evident that more than two centuries after their death the memory of the two chief disciples had not yet died out in the community, and that the Buddhist bāty who erected these monuments considered it suitable that their supposed relics should be entombed in the same tomb.

The name Moggalāna was occasionally adopted as their name in religion by candidates for the order till the 12th cent. of our era. The belief that the power of iddhi had been actually exercised by Moggalāna the Great and others in the ancient days is still held by those of the orthodox who adhere to the ancient tradition, though, except as practised long ago, the belief in iddhi has long died out. There is no evidence later than the canon of

1 The stock passages are at Dīgha, ii. 82; Majjhima, i. 24, 494; Aṭṭhakūṭa, i. 555, iii. 17, 28.
2 Dīgha, iii. 113.
3 Majjhima, i. 332 ff.4 Aṭṭhakūṭa, i. 555, iii. 17, 28.
4 Dīgha, iii. 113.
5 Majjhima, i. 332 ff.
6 Sāriputta, i. 126, Dhammapada, i. 256.
7 Jātaka Com., i. 366; Dhammapada Com., iii. 66 ff.
8 Jātaka Com., i. 366.
10 Dīgha, ii. 22; Aṭṭhakūṭa, i. 145.
MOKSA

became the 12th Mueller, the being free setting (Voy Aimfl, than as be man Oldenberp, 2, It twister is f:o

where independence in.
calm, consciousness, in general considered from worldly
of the Chaudogna Upamit, v. 1, 6, the words rendered 'freedom in all the worlds' are, literally rendered, 'facing as a
to be a positive concept of moksa or vimutti chiefly through an austere elimination viewed as the
doctrine of the Buddha (Yamagita, Pali). But the state of
being free in opposing things' (Pugandha-Pahattia Comm.). But the state of
and social or personal self-congratulation. The freedom in
in freedom from three crooked things...
and all that dragged me back is buried away (Psalm of the Sibers, 11).

MOKSA (Skr., also muktii) and VIMUTTI (Pali, also (m)anittii).—These terms, other phrases 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 is selected, the inquirer may start with two general worth-works. In the first place, the concept in questions has a negative side, viz. a having got loose from, or rid of, and a positive side, viz. the emancipation, or general sense of expanded outwardness, calm, security, attainment, power to be and do, will the 'getting the the 'giving from' were done in some cases too costly a gain. If these two aspects be held together in the mind, then the common terms for them, stated above, may—and this is the second way-mark—be considered as, more perhaps than anything else, the path and kernel of the religious faiths of India and as coming nearer to the Christian 'salvation' than any other. It should, however, be added that the concept grew within those faiths, and that it was by no means always, indeed very rarely, the less paramount element in the phasis and importance. Awareness of emancipation as such, or of its absence and desirability, is not patent in the earliest recorded expressions of the Indian mind. The vital importance of solidarity, either with tribal custom and convention or with the deities and the very life of his gods, is far more pressing on the man of primitive culture than is any revolt or self-exclusion from, or independence of, any order or destiny, socially or divinely given on earth. Furthermore, the particular deliverances or riddances that came in time to be generalized under a common notion varied in kind.

Before making good these general considerations by analysis, it may be well to guard the reader of this translation of Indian literature against gaining an inaccurate idea of the frequency of allusions to 'freedom', etc. Perhaps no language is as rich in private or negative inferences as is that of the Indian classics, whether it be Vedic, Pali, or Sanskrit. We have ourselves a few cases where the negative form exceds, in inspiring emphasis, the positive form—e.g., independence, infinite, immortality, etc. Such terms are very numerous in Indian literature, and it often happens, notably in translations by Max Muller and Fausdji, that, to give the force or elegance of the originals, words with a negative prefix—*a, ni, vi* —are rendered by 'free from', and even 'freedom from.'

Thus we find such renderings as 'free from evil, a:piga; free from fear, a:kha; free from grief, vi:ksika; free from desire, vi:ksina; free from the body, a:kara; free from desire, vi:ksina; a:kara, a:kara; and many other notables, being free from good and free from evil, vi:ksina, vi:ksina, vi:ksina, vi:ksina, vi:ksina, etc., laden with the well-done and the done well, rid of the bad actions or evil actions, etc. (Kastriyaki, Pali, 4).

Moksa have been called 'liberty' taken by the banish use of 'free from' go to reveal this misconception. The phrase just quoted occurs in an ariastic context of sa:mera, or transmutation. Now, it is to be observed that, or rather, contrary to the idea of the soul or self, not only from this body, but also from all future bodies. But the only term expressive of release here is in the translation. All who depart from this world go to the home of a man make reply (Voy Aimfl, iv. 132, 143), that deposes him on (atapo,) i.e. he does not return to be born on earth. This is Berg's SBE, I am free. Further on, in r. 7, in an ancient sun-hymn occurs the unique appellation raja, 'twister' or 'turner': 'Thou art the twister! Twisting the sun, thou art the sun's raja, thou art the sun's king!' This is translated (if): 'Thou art the deliverer, deliver me from sin.' in the Pattigama Upamit, r. 9: 'he frees himself' is literally, euphoro, 'he saves himself.' in the Dharmapala Upamit, iv. 23, Regnum renders upavartas (Muller: 'it pleases,') 'it pleases, it is satisfied,' Denseness translates as 'the mind is relieved from the' (ib., Pali). The Chaudogna Upamit, v. 1, 6, the words rendered 'freedom in all the worlds' are, literally rendered, 'facing as a box, or a box.' (Muller's Pali, Pali). "got had obtained freedom from all desires' (Muller) is, in the original, 'had turned to renunciation' (Denseness).

It is very possible that the Vedic seers were encouraged in this habit by consulting the medieval commentaries of Sankara, in whose philosophy moksa was a well-evolved concept, and who used it liberally in his paraphrases.

For instance indeed: 'A perfectly free soul is one...

In freedom from three crooked things...

But all that dragged me back is buried away (Psalm of the Sibers, 11).

1 Herefore in the real or true Brahman be becomes perfected and another name is that of boundless desires he attains to bliss imperishable, inaccessible, and therein abides (lta: Maitrayana Upamit, 1, 2, 11, 613). And Ketha-vratthi, r. 1, is to bring out the fact that, whereas one enters on the 'Path' to salvation, full of a sense of dangers to be got rid of, the gradual putting off of 'letters' converts this consciousness into an abiding bliss of perfected deliverance, i.e. of Nibbana.

For vimutti is comparable to 'Nibbana, and the holy life is planted on, and leads to and culminates in Nibbana' (Mahakabhi, 7, 10; Samudya, Pali).

There is but the faintest anticipation of this in the Vedas. The only 'setting free' in those pages is the resting-place (vimocha) where horses are cased for a while from harness. Gods are called upon to deliver Ariapas and Rishis. Again, in the 'Bricks of saving' (supta), that is, from evil

1 Muktii is said in O. Bohlinius and R. Roth (Skandits-Wybert- bach, Petropag, 1865-70, v. 801) to occur once in the Sarnath's Brahminus, and it is a foreign reference, and the present writer cannot trace it.
and from death (Satapatha Brahmana, VIII. iv. 2), but elsewhere (X. iii. 3) it is said that none but a Brahman, or Deva, is exempted by Brahman from death, and 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 apparent but premature and immature, a mere hint, a shadow, overshadowed by the incident, the freedom, on the one hand, is made more explicit, and, on the other, the liberation is described as 'from evil.' But, whether emancipation be from the power of the body during life or from the body itself and from all bodily leading, it is always but the main positive consciousness, realized in this early stage of Vedanta moksha, is, intellectually, discernment of the identity between the Absolute, Brahman or Atman, and the soul located in and, emotionally, sense of security and assurance resulting therefrom. For the individual becomes invested with the powers, negatively expressed, of the Absolute Being: undecaying, imperishable, unattached, unbound, unlimited, unsuffering, etc. (Bhadraragya Upanisad, iv. 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, he is the world . . . then is he no more afraid (ib. iv. 15, 16).

Proceeding to the less ancient Upanisads, such as may have been influenced by Buddhism and other developments, we find in the 'Upanisad of the Shavelings' (Mayyaka) the compound paramahanta (III. ii. 0), 'completely freed':

'They who have grasped the secret of Vedas, who have become a Brahman, who have entered the Vedas, who know the Vedas, all anitches, their innermost being purged in earnest realization, at the final death in Brahman-heaven become immortal, wholly freed.'

But in the Svetasatra Upanisad, and the allied but perhaps still later Maiitraya Upanisad, the reader finds himself among new ideas jesting against the older ones. These are yet present—soul and Brahman, release from life and death, and knowledge as giving release—but the current has widened, if not deepened. The theism of Yoga, the theory of separate souls and their self-emancipation from conditioned, suitable concomitants of the Sankhya system, the critical, scientific attitude of Buddhism, and the tragic earnestness of the two former and of Jainism—all these have caused a revolution in outlook that strikes a new note at the very first words:

'Ou! The Brahman teachers say: What is the primal cause, what Brahman? Whence are we? (Svetasatra Upanisad, I. v. 3.)

Through it all the moksha-idea appears as the work of a creator:

'The Deva' or Svarga ('Lord'), 'himself self-caused, is the condition the (cause) of the maintenance and the movement (chitt, sattvam), the bondage and the liberation (bandha, moksha) of the world' (ib. iv. 16). To know him, to 'see, making his own being a lamp, the being of the lamp, whom to have all fetters fall away, all suffering destroyed, and the ceasing of birth and death to come' (ib. ii. 11, 15). 'I, seeking for freedom, take in him my refuge, my shroud, my stay, to the which is not dead (maniavya paran artha), Fire that burneth where no fuel is' (ib. vi. 181).

As soon a man might wrap the atmosphere About himself like any cloak, as rest.

Yet both here and in the Maiitraya Upanisad the Adamantine monism is none the less maintained, and all personal deities are recognized as names of the self (IV. v., VI. v. 8).

Yet this concept no longer satisfies:

'Having seen his own self as the Self (or soul), he becomes selfless (nirvishista) and, in virtue of that, he is to be conceived as immeasurable, unconditioned. This is the highest mystery, betokening emancipation . . . through selflessness he has no part in pleasure or pain, but attains abstractions (sakshatkarā) (VI. xx. 1.)—a wondrous blend of Buddhist and Sankhya concepts.

Yet another new term reveals a fresh and not-

able development of the moksha-consciuosness, that
is not, of course, absent from the earlier Vedantic literature, but it attains emphasis only in that which must have felt the impress of Buddhism, to yield nothing of Mahayana and Brahmanism.

Now, in the doctrine of Aralarnship, or the release from continued deaths and rebirths by the perfected character, vimutti is not only dominant to the same extent as is mokâ (mokâ) in Vedânta, but the treatment of it is more consistent with the Buddhist principles.

Hence the terms 'freed by understanding,' 'freed-both-ways,' meaning emancipated by the work of understanding only, or emancipated both thus and by the eight vimokhas or similar exercise in samâdhi (cf. Majjhima Nikâya, i. 477).

Moreover, vimutti, as expressing final achievement, with the rapturous assurance of it, was at the heart of the Buddhist Dhamma from the first.

In that which is recorded as his second sermon—the Anâtha-dakkhkhana Sutta (Vinnayaka Texts, i. 101; cf. 107)—Gotama Buddha stated how emancipation grew out of the rejection of the cosmic soul as immanent in and identical with the sense of individual personality ('self' being only an abstract idea inseparable from bodily and mental factors).

Of the aforesaid factors, in its modern form, that of permanence, omniscience, bliss, in these demurred them of factitious attraction. Craving to renew them in future lives fell away. The freed individual knew that he was free, and henceforth needed only to await the final hour in quieted but blissful well-being and righteous living. Again, in sending forth his first missionaries, the Buddha named as his and their supreme adequately qualification:

1. 'I am freed from all sophsman and divine...'; ye are freed from all sorrow human and divine... Go ye now... for the welfare of the many... '(Vinnayaka Texts, i. 1226.)

The subjective awareness of the freed state, held to be also valid objectively, is further enhanced by the use of such terms as 'realizing,' 'touching,' 'tasting' (Dîgha Nikâya, iii. 230; Majjhima Nikâya, i. 477; Aṅguttara Nikâya, ii. 244, i. 30, iv. 205, etc.).

Wherefore thus must ye study: "more and ever more striving our very best shall we realize supreme emancipation" (Aṅguttara Nikâya, iii. 218).

'Having liberated himself with respect to things that should be let go he touches perfect liberty' (ib. ii. 196; cf. 234).

'The eight deliverances (vimokhas) are to be realized by personal contact' (Dîgha Nikâya, iii. 230).

'Few are they who obtain the taste of liberty' (Aṅguttara Nikâya, i. 30).

As the ocean has but one taste, that of salt, so has Nibbâna but one taste, that of emancipation' (ib. iv. 202; Vinnayaka Texts, i. 204).

Awareness of full attainment was realized as a momentaneous phase of ecstatic consciousness (Kôthâ-rattthu, i. 4), but the reverberations formed an abiding joy:

'Gladness springs up within him, and rapture thereeto; the thoughts of his enraptured consciousness become tranquilized; thus tranquilized he knows bliss; and his consciousness is stayed' (Dîgha Nikâya, iii. 241, 'The five occasions of emancipation'; cf. i. 79).

Imagination plays about the term:

'He with fair flowers of Liberty enwreathed, Sane and immune, shall reach the perfect peace' (Passages of the Brothers, 109).

Above the rolling chariot of this earthly life spreads the silken canopy of emancipation' (Sutta Pitaka, i. 266).

And in the later Questions of King Mîla:

'As the ocean is all in blossom with the immaterial... ripples of its waves, so is Nibbâna all in blossom, as it were, with...
the immovable, diverse, delicate flowers of purity, knowledge, enlightenment, etc. (ib.).

Arahantship, again (ib. v. 17), is called 'the Exalted One's jewel of emancipation (vimutti-ratana), chief diadem of all.'

The three terms here brought together—Nibbana, Arahantship, emancipation—are largely, though not wholly, coincident in range, presenting different aspects of the ideal, Nibbana: the having eliminated 'the fires' of evil and of craving for continued life. Arahant: or divining the contemplation of an Atman-less Absolute; Arahantship: supreme positive attainment in life on earth; Vimutti: the subjective aspect of both, the negative force in it never far off:

'Let this knowledge, which has been, let go what will be, Let go what thou art midst of, that thou dost, Transcend Becoming! On every side freed-minded Thou'll't again come toward birth and dying.'

(Dhammapada, 34). But the self-knowledge that he is free is a clause in the formula confessing Arahantship:

'Emancipated by right (or perfect) goodness (sunnad hubsa-vimutti): 'in him thus set free there arises the knowledge freed'! ' (Nikaya, passim; Dhammap., i. 90).

And the unity connecting the negative and positive aspects may be discerned in the Sutta Nipata verses:

'In whom no sense-desires do dwell, For whom no craving doth exist, Who hath crossed o'er [the sea of] doubt:— What sort of freedom [is this]? No other freedom [waits] for him' (1890)."

In the Nikayas vimutti and Nibbana are declared to be 'comparable' one with another (in the same thought-category, Majjhima Nikaya, i. 304). But in the Dhamma-suttas, the vimutti is distinguished from higher mental freedom and Nibbana (p. 234; cf. Digha Nikaya, i. 174).

As the subject of a distinct group (khuddal) of religious experience, vimutti is ranked in the Sutta Nikaya fourth with the group 'ethics' (sila), concentric studies (sanaññhi), and insight (paññata, Majjhima, i. 214; Ajjuttara Nikaya, i. 125, passim), while for the Arhat a fifth was reckoned: knowledge and intuition of vimutti (vimutti-anuvadana, ib. i. 102, etc.). Closely associated with the fourfold path to Arahantship, and called, later, modes of progress, avenues, or channels to vimutti, are the studies in 'Emptiness, 'the Signless,' the Not-hankering-Are-'toller!' (Digha Nikaya, ii. 219; Sutta-


A very frequent allusion to emancipation in the Nikayas is that of chetavannitam paññavimuttim, corresponding fairly well to emancipation in the systematization of ethical emotion was not peculiar to Buddhism (see LOVE [Buddhistic]). But the founder of Buddhism is represented (Sutta-patta, v. 118) as claiming that he alone inculcated in such exercises emancipation of the heart.

In this way, in suffusing the idea of more and more beings with (1) love—let all beings be void of ennui and malevolence, (2) pity—let all be set free from sufferings, (3) sympathy—let all be happy and fortunate, (4) equanimity—all are the owners, the possessors, the masters of these mental exercises, if fully practised, result in a thorough mastery through complete emancipation from the respectively opposed modes of (1) ennui, (2) bitterness, (3) antipathy, (4) passion (Ledi Sadoke, Mahittha, in a letter to the writer).

Taken alone, apart from that supreme enfran-
chisement from all the conditions for rebirth, they constituted the best way to Brahma-heven.

'Sariputta: This, I told Dhamanadhaj, is the way to share existence with the Brahma gods.

'The Buddha: Why do you establish Dhamanadhaj in that inferior Brahma-world, when there was more to be done?

'Sariputta: I judged, lord, that these Brahmans preferred that heaven' (Majjhima, i. 195).

All other bases of meritorious acts which are stuff for rebirth (pātissapattika) be compared to the emanation of the heart by love. That takes all those up into itself, as the moon withdraws the stars, the sun the night, the morning star the night, shining in radiance and in splendor' (Hevavatika, 12-31).

But to be emancipated by intuition or insight is to have broken all the four 'severe' or 'consecrating' stages of the Arhat-path—Stream-winning, Once-returning, Never-returning, Arahantship—and to have reached the going-out of all revered desires as to lives on earth or in the heavens (Digha Nikaya, i. 108).

'For not by the wished nor by the un-wished, is that Nibbana to be reached which is the union of all knots' (Hevavatika, 102).

The mountain ranges of vimutti were the haunts of those who, with the world well lost, had developed the symptoms of life's culminating in its final end. Hence it is in the two works containing the legacies of such matured creatures—the Sutta-
Pattas and the anthologies of Thera—and Thera—
that the theme of emancipation is maintained most steadily:

'Come now, let us see Gotama, who love-like Both room alone . . . and let us ask of him How can we be set free from share of death? Declare to us who ask as to the way How may a man from sorrow be set free?'

(Sutta-Nipata, 104).)

'Passed he away fraught with the seed of rebirth, Or as one wholly free? That would we know' (Patisota of the Erechtheum, 1274).

'And as the sun rose up out of the dawn Lot: then my heart was set at liberty (ib. 477).

'Whose range were the Void and the Unknown And Liberty—as flight of birds in air So far is it tru to the track of him' (ib. 92).

'And see, O Master! Sambhara who comes To tell thee of Emancipation won And of the night no more to reborn; Who hath herself from passion freed (chakrapa).

Unyoked from bondage' (Patisota of the Sixin, 334).

'The I the suffering and weak and all My youthful spring be gone, yet have I come, Leaning upon the staff, and clad aloof The mountain peak. My cloak thrown off, My little boat deserted: so there Upon the rock. And over my spirit sweeps The breath of liberty!' (ib. 29, 30).

'Passion abandoned, hatreds done away, 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-Patthi, 74).

'Even as a fish that breaks its net in ocean, Even as a fire that turns not back to heat stuff— Like the rhinoceros, let him wander lonely' (ib. 65).

'Dwelling in love, in pity, and in freedom, In friendly joy, in balance, each in season, Nought in the world disturbs my character:— Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely' (ib. 73).

The evolution of mokti, or mokhya, 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. 448, 470). Similarly the (et)mokya, or apacarya, concept of Sākhyan thought, which survives in medieval commentaries, and which, even in the aphorisms on which these are based, show a later and a more halve metaphysical than such as the foregoing discussions reveal, will be dealt with in art. SĀKHYA.

In those aphorisms (Sūtras) the individual soul, called puruṣa, is conceived as 'neither bound, nor liberated, nor weighting,' (4) (lixii), as is the rest of man's nature, physical and mental. Emancipation consists in having discerned the subtle difference between this [dual nature) (pradhana) and the soul' (xxxi.). By knowledge is liberation (jñānam cha-pacaryaka), by the eradication of bondage (lixiv.). With this knowledge the work 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] (lixiv.) after the finished pot is removed but, when nature therewith ceases to act, the soul obtains absolution (kaivalyam apnoti) (lixvii.).
MOLINISM.—There is no problem in theology more difficult than that which has reference to the knowledge and causality of God, on the one hand, and the liberty and eternal destiny of human beings, on the other. The problem includes three difficulties: 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 account for the terrible fact that many die without the light of faith and never attain to eternal salvation?

The endeavours of theologians to throw light on these difficulties have brought forth two systems: Thomism and Molinism. The doctrine of the Thomists, which is the old traditional doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas (n. g.), was attacked by Molina at the close of the 16th cent.; since then an unending controversy has raged in Roman Catholic schools of theology.

I. HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY.—In the 13th cent. St. Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, synthesized the sum of human knowledge with regard to God as the First Cause and Final End of all things in a work called the Summa Theologiae. Herein is contained all that the human mind, aided by faith, 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 Trent the Summa Theologica, alone of all the treatises on the faith, was thought fit to be used in consultation with the sacred Scriptures. The Order of St. Dominie 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 cent. the Jesuit Luis de Molina (1535-1600) published a new doctrine on predestination, 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 1583 and was condemned by the Holy Office in 1587, and by the Council of Trent in 1672. In 1641 the Roman Congregation of the Index declared it a heresy.

Mohammedanism was, as has been observed, the cause of an unending and bitter controversy which has lasted for centuries between Thomists and Molinists. The above assertions of Molina aroused the ire of Aquinas, whose teachings, or those which he conceived as such, were taught by the Jesuit, Dominie Valencia, Bishop of Guadalajara, in 1588, and also by his colleague, St. Augustin and St. Thomas. Dominie Valencias vigorously attacked the new theory, and so great was the dissension caused by the ensuing controversy that in 1584 the matter came before Pope Clement VIII. who, in 1588, 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 20 propositions taken from the Concordia. At the Council of Trent (16th 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 Concordia. The bull was actually prepared for publication, but on 18th Aug. 1607 Pope V. held a congregatio of cardinals in which it was decided to postpone the condemnation. The result of the Congregatio de Auxiliis was, then, a moral defeat for Molinism. So far as was this brought home to Aquaviva (the General of the Jesuits) and his colleagues that the Congregation of S. Suarez was substituted for Molinism and imposed upon the Society by Aquaviva by his decree of 14th Dec. 1613. For more than 200 years Congruius (see below, p. 776) was taught by the Jesuits in obedience to the decree of Aquaviva, but pure Molinism has now been revived by some Jesuit theologians.

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, of which opinions may be held. Innocent XII., in reply to the University of Louvain (7th Feb. 1604), and Benedict XIII., in a papal bull (Decimation passa, 6th Feb. 1678), declared that the Thomistic doctrine of the efficacy of grace ob intrinsec and the gratuity of predestination. Lest, however, the words uttered by Benedict XIII. should be understood to minimize the doctrines of Molinism, Clement XIII. said (30th Oct. 1758) that:

"We do not wish the enigmas (which we iterate, approve and confirm) of our predecessors (Clement XI. and Benedict XIII.) in praise of the Thomistic school to be any way ascribed to the authority of other Catholic schools" (Bullarium Oris, Proc. viii. 230).

Since the encyclical Aeterni 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. Insipid of the renunciation of Thomists, 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 dreamed of ("ne per somnium quidem"), as C. Tiphans, himself a Jesuit, declares. The first crossing of swords took place between R. P. Beza, and C. Tiphans, a long after, G. Schneemann published a work in 1881, in refutation of which A. M. Demmermuth published a work at Paris in 1886, which contains a complete demonstration of the misnamed St. Thomas. In 1860 V. Prins essayed a reply in addition of this Demmermuth published another work in

De ordinis que priori et posteriori, 34.
MOLINISM

1895. Since then there have been many minor publications, chiefly in theological and philosophical Reviews.

ESSENCE OF MOLINISM.—1. Natural order.

(1) God's foreknowledge and free will.—The knowledge of God, considered in itself, is one and indivisible; considered with reference to objects which are the term of His knowledge, it is divided according to the diversity into speculative and practical, into necessary and free, etc. The division which concerns us now is that into the knowledge of vision (scientia visionis) and the knowledge of simple understanding (scientia simplicis intelligititonis). The former has reference to things which have existed, 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. q. 14, art. 9).

Not at this time do we know a future free act by the 'knowledge of vision.' But, according to St. Thomas (1. q. 14, art. 8, and art. 9 ad tertium), this knowledge necessarily implies an act of God's will or a divine decree. Hence a future free act, on the sole hypothesis of the scientia media, a knowledge which is midway, as it were, between that of vision and that of simple understanding.

Although a future conditional event is one that will never come to pass, because the condition on which it depends will never be fulfilled, the scientia media, such as it is, is incapable of realizing or non-realizing of such a condition: hence, by the scientia media, God explores and knows, with infallible certainty, what this will do, as he will always do by its own innate liberty (consent or dissent), do this act or that, etc., if it be placed in such or such circumstances.

God, if He wishes, e.g., Peter to consent, to do this act, etc., decrees to put Peter in these or those circumstances, and decrees conditionally to grant His help or concurrence for the particular action determined upon by Peter's free will (see below, 'simultaneous concourse'). In this decree, which follows the foreknowledge of the future free act, God knows God the act, and the act, if the action does not, through the scientia media, which sees the consent before the decree.

The unanimity among Molinists is mainly negative, namely, that God does not know future free acts in any absolute, actual decree of His will; but, as regards the medium in which God sees a future act, qua futura, qua hanc, and not scientia, God's knowledge penetrates into the innermost recesses of the will and sees there what it will infallibly do in such and such circumstances. This is the direct denial of free will, for the certain knowledge of an effect in its cause is the very glory of the free will. Suarez taught that God knows the future free act in His decree foreseen as future. But it is impossible even to conceive of a future decree in God: the divine decrees are eternal, and are therefore neither subject to acts into speculative and practical, into necessary and free, etc. The division which concerns us now is that into the knowledge of vision (scientia visionis) and the knowledge of simple understanding (scientia simplicis intelligititonis). The former has reference to things which have existed, 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. q. 14, art. 9).

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but of itself the influx is indifferent and ineffica-
cious for this or that particular 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
everything which is efficacious, but the difficulty of sin has to be solved by
Molinists also. Physical premotion effects, it is
true, that the will cannot but infallibly do that to
which it is premoved, but no Thomist allows that
God predestines to sin gin sin (see THOMISM): the
simultaneous conourse of the Molinists is a
cooperation 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
nothing safeguards the universal causality of God.
The self-determination of the will is not nothing;
it is a reality, which, therefore, cannot escape
God's causality. To argue, as does a recent
Molinist (Labousse, Théol. Nat., Louvain, 1888,
chap. 509), that the inefficacy of the will is due to
why this quality (i.e., the determination of the
will whereby it makes itself pass from the state of
not willing to the state of willing) cannot be
efficiently produced by a created being is not only
to the limit of human character and to the circumstances
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 for grace for the production of
a salutary act: grace (gratia). Against Molinists both
Thomists and Jansenists also defend the necessity for the very beginnings
of faith, and for the desire to do a salutary work.
Both teach the absolute gratuity of actual grace,
even for the very beginnings (prima gracia secundum
justificatione). 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 of sufficient and efficacious grace, which
both agree to be a division of actual grace. For
the Thomist efficacious grace is gratuitously, i.e.,
intrinsically (ab intrinsecis), different from sufficient
grace, which is merely a probability or a proximate possibility of producing a salutary act; it raises the will to a
supernatural level, and constitutes it in actu primo
capable of performing a salutary act; but in order to
produce that act de facto an efficacious grace (gratia efficax ab externae, not in the supernatural order) is necessary. Hence sufficient grace in
Thomism gives the poss., efficacious grace the
agere (see THOMISM). For the Molinist the same
grace can be sufficient or efficacious; it remains
sufficient if the will resists; it becomes efficacious
if the will consents. Grace therefore is efficacious,
not intrinsically or of its very nature, but
extrinsically, by the consent of the will (gratia
externa ab extrinsecis). In the natural order, as
said above, the divine influx of concourse is not the
action of the will, but in the supernatural order it
precedes (owing to which it is called gratia pro-
venientes) the action of the will, and is received
into it, thus elevating the will to the principle in
actu primo of the salutary act (this saves Molinism from Semi-Pelagianism). Pre-
venient grace is a physical reality produced by
God in the soul moving it (owing to which it is
called gratiae agens) (not physically, i.e.,
efficiently) to consent; it co-operates (owing to
which it is called gratiae co-operans) with the will
to elicit a salutary act; but the consent does not
follow infallibly, because this grace is not of its
very nature, or intrinsically, efficacious (cf. Molina,
Concordia, qu. 14, art. 13, disp. 41). According
to this doctrine, one and the same grace can be
more efficacious for one, and eflicacious for another; further, a lesser grace can be eflicacious for one person, while a greater grace can
remain merely sufficient for another. Neverthe-
less, an efficacious grace is a greater boon than
a grace merely sufficient. Thus, God from all
eternity foresaw (by the scientia media) that, if
He gave grace A to Peter, He would consent, but,
if He gave grace B, Peter would not consent.
When, therefore, God gives to Peter grace A,
which He foresees will be efficacious, that grace is
a greater gift than grace B, which He foresees
would be merely sufficient (Molina, L. Lessins,
Mazzella, H. Hurter, Palmieri, P. Tepe, etc.).

Bellarmine, Sirez, Vasquez, etc., modified this
doctrine, and held what is called Contraus. 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. Efficacious grace (gratia efficax)
is that which is not perfectly adapted to a man's
current dispositions, temperament and to the circumstances of time and
place, that the will infallibly, but freely, consents;
sufficient grace (gratia incongruas) is that
which is not so perfectly adapted to a man's
current dispositions, temperament, time,
place, etc., and hence the will de facto resists. If,
therefore, God wishes Peter to consent to grace,
He decrees to give him congruous grace—i.e., a
grace perfectly adapted to Peter's character—to
his in the least possible merit.

(2) Predestination.—According to the two
theories of grace in the Molinist system, there are
two theories of predestination: predestination
due to foreseen merits (post praevisa merita) and gratui-
tuous predestination (ante praevisa merita).

(a) Predestination due to foreseen merits.—God
truly and sincerely wishes all to be saved (the
salutif will of God); to all He gives sufficient
grace. Foreseeing, by the scientia media, who
will consent to grace and persevere in it, God pre-
destines them to glory. In this opinion predesti-
nation to glory presupposes the good use of grace
and is therefore not gratuitous (Lessins, Vasquez,
Becanus, Franzelin, H. Tournel, etc.). As is
well known, all the moral problems of the scientia media.
Moreover, even a man has he receives from God, according to St.
'though, he would be reckoned unto him again! For of Paul (Ro 11:24). Who hath first given to him, and to
him, and unto him are all things? i.e.; 1 Co 4:7 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 gratuity of predestination, for no
other reason that because they presuppose some-
thing on man's part which is the reason why God
predestines some to glory and not others. The
Pelagians presuppose good works, the Semi-Pela-
gians 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 he gave them the principle in
actu primo of the salutary act. In accordance, then, with the teaching of St.
Paul, with the doctrine of St. Augustine and St. Thomas,
Thomists, and some Molinists of high reputa,
tion, assess the absolute gratuity of predestination, i.e.,
regardless of foreseen merit.

(b) Gratutious predestination.—God wishes all
to be saved; to all He gives sufficient grace. By a
very fact that God gratuitously elects some and not others, those not chosen will infallibly not be saved; hence a reprobation of some sort is consequent on the predestination of some to glory; but this is called *Opus. de Prado, comp. 1875, pp. 19, 22.  

\[ \text{II. THE DOCTRINE.} \]

- De concursa, motione, et auxilio Dei," in "De scientia Dei futurorum contingentium," i.  
- De gratia et libero arbitrio, Freiburg, 1867.  

MOMENTARY GODS. — 'Momentary gods' (Angewandtkapitler) is an expression coined by Christian Wolff (Göttingen, Born, 1806, p. 279), and one of whose credentials are open to question. It must certainly be admitted that the phenomena which Usener brings under this and other names are of kinds. It is true, of course, that human beings whose minds are dominated by selfish and amistocratic 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 procedure from the general mass of selfish and amistocratic phenomena by the use of a special term. Thus we frequently meet with the practice of worshiping the lance of St. Longinus (L. Droulmer, *Ar'ii*, viii. (1965), Beihaf, p. 71), such being often invoked to witness an oath (Esqu. Sept. 529; schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 37); but these facts in reality furnish reasons for doubting whether the weapon was only symbolic of the lance of the flagellation, rather than that it was thought of as permanently possessed of divine qualities. Thus, too, while Vergil makes Messentius say: 'dextra mihi deus et tulam quod missile librum,' and is initiated in this artifice by later epic authors (Silius, *Flavii Statii, Thrb. iii. 615, 458); such poetic fancies throw no light whatever upon pristine religious feeling. The lightning flash striking down upon J. Man. x. 773.
MOMENTARY GODS

deity who at length became a mere epithet of Ge, Artemis, Demeter, etc., and Zeus Erebuthos, Athene 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 Greek religion in historic times. Among the Romans such special deities are found more especially in the Indigitationa (q.v.), in which every particular operation—e.g., in agriculture—was assigned a distinct tutelary Spirit—Vercactor, Invocator, Lustrator, Oculator, Occator, Surrator, Subruminator, Messenger, Condutor, Promotor. It is said, indeed, that even the Imaginaria, culturae, and exercicerae had each their special deity (Tertull. see Not. i. 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 (cf. ABIV ix. [1900] 284); O. Schrader, ERE ii. 31 f.; here we find Aushin, the goddess of bees, Rabibis, the honey-god, Budintia, the goddess who aroses from sleep, Klaunliukripe and Kremata, the swine-gods, Melotele, the god of the colourful Rangupatis, who, at the elevation of beer, and Weyjopatis, the lord of the wind. Kindred figures are found among the Letts.

As regards the existence of such special deities in other religions—with the exception, of the heathens of Rome, we need only mention the two names mentioned by the Roman Catholic Church (see below)—our knowledge is at fault, partly from lack of materials and partly from lack of research. We may hesitatingly take for granted, however, that, e.g., the pantheons of the Vedas and the Avesta correspond with that of Homer in presenting various types of deities, and that the place of the great gods who hold sway in these literary monuments was, among the people, i.e. in the living religion, taken by a multitude of less imposing beings, of whom, it is true, our knowledge is most imperfect. The Phoenician religion provides an instructive example: here it was not, strictly speaking, a single self-identical Baal to whom divine honours were paid, but a group of deities for whom the city had its own special Baal, and worshipped him as a tribal or tutelary deity. The data which lie most readily to hand are found in countries where residual elements of heathen views still coexist with or underlie the Roman Catholic religion in the practice of saint-worship, and have to some extent been connotated by the Church (D. H. Kerler, Die Patronate der Heiligen, Ums, 1905). Thus, e.g., among the Zambites of Prussia, St. Agatha took the place of the Greek Hestia in the home which the god of the hearth had once had, and Nicholas was the guardian of buttens. St. Apollonia cured toothache and St. Laurentius rheumatic pains. St. Crispin was the patron of shoemakers and St. Coar of potters.

1. See the passage in [1906] 563; for the myths of M. G. Courting, De imagina f. aeterni, Athens, 1885.


4. On the saints who exercised an official function Dehler, De instatus, Leipzig, 1869, is well worth consulting.

1 Ann. Marcell. xxii, 5. 13: 'hoc modo [i.e. fulmine] contacta loca novi minarum felicis deflataque abolum promuntur.'

2 Harlech Wald und Gottheiten, Berlin, 1857.
MONARCHISM.—See Leibniz.

MONARCHISM. — Monarchism is a term generally used to designate the views of those heretics who, to safeguard the Divine unity (monarchia), so refined away the distinction of the Divine Persons as to destroy the Trinity. Hippolytus has left us a summary account of their origin. A certain Noetus, so he tells us, was the protagonist of these ideas; they were upheld by his disciple, Epigenus, and further promulgated by the latter's disciple, Cleomenes. 1 From Epigenus we gather that Noetus had not died short: he lived till A.D. 250. 2 But Hippolytus, who appears to have been martvred about A.D. 240, and who composed his Philosophumena between the years 230 and 235, 3 says in his Tractate against Noetus, 1, that he did not very long survive. 4 And this seems more probable: for Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus's disciple Epigenus, according to the Philosophumena, 5 caused much trouble during the pontificate of Zephyrinus and Callistus, ivii. 198-225. 6

Hippolytus endeavours to show that Noetus's views were in reality only those of the philosopher Heracleit the Obscurus, who held that 'the Father is an unbegotten creature who is creator.' Noetus and his disciples hold, says Hippolytus, these Heraclitean tenets, for they say 'that one and the same God is the Creator and Father of all things; and that when it pleased Him, He appeared. 8 And again: 'When the Father had not been born, He [yet] was justly styled Father; and when it pleased Him to undergo generation, having been begotten, He Himself became His own Son, not another. 9 In this manner,' adds Hippolytus, 'he thinks to establish the sovereignty of God, alleging that Father and Son, [so called, are one and the same, not on individual produced from a different one, but Himself from Himself; and that He is styled by name Father and Son, according to the violation of times.' 10 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 (meaning) was ambiguous and held to be used as the word of both parties. Thus Eusebius tells us 12 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; 13 see also Athanasius, Lactatius, viii. 28. 14 But, as was only natural, the Apologists previous to the Council of Nicea were faced with the grave difficulty that, while combating polytheism, they had to manifest the divinity of Christ without impairing the Divine unity.

1 Phil. ix. 2. 2 Euseb. li. 1 (PG xvi. 941c). 3 See A. C. McNeill's 'Eusebius' (Xicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, note on HE vi. 7). 4 Phil. iv. 1. 5 Eusebius, Fragments (from A. Gallandus), in Ante-Nicene Fathers, i. [1883] p. 1, p. 51. 6 Zephyrinus was pope, a. d. 186-217; Callistus reigned only five years, 217-222; cf. H. V. xxviii. 3 and vi. xx. 1, with McClintock and Strong. 7 Phil. ix. 4. 8 Ib. ix. 5. 9 Ib. 10 H. V. xxvii. 11 Hl. Heracleon, in Ante-Nicene Fathers, ii. [1883] 259 ff. (PG vi. 311), but probably not the work referred to by Eusebius, H. V. xxvii. 11, Eusebius, in Ep. ad Titum (PG xiv. 1304): 'philosopho nono horrentes doctores statim.' 12 Athanasius, Ispahan (PG vi. 903; Ante-Nicene Fathers, ii. 575 E.). 13 It must be acknowledged that, in insisting upon the divinity of Christ, they often, though lacking in precision in their choice of terms, laid themselves open to the charge of ditheism. Thus Hippolytus says that Callistus reproached the opponents of the Noeticans with 'avidity of intestine, and that Eusebius felt himself compelled to point out that in opposing Sabellians many 'divide and cut to pieces and destroy that most sacred doctrine of the Church of God, the Divine monarchy, making it as it were three powers and partitive subjects of the Godhead.' 14 An example of this unintentional vagueness may be found in Justin, Dial. exx., and, what is even more remarkable, in those who most strenuously resisted the Noetics and their successors, the Sabellians. Thus the Church must insist on the divinity of Christ and argue the precision with which Christ Himself says 'I and the Father are one' ('ē, 'ōn') that, in the neuter, and consequently not in person, but in substance (or nature), yet others no explanation of how this can be. The retort was obvious: Then you hold that there are two Gods. 15 Even Tertullian, in spite of his lawyer-like precision of terms and his undoubted orthodoxy on this point—even in his montanist days—has some most muddled expressions which the post-Nicene writers would have avoided at all costs. 16 Yet these things are inevitable, and it is by such discussions, with occasional slip of tongue since, from exactitude on either side, that the Church can come to a full knowledge of the deposit of the faith. 17 A remarkable exception to this prevailing vagueness is furnished by Athanasius, who, in his Logia, says: 18 The Son of God is the Logos of the Father, in idea and in operation; for after the pattern of Him and by Him were all things made, the Father and the Son being one. And, the Son being in the Father and the Father in the Son, one and the same substance, and power of spirit, the understanding and reason (pνεῦμα καὶ λόγος) of the Father is the Son of God. But if, in your surmising, it occurs to you to inquire what is meant by the Son, I will state briefly that He is the first product of the Father, not as having been brought into existence for in the beginning, God, who is the eternal mind (νοῦς), had the Logos in Himself, being from eternity indistinct with Logos (Logos), but manifesting as He came forth to be the idea and energizing power of all material things. 19

Nor is it surprising that these so-called Monarchians should have found a strong following. God is One. For this monothelitism the prophets had fought and prevailed. But, if God is One, then, though there may be diversity of actions ad extra, 1 Phil. ix. 7. Much capital has been made out of Hippolytus's violent attacks on the orthodox, and, by some, as having been the seed of thesel and of the later ditheism. Perhaps the best commentary on Hippolytus's charges is furnished by the absolute silence of all other writers of the period.

2 Quoted by Athanasius, Epistle in Defence of the Nicene Definition, 26 (PG xxv. 462); J. H. Newman, Athanasius, Oxford Library of the Fathers, 143; i. 45; also Ante-Nicene Fathers, xviii. [1885], 'Tertullian, iii. 383-387, a fragment of an epistle or treatise of Dionysius, bishop of Rome, against the Sabellians; cf. also Dionysius of Alexandria, ad. Sublimem, given in de Elia, Prop. Evangel. viii. 9 (PG x. 1270; Mans, Concilia, i. col. 1011. 3 Novatian, de Trin. xi. xvii., xxv. 4 Thus in ad. Praec. i. (PL ii. 125) he speaks of the angels as being 'members of the Father's own substance,' and in iv. (PL i. 169) of the monarchia as 'committed' by the Father to the Son.

5 Cf. St. Augustine's remark apropos of the re-baptism controversy: 'Quonammodo mituus in illa specie, si non nobis invicta ad plebem concilii bidentantium illustrationem confirmationemque puncto percisset, nisi primum ductus per oris terrarum regiones multa hinc atque haec disputacionis aequi belli episcoporum perfrecta constaret? Hoc antec tantum sanctae docet, ut, cum dicimus omnes obscuri quoniam et, propter inveniendi difficultatem, diversam variis in fraterna dissociatione sententiae, donec ad verum liquet aperire, vobis, quod prior seminaris, in manibus nostris constituenter omnes, et propter voluit errores (de Baptismo c. Donatian. u. iv. (PL xiii. 129); the whole passage is worth reading in this connection).

MONARCHIANISM

there can be no such diversity of notion ad intra as shall imply distinction of Persons. But Christ is One, and He suffered upon the Cross. Therefore the Father suffered! 1 The conclusion seemed 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. 2

The controversy is a rather striking instance to be noted of the advocates of orthodoxy against the orthodox themselves. It was in vain that the latter rejoined: Then, according to your argument, it is the Father who sits at His own right hand! For, while the Noetians and Sabellians insist upon the divinity of the Son and the distinction of Persons, yet there were certain texts which, while maintaining the former, seemed expressly to deny the latter. Thus Praxexis insisted on 'I and the Father are one' (John 10); this it was easy to explain in a monistic sense, as Tertullian does. 3 But it was not so easy to explain 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father:' and I am in the Father, and the Father in me' (John 14). Tertullian treats this passage at considerable length, 4 and it can be truly said that his answer prejudices the retort: Then there are two Gods! 5

It is only when we turn to such an analysis of these passages as is furnished by Athanasius (c.g., or. 30, viii. 15; also Or. 64, lii. 14; Tertullian's treatment: Tertullian, de Præx., viii. 13, xii. 3, xiv. 14) that we realize the distinction between ante- and post-Nicene clearness of expression when handling the questions ventilated by the Noetians and their successors. St. Hilary of Poitiers (c A.D. 396) puts the dilemma clearly:

"If we speak of one God in the singular, excluding the word "Second Person," we thereby approve that mad heresy which says that the Father Himself suffered. If, on the other hand, we admit of number combined with division, then we join hands with the truth, and hold that the God from God, and who says 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; and in the rule which preserves the oneness of substance acknowledges an economy (the Divinity) in the Person."

Both sides, then, claimed to be the sole upholders of a true conception of the Divine monarchy:

"Marcellus and Phoebadius," says Athanasius, "negative Christ's existence before ages, and His Godhead and undying Kingdom upon the distinction of the divine monarchy."

Tertullian states the case in his usual pithy manner:

"We, say they, maintain the monarchy. . . . Yes, but while the world was in darkness they pronounced monothelites, the Greeks refuse to understand economy. . . . for, extolling the monarchy of the One God, they contend for the identity of Father, Son, and Spirit."

And then he puts his finger on the real difficulty that the Noetians had to face:

"Praxexis put to flight the Pamphlete, and he crucified the Father! 5"

Hence the opprobrious nickname for the so-called Monarchians—Patrasians, 6 i.e. those who made 7

Tert., ad Prax., xxxix. (PL ii. 190).

Philo, ix. 5; c. x. 29.

Adv. Prax. xxiii. (PL i. 185).


Athanasius, De Synodo, 26 (PL viii. 781); Newman, Athanasius, i. 114.

Adv. Prax., iii. (PL i. 185), and (ib. 190). Tertullian's use of the term "monothelites" is unique. In the ST it generally refers to the ministry of the Word of God (c.g., i. 1 Co. 970), also to the divine council of the Incarnation of the Individual (ib. 190). And thus it is used by the Greek Fathers of the mystery of the Incarnation (cf. J. C. Snell, Theo. eccl. Amsterdam, 1728, e.c.). But it is essential to the monothelites' view of the relationship of the Three Persons of the Trinity, a measure of which Tertullian takes no notice.

ib. i. (PL i. 100).

Theodore, who himself very little is known. However, St. Athanasius's most prominent, though, if we are to argue from his silence, we could equally well argue from Tertullian's views. He was the leader of the movement, and Noetian, Clemens, and Sabellius. For some of the views of the Sabellian are those which have been held regarding the identity of the deity see Dei, in Praxexis.

Praxexis, Tert., xxxv. 8 (in Joan.); cf. xxxvi. 6, lxv. 2; xlv. 2 (PL iv. 1667, 1672, 1690, 1730); and Origen, Comp. en Ep. de Titum (PL iv. 1504).

the Father suffer in the person of the Son. Mlothasius (c. 312), commenting on Rev 12:8, likes those who gave effect 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 Sabellian, that the Almighty Person of the Father Himself suffered! It is of interest to note how these heresies shaded off into another. Thus Sabellians apparently denied that he was a Patrjjassian; but, in order to do so, he seems to have held that our Lord came into being only on His human birth. The Arius, on the contrary, said 'the Son, being aged in His decree, so it would seem, with the Patrjjassians. Again we note that, whereas Sabellians claimed to rank as a Monarchian, yet the Arius bishops, writing to Alexander, say:

"We do not do as did Sabellians who, dividing the One, speaks of a Son-Father. 9 Thus their ground of complaint against Sabellius was precisely that on which he planned himself on not doing, viz. separating the Divine monarchy. Similarly Athanasius says:

"Sabellians suppose the Son to have no real subsistence, and the Holy Spirit to be non-existent; he charged his opponents with dividing the Godhead. 4 And once more: 'Sabellius, dreading the division invented by Arius, fell into the error which destroys the Personal distinctions."

It must, however, be remembered that no one can at this date say what precisely were Sabellians' 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. 8

How grievous were the ravages were worked by these Monarchian views can be seen by the frequent condemnations of these in the shape of Sabellianism. Thus Pope Innocent I, writing to the council held at Rome in 389 (or 393) 326:

"We anathematize those also who follow the error of Sabellius by saying that the Father is the same as the Son."

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, Phoebadius, and Apollinarians. 8 By the time of the provincial Council of Braga (361) we see these Monarchian principles have verged into Priscillianism and are tainted with Manichaeism. 9 The same comprehensive condemnation was repeated in the Lateran Council of 649 (can. xvii.). 10 Lastly, Eugenius IV. found it necessary to condemn the same article of the canons: 4th Feb. 1414, that the Church condemns Sabellius for confusing the Persons and for thus altogether doing away with the real distinction between them. 11

The subsequent ramifications of the Monarchian tenets do not concern us here. Suffice it to say that they spread very widely, though in forms which varied considerably from those originally set forth. Thus Eusebius mentions that Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, "deserted the orthodox standard," 12 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. 13 This is clearly a derived form of Monarchianism. The most prominent, perhaps, among the later


3 Newman, l. c. 97.

4 Athanasius, e.g., Apoll. i. 21 (PG xvii. 1129) W. Bright, Historical Writings of Athanasius, Oxford, 1881, p. 114.

5 ib. ii. 3 (PG xiv. 1180); Bright, p. 129.

6 ib. iii. 5 (PG xxxvii. 471); Newman, l. c. 529.

7 Mansi, iii. 181, 406.

8 ib. i. 457.

9 ib. vii. 744, can. 1-11.

10 ib. xxxii. 1735.

11 ib. viii. 1, with McLaren's notes.
Monarchians were the Priscillianists. They are of interest by reason of the strange influence which they had on the Latin text of the Gospels—e.g., indirectly on 1 Jn 5.7. To them are due the Monarchian Prologues which have attracted so much attention in later years.

It cannot be denied that the leading Monarchianism is the so-called Adoptianist heresy. But, while it is true that the Adoptianists may be regarded as the legitimate outcome of the Monarchians, yet they approach the question from an entirely different standpoint. Adoptianism is a Christological heresy, whereas Monarchianism, at least to its original form as a Patripassianism, concerns the Father rather than the Son. To embrace the two heresies under one heading is to obscure the issue. See art. ADOPTIANISM.


HUGO POPE.

MONASTICISM.—I. ETYMOLOGY; DEFINITION.—The word 'monasticism' is derived from the Gr. word μοναχός, 'alone,' 'solitary,' from which a whole family of words has been formed: μοναχός and μοναχόςω, 'monasticity'; μοναχία, 'monk' or 'sorority'; μοναχοτάτη, 'the solitary life'; μοναχότος, 'solitary'; μοναχότηρα, 'solitary cell'; μοναχοπαθής, 'ascetic;' μοναχόσωμος, 'monastic;'; μοναχώσμος, 'monasticism'; μοναχισμός, 'monastically'; μοναχιστής, 'monastic.'

In Latin this word has given monachus and its derivatives, monacha, monachetatus, monachar, monachizare, monachismus, monachato, monastitarum, and a few other words.1

1 Interpreting vocabulum monachus, hoc est noenam tonum: quid facies in turbis qui solus est? (Jerome, Ep. xiv. (PL, xvii. 596).) 'Sic est animo cupae, quod diversa, monachos, it est solus, quid facies in urbibus, quae uteque sunt solitaria habitacula sed multorum?' (Ep. lix. (PL, xvi. 533)).

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 absolute isolation—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 kind of life, but in a world 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 religious orders which cannot be regarded as belonging to this category—such, e.g., as the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Jesuits and other clerical regulars. Strictly speaking, the term should be confined to those religious life led by those who, having separated themselves entirely from the world, live in solitude—as, in fact, the etymology of the words 'monk,' 'monastery,' etc., clearly indicates. We shall see below (§ 111) in what the second character of the monk properly so called consists, the special conditions of the monastic life, and its various types. The monks, in fact, form a class apart among those known as the 'religious orders;' they must be distinguished from those that are commonly termed the ' mendicant orders' or 'friars'—e.g., Dominicans, Franciscans, or Carmelites—from the clerks regular, such as the Jesuits, and from other forms of the religious life and religious congregations, e.g., the Redemptorists, Oratorians, Sulpicians, etc. (See art. RELIGIOUS ORDERS.)

At the present day monks are represented in the Catholic Church by the Basilians and other monks of the Byzantine, Cistercian, Camaldolese, Olivetan, Carthusian, 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 an ascetic life; they must, however, after the monastic life properly so called had been instituted, many of these ascetics of both sexes entered the monasteries; hence we find the name 'ascetic' applied sometimes to the monks also (see art. ASCETICISM). The canons regular and the military orders should also be distinguished from the monks, although there were many points of contact between them. We are not, however, concerned with these religious orders as well, and we shall see in what relation these stand to Christian monasticism.

I. Worship of Sarapis.—In recent years it has become the fashion to see in the νομαχοσ—sorcerers who lived in the temples of Sarapis and its 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 usages of these νομαχοσ, but that he himself was a νομαχοσ of Sarapis, before his conversion to Christianity, at the Sarapenum of Chenoboscin. This theory, however, rests on a series of anachronistic hypotheses. Pachomius was never a νομαχοσ. 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—theatific divinity, but of the God of the Christians. Moreover, the analogies that have been drawn between these hieronomoi and the cenobites 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 philo-

sophy, far from influencing Christianity, was itself deeply imbued with Christian ideas (cf. ASCETISM, vol. ii. p. 373)."

2. Orphic communities.—It will be enough to mention the theory of Alexandre Bertrand, who saw in the druids the ancestors of the Christian cnemobites. This theory, which regards the monks not only as the initiates, but as even the legitimate descendants of the communities and brotherhoods of the old Celtic religion, has no solid foundation, and has been unanimously rejected by specialists: hence we need not discuss it in detail. 3

4. Orphic communities.—Orphism, which had so much in common with Pythagoreanism and Platonism, had some of the characteristics of asceticism, some of which resemble those of Christianity. It imposed on the 'pure' and the 'saint' a rigorous system of penances and privations, among which were the practice of vegetarianism and numerous purifications. Although our information regarding these thiasoi, or Orphic societies, is not very extensive, we know that they were not only spread throughout Greece, but were also found in Italy, Africa, Gaul, and the whole of the Western world. Lactantius alludes to these confraternities (de Die. Inst. i. 22 [PL vi. 2214]). There were rites of initiation, mysteries, prayers, hymns, and unbloody sacrifices, which were carried out in the night. But the doctrines and mysteries of Orphism have a very special character of their own and very little in common with those of the Christian religion. 3

5. Buddhist asceticism.—Both Buddhism and Hinduism possess a form of the monastic life: the monastic capital of Tibet (q. v.) is Lhasa, and of the 30,000 inhabitants of this city 10,000 are monks, who are divided among 2,000 monasteries. In the provinces of China there are also monasteries of this kind, which cannot be reckoned. They have the head shaved, and spend their time reciting prayers and performing ceremonies before the statue of Buddha. Many of them condemn themselves to a life of absolute silence, others to complete inactivity. The clergy offer another variety of the life of mortification and renunciation. A. Hildengard and other writers have tried to establish the influence of these institutions on Christian monasticism. But it is easy to show, with the advance of scholarship, that it is the contrary that is true, and that certain practices of Buddhist monasticism owe their inspiration to Christian influence. 4

6. Monasticism among Jews and Muhammadans. (a) Essenes.—The Essenes (q. v.) may be regarded as one of the most striking examples of the monastic life outside of Christianity. Whether they be looked on as a sect, as a tribe, or as a religious community, the Essenes (150 B.C.) offer all the principal characteristics of the monastic life—community of goods, practice 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 source, viz. the Jewish religion.

(b) Therapeutae.—The Therapeutae (q. v.), whose very existence has been disputed, are described by Philo (de Vita Contemplativa) as cenobites, leading a life almost identical with that of the Christian 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 is in their monasteries, vigils, chants carried out by alternate choirs, the practice of fasting and other mortifications—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. 5

(c) Nazirites.—The Nazirites (q. v.) were men who lived an austere life, abstained from wine and all fermented liquors, never cut their hair, avoided touching impure things, and were scrupulously careful 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, 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. 6

(d) Rabbinites.—Some (cf. T. K. Cheyne, EBD iv. 1908, 4019) hold 'a sort of religious order, analogous to the Nazarite' (q. v.) and St. Jerome himself saw in them the precursors of the monks (Ep. 144, ad Publim., 5 [PL xxvi. 589]). But such analogies should not be pressed too far. The Rabbinites were distinguished by certain special observances, such as abstention 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 Essenes such as still exist in these days and observe the customs of their ancestors with such zeal. 7

(e) Muhammadans.—Muhammadanism has given birth to several 'religious orders,' the chief of which are the Qadiri, the Manavi, the Baqtiari, the Rifa'i, etc. The monks are called Derivishes ('poor'); they live together, 20, 30, or 40 at a time, and are taught amongst other things to be neither ascetic nor regular. 8


2. On the Therapeutae and the question of the authenticity of the famous treatise of Philo, cf. Leclercq, in PACL 8 (1863). Since the works of H. Sausselein and F. C. Converse are on the subject, the authenticity of the treatise would seem to be solidly established.


in a monastery under a head (shohkh). The Der-
vishes wear a long robe of coarse stuff. Recep-
tion into their order is preceded by a time of proto-
lact, which lasts sometimes 100 days. As regards their
religious practices, these Muhammadan monks
have prayers, sacred dances, and sometimes pen-
ances, such as the privation of sleep, immobility
(especially after the prayers on the christening of
the Qur'an). Even during the lifetime of Muham-
mad, however, the Sufis gave themselves up to
certain practices of monasticism and lived together
in community (see art. SUFF). Abu Bakr and
Ali, companions of the Prophet, formed, with his
approval, communities of the same kind. Other
orders were founded on the same model in Egypt,
Arabia, Persia, and Turkey. There were no fewer
than 27 monasteries in the island of Crete alone.
One of the most celebrated of Muhammadan
monasteries, that of Konia in Asia Minor, possessed
500 monks.1

III. CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM.—Is Christian
monasticism derived from an order of the
Apostles, or is it an original institution? This is
a question that has often been discussed. On ac-
count of certain undeniable resemblances between
Christian monasticism and the various forms just
described, some writers have been ready to regard
these as the child of the other. But in this
case, as in that of the history of all institutions,
however striking such resemblances may appear
at first sight, they are not sufficient of themselves
to establish a relation of the one to the other. They
are accepted by all serious students of history.
To prove relationship between the institutions
of Christianity and those of other religions, it is
necessary to produce facts clearly demonstrating
the historical precedence of one over the other.
This, however, still remains to be done. We shall
therefore regard Christian monasticism as a plant
that has grown up on Christian soil, nourished
exclusively on the principles of Christianity. This
seems to be the only theory that can safely be main-
tained.2

1. PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS.—Christian
monasticism possesses certain characteristics all
of which are not equally essential, but which, never-
theless, when taken together, are necessary to
constitute a monk.

2. Poverty, chastity, humility, and obedience.—
The first monks, after the example of the Christian
ascetics, practised poverty, chastity, and humility—
virtues which, along with obedience, soon came
to be regarded as essential to the monastic life.
In order to carry out the evangelical counsels and
to imitate the life led by Christ Himself and, after
Him, by the apostles and first disciples, it was
necessary to give oneself up to these virtues:

- Beati pauperes spiritu! (Mt 5:7): ‘for perfect us, you, vende quae habes, et da pauperibus’ (Mt 19:2); ‘non potestis Deum servire, et attemperatis ad mundanum usum, nee solliciti sint animae vestrae quid manducetis, neque corpori vestro quid infundantis,’ etc. (Mt 16:24).
- ‘Saum cumqui qui sciscam, castravertam poplerum coenobium, qui poterit capit, capit’ (Mt 16:19). Cfr. St. Paul (Co 75, 235). ‘Si quis vult post me venire, abneget secatem-
ism, et tollat crucem sua, et secatan rem’ (Co 16:14, 19).8

3. The first monks, like the ascetics before them,
took these words of the gospel literally and aban-
doned all that they had in order to live in poverty
and by the labour of their hands. They practised
chastity under the form of complete celibacy and
perfect continence. The practice of obedience
consisted in following in the footsteps of Jesus
Christ, recognizing Him as their Master, and in
submission to those who represent Him here below.
In the case of existing, and so-called ‘authentic’
monastics, the result of their very life itself.

4. Poverty, however, was not the only virtue
accepted by the early monks; and, as soon
as monastic customs began to be drawn up and
codified, we find severe laws laid down to ensure
their practice.

2. Mortification (fasting, etc.)—Along with
these virtues which either exist 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 pleasures of sense (chastity,
celibacy, fasting, etc.); work, silence, prayer even,
may all be considered forms of mortification. As
in all schools of asceticism (Neo-Platonic, Buddhist,
etc.), fasting is considered one of the essential
practices of all, to make the monks, as one of the
most efficacious of all the offications of mortification.
The history of the early solitaries tells of intrepid
faster 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
‘Hebdomadarii’ was common.9 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 such, and cannot be passed over in silence. There were,
first of all, the Stylistes and the Dendraite, who
condemned themselves to perpetual immobility,
the former on their columns, the latter on the
branch of a tree. Then there were the sequestered,
or ‘Browsers,’ mentioned by Sozomen. These
were solitary of Mesopotamia, and were so called
because they lived on grass like cattle. Others,
again, chained themselves to a rock, or bound on
their shoulders a species of camel, or yoke.
Sozomen also speaks of a Syrian monk who ab-
stained from eating bread during eighty years.2
All these are exceptional cases, and are even
regarded by some as mere errors or vices incorpo-
ration in the practices of the frigas of India. It
should be noted carefully that the monastic Rules not only
never prescribe such feats of strength, but even
condemn them.4

1 E. Amélineau, Monastères publiés par les membres de la
mission archéologique française en Crée, iv. i. 1888, 334-336.
2 C. F. Cabrol, Etude sur la Perseanagie de la Catalogue de
Jerusalem, i. la discipline et la blamare au IV siècle, Paris,
1895, p. 135.
3 See, H. E. ci v. 31 (1. CV. 1307); c. C. Chéron-
Guechans, ‘L’slabit de pain dans les rites syrien, palest
et chretien,’ in Revue d’archéologie orientale, ii. 1898, 84;
4 C. Leclercq, L. DACL i. 2. 3141.

1827.
9. It should be remarked that this is the conclusion now
reached by writers of very different opinions, such as Jérôme, L’Ordre
monastique, Lecerco, loc. cit., Guizmarcher, loc. cit., and
Worms, The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal, p. 80. An
exception must be made, as we have already pointed out, for
certain Jewish institutions, since between Jews and Christians
many principles and religious ideas are held in common.
MONASTICISM

3. Work.—Certain fanatics, such as the Mes- sianists or Eleuchites (q.v.), maintained that the life of a monk should be entirely given up to prayer and to that condition of life which they called the monastic state. This tendency was early re-

proved by the Church: all monastic founders or legislators realized the danger of such exaggerations; and one and all signalized the vice of idleness as the one most to be dreaded in the monastic life. St. Augustine, in his treatise de Labore Mon-

achorum, condemns this error, and shows the real necessity of work for those who follow the monastic vocation. Already in the East, during the 4th century, 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 mortification in addition to all the mortifications already forming part of their existence, and especially the avoidance of idleness. The precedent of their work were usually handed over by the monks of the poor or to the prisoners, or else they served to sustain the community itself (Cassian, de Conventualibus institutis, x. 22 [PL. xliii. 388 f.]). In the case of the monks of the monastery, the work was carried out in such an 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 were, far from the towns and centres of worldly activity, they were obliged to provide for themselves, and, besides cultivating the soil, the monks had to give themselves to the exercise of the various trades necessary for their wants—e.g., baking, carpentry, weaving, etc. In addition to the arts of drawing and 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 of the writings of the Church Fathers. In the West the monastic curriculum underwent a great development. More and more time was given to intellectual work. The copying of ancient MSS in the scriptorium of the monastery became one of the principal occupations of the monks. This was due to the 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 works of art of which we are now among the most precious possessions of the libraries of Europe.2

(c) External work; the secular ministry.—The monks, especially in the East, retired from the world into solitude, there to lead lives of prayer and labour apart from all intercourse with it. They took part in the external ministry of the Church only on rare occasions and by force of special circumstances. A number of monasteries, however, received 'oblates,' i.e. children conse-


2 Cf. art. 'Bibliographie,' in DBCL.

created 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 were probably taught and 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 had, in fact, a large part in bringing about the conversion of Europe.

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: 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.4

5. Silence.—Silence, recommended by philo-

sophers as a necessary condition for meditation or intellectual research, was one of the practices most rigorously enforced in the monastic life. In the case of the hermit this monastic silence was practically absolute, and rare was the occasion on which they could indulge in conversation. They did, however, occasionally visit one another, and sometimes returned to their monas-

teries for a certain length of time.

The monks’ silent contemplation was naturally of more frequent occurrence, but severe regulations were established on this point in the greater number of monasteries.

6. Solitude.—Solitude, as in the case of silence, was interpreted a narrow or less wide sense. For the anchorites, hermits, and Styliites, living in their caves, in their tombs, or on their pillars, solitude was absolute and complete. For the cenobi-

tes 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 part of the monastic cur-

riculum; and 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 excised 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. Cassarius of Arles imposes it in his Rule, and also St. Benedict.5


3 A. Malroy, Saint Cassien, évêque d’Arles, Paris, 1891, pp. 10-12; Regina Sancti Benedicti, cap. viii.


For the temporal W., central at 'Opot 141). The hermits and anchorites lived separate and alone in the desert; hence they were their own masters. It often happened, however, that the hermit, sensible of the dangers resulting from this independence, would submit himself to the direction of his superiors or of the bishop or father. Sometimes colonies of hermits were formed under the direction of a head, to whom the others rendered obedience. Again, we find hermits living near a monastery of cenobites, to which the hermit owed obedience, but who adapted himself to his spiritual father. Sometimes colonies of hermits were formed generally on Saturday and Sunday and on feast-days. With regard to the monastic hierarchy and the organization of authority among the cenobites, great variation is to be observed in primitive ages. Generally, 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. Benedict that the idea of grouping monasteries under a central authority was actually realized. For example, St. Basil in his Rule, which was the law everywhere in the East, contented 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. Hilairion, e.g., were the spiritual and temporal heads of the communities founded them, and unity a rule, very generally maintained by visiting the various houses subject to them (Vita S. Hilairionis, ch. iii.).

Nevertheless, even in the early age of monasticism, we have instances of the attempt to group certain communities together under a central authority. Pachomius, e.g., formed his monasteries into a real 'congregation.' He visited each house in turn; he assembled the superiors together four times a year in what closely resembled the general chapters of later days. In these assem-
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St. Columban, his Penitentiary, and that of St. Columba, are the only ones the authentic character of which is really established. At an early date collections were made of all these monastic rules 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 practice of a life of mortification. The habit of St. Benedict was no special costume for monks. The monastic life may be divided into various classes.

1. Hermits.—The hermits (ermittes, from ἐρμίτης, 'desert') lived in solitude in the desert; St. John the Baptist, and later St. Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony, were the first of these.

2. Anachorites or anchorites (ἀνακόρητος, from ἀνακόρησις, 'retreat').—This title is synonymous with the first, and indicates those monks who were most puritanical, and who practised the strictest discipline of life and mortification of the flesh. The anchorite was the most ancient form of the monastic life; it spread, first of all, in Egypt, then in Palestine and Syria, through the whole of the Eastern world, and, finally, in the West. In course of time the Camaldolese, Carthusians, Norbertines of St. Augustine, and certain other institutions of like character arose. These may be grouped under the class of anchorites or hermits, since they have preserved, along with the cenobitic element in their life, many of the characteristics of the eremitical state.

3. Recluses and Styliites. — With the hermits and anchorites must be classed the recluse and Styliites, who, on account of their relatively small number, may be regarded as exceptional cases. The former lived enclosed in cells, sometimes completely walled up and communicating with the exterior only by means of a small window. The latter, who are found almost exclusively in the East, lived on a pillar, more or less elevated from the ground.

4. Dendrites. — The Dendrites (from δέντρον, 'tree') lived in trees.

5. Cenobites (from κοινὸς, '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 excellency 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, and his preference is shared by St. Benedict. It is undeniable that in early days the eremitical life had the greater number of adherents; but in course of time it declined, even in the East, while in the West, it cannot be said ever to have existed except as an exceptional state of things. After the 16th cent. it almost completely died out.

6. Sarabaite and Gyrovagi, or Circumlocitions.—Among the other monastic types, ancient authors draw attention to the Sarabaite and the Gyrovagi, who were regarded as an evil kind of monk. The first, mentioned by St. Jerome under their Syriac name of 'Remoloth' (Ep. xxii. 34 (PL xxxii. 419)), lived together in twos and threes in a monastery, in order to live a life without

"pedules et collapse," which seem to have been a kind of stocking, or sock, and sandals. Archaeologists have disputed at length as to the exact meaning of these terms and also regarding the number of the monastic rule.


The most celebrated of all collections is that made by St. Benedict of Aniane (521), entitled Concordia Ecclesiastica Regulorum Monasticarum, which is often printed with other prelates. It is edited by F. Bernèche, in迅速的 Illustratio, xxivii. (1901) 757 f. For other attempts of this kind see J. Thellius, Abend Lire, xiii. 85 (1889); and W. Knoblocher, in D.L.C.L. iv. 418. For recent dates see: Holtz, Codex Regularum Monasticorum et Canonistarum, ii. (1920). For a general survey, see: H. Faber, "Habitus clero-regularis, etc. suas uxorii, simpliciorum et obru, credits historici illustratae," Augsburg, 1754 (PL ciij. 390-760).


2 Cf. Holthausen, i. 43.


4 Cf. Synod of Vannes, 445; canon 7; Synod of Aggle, 506, canon 8; ii. 4; see, Vézelay, 1753-59, vii. 404, viii. 831.
either rule or law, following no other rule than that of their own will or caprice. The Gwyragas of Circene (Egadonnis, lagaedonnis) went from monast-
ery 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 the chains, allowed their hair and beards to grow neglected and untrimmed, went bare-toed, and wore a black cloak (Leclercq, in DACL ii. 3218).

2. Apoapses (from ἀποσαέτης, to 'renounce'; cf. Lk 15)—These formed a class intermediately between the earlier ascetics and the monks properly so called. They were found in Jerusalem, in the East, and in Asia Minor. Some of them followed the example of the Gwyragas, and spent their time 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 greater number of the characteristics of which we have already spoken as belonging to the essence of the monastic life are found among the ascetics—poverty, renunciation of the world, fasting, silence, prayer, etc. The ascetics were, in fact, simply monks living in the world.

Asceticism and cenobitism are inseparable. Asceticism is an individual phenomenon, cenobitism 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 first monks were ascetics living retired from the world in the desert.

This is not the place to enter upon a detailed history of these Christian ascetics (sec art. ASCETICISM). But it may be remarked, in passing, that Christian asceticism, while recognizing among some of the prophets and just men of the Old Law (such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and John the Baptist) its ancestors or forerunners, claims, above all, as its source and foundation the doctrine of Jesus Christ, as brought to light by the union of all its consorts. Not to mention texts occurring in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers—in those, e.g., of Tertullian, Origen, and Clement of Alexandria, whose 'true Gnosticism' offers many characteristics of asceticism (a latter document that will give assistance in arriving at a knowledge of this movement precursor of monasticism, especially the Eustathes of pseudo-Clement. 'To Virginis' and the work of pseudo-Cyprian, de Singulare Uxoriorum).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 For these different kinds of monks cf. Cassian, Collationes, xvii. ib. i. (PL lxxix, 1601), and Institutiones, iv. 30, with the art. A. Goyau (L. S. Encycl.) Regula Magistri, 1.; St. Jerome, Ep. xxiii. 2; Enostochios (PL xliv, 1941); St. Augustine, de Operne Monach. 29 (PL xxxi, 2321).

2 Cf. art. 'Apopatikes, Apotaxamines,' in DACL ii. 1904; Cullm., Etudes sur la Pecrrixoria Silica, p. 130 ff.


Lover Egypt, and was the father of monasticism in Nitria. 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 functions for the community. According to the Liturgical History, there were 800 monks in the district of Nitria. These figures were carefully excluded, each monk being obliged to provide for himself by his own labour. In the evening psalms and hymns were chanted. The discipline of the life was very strict. Ammonius died before 336. His disciples continued his traditions in Nitria. The theological works of Origen were studied there, and the 'tall brothers,' Ammonius, Dioscorus, Eusachus, and Euthymius, who made such a disturbance in the religious world later on, belonged to this monastic family.  

About six miles to the south of the mountain of Nitria was the Desert of Scete, where another colony of hermits was established. The brethren observed perpetual silence; as at Nitria, they assembled in church for the offices only on Saturdays and Sundays. Their cells were either mere caverns in the rocks or else wattled cabins. Macarius the Greater (383 or 387) was the first of these hermits. He has left behind him among the Apophthegmata a series of remarkable maxims.  

B. He was through the influence of Apophthegmata a series of remarkable maxims. The Desert of Scete still preserves the ruins of these ancient monasteries, one of which, known as the monastery of St. Macarius, is inhabited by a few Coptic monks.  

Besides Nitria and Scete, the whole of Egypt was strewn with monasteries—the Thebaid, Lyco-polis, Kopres, Oxyrhynchu (where there were to be found, it is said, 10,000 monks and 20,000 nuns), and Arsinoe, where there were also 10,000 monks (Hist. Lau. 5. 18).  

In Upper Egypt the name of Pachomius attracted special attention. He was instructed in the monastic life by a venerable hermit named Paumen and, established himself at Tabenna (Tabennisi)—a name that was to remain famous in monastic history.  

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While speaking of Pachomius, we must not omit to mention one of his disciples named Schenodi of Atrire, whose history has been revealed recently through Coptic MSS, and who, although he did not outlive the period of the Desert of Scete, played an important part in the history of the monastic life. 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. Schenodi 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 spread as far as the Sinaitic peninsula, on which there were later several flourishing monasteries. St. Nilus the Sinaitic (+ 430) and St. John Chrysostom were its shining lights, and may be regarded as the great doctors of the ascetic life. The Apocalypse of Peter, dating from the third century, contains long disquisition regarding the monasteries of Sinai (see below, 3. i. (d)).  

(c) Palestine. The monastic foundations of Palestine were less illustrious. It will suffice to quote the names of Hilary of Gaza, a disciple of St. Anthony of Egypt, and especially those of Melania the Elder at the Mount of Olives, Paula, and St. Jerome. This region of monasticism made considerable headway. The number of monasteries and lauras rose to 100, and many of these religious houses in the quarrels between Origenism, Entychianism, Monotheletism, and Iconoclasm was very important. It would be impossible to give here even a resume of this history; we must content ourselves with calling attention to a few points below, and also to the attempt at a classification of some of the Palestinian monasteries in Leclercq, Dict. ill. 3165-3175. It was only with the Arab invasion of Palestine that the progress of these monasteries was cut off for the time being.

(d) Syria. Syria became at an early period a land 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 practice of asceticism. It seems, however, to be regarded as an early phase of monasticism—or whether, on the other hand, it was an importation from without. The latter opinion seems to be the more likely. The Syrian life of Mark-Arios has, however, become a generally recognized standard, and, especially under the Syrian patriarch John of Jerusalem, it rose to the highest pitch of asceticism.

At Edessa, where we have Julian regarded as the founder of monastic life in that country, and especially Ephraim the Syrian, a contemporary of St. Basil. He lived many years as a hermit, then went to study monastic tradition.

With regard to Schenodi see Aramian, Monastikus palaios par la mission arabe, au Caire, iv. (1855-57), i.; L. Leopold, Schenoni von Atiree und die Entstehung des national-syrischen Christentums (TU), Leipzig, 1903; Lastein, Erinnerungen, ed. by, Dr. Galland, Eichstätt, 1904; W. Renard, Schenoni, Paris, 1903; Leclercq, in Dict. ill. 3164 ff.


2. We refer to J. H. Connolly, Anaphrases and Monasticism, in JTSAm, vii. (1904-5) 522-539; F. E. Burdett, Anaphrases and Monasticism, in Tr. Soc. Ant. 1925, iv. (1926-7) passim.


tions under the guidance of St. Basil, and perhaps visited Egypt also, II. He was connected with 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 the end of the 3rd cent. and in the 4th, and in the 5th the Desert of Chalcis was known as the Thebaid of Syria, and there St. Jerome lived as a hermit from 373 to 380. In the 5th cent. the first of the Stylites, St. Simeon, makes his appearance in the north of Syria. Simon, Hist. Eccl., 2d (PG Lxxxiv. 1440 f.). This strange form of monastic life survived as late as the 15th century.

(3) Asia Minor.—In Asia Minor in the 2nd cent. Montanism (q.v.) had appeared—a movement in the direction of spirituality and asceticism. The Cappadocians and Pseudo-Syrians, who were the principal bearers of this movement, were finally condemned, but revived during the Middle Ages in the sects of the Paulicians and Bogomils.

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 been 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. 785). The Rule of St. Basil has been used in the East to the present day. It does not enter into details, but lays down in general the virtues and duties of the monastic state. The monk is the perfect Christian; the ascetic life does not consist merely in carrying out ascetic acts, but in forming 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 completes, elevates, and purifies the wisdom of the ancients. In the ascetics lies the education of the children under the ascetic teaching, and was recommended and encouraged. The public prayer of the community was already organized, and we find the various Hours of Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, and the Liturgy of the Hours (monasteries) established, and it is still used in the monasteries. Under the various governments and dynasties that succeeded one another in the East—the Comneni, the Palaeologian, and the Turks themselves, and the hospitallers of Wallachia—the liberty of the monks of Mt. Athos was respected. Painting, architecture, and calligraphy were cultivated with success, and their libraries contain MSS of the highest value.

(4) Cyprus.—According to St. Jerome, monasticism was brought to the island of Cyprus by Hilarion, St. Epiphanius, who had himself been a monk in Palestine, defended the monks with ardour.

(5) 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, however, were admitted only with reserve. It was not till the end of the 4th and especially during the course of the 5th cent. that monasticism began its development at Constantinople. In the reign of Pulcheria there were fewer hermit monasteries at Constantinople, and the emperor legislated for the monastic life as for other institutions of the empire. The Accedentes and the Studites deserve 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. John Damascene and Theodore the Studite recall the long strife maintained by the monks on the question of the iconoclasts.

(i) Mount Athos.—From the 9th, but especially during the 10th cent., the peninsula of Mt. Athos, in the Egean Sea, became a monastic centre of the highest importance, and formed a kind of monastic republic. Salt being 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 resist attacks, and the cenobitic life has been maintained there up 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 in 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 Iviron, Vatopedi, Karyopateis, Ephpharmon, Doxidarein, Agia 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 Stavronikita, founded in 1842. A number of smaller houses and simple hermit cells are still maintained upon these foundations. The Rule followed is that of St. Basil. The monasteries form a kind of confederation or little republic, which is represented by 29 members, constituting at once a parliament and a tribunal under the foundation. A chapter of whom the title of ηγεμόνας. In each monastery the ηγεμόνας enjoys supreme authority. In the 14th cent. the idiomorphism of form of life (ιδιομορφία) was introduced, in accordance with which, in certain of the monasteries, the monks possess their money of their own and enjoy a number of dispensations. Autonomous 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 Comneni, the Palaeologian, and the Turks themselves, and the hospitallers of Wallachia—the liberty of the monks of Mt. Athos was respected. Painting, architecture, and calligraphy were cultivated with success, and their libraries contain MSS of the highest value.


Cl. Marin and Pargolle, loc. cit., 1415.


4 V. Langlois, Le Mont Athos et ses monastères, Paris, 1867; W. Gauss, Zur Gesch. der Athos-Kloster, Giessen, 1865; A. Biler, Athos: la Monastère de la Grèce, London, 1868; Le Mont Athos, Paris, 1889; Porphyrus Unspacu, Hist. of
iii. MONASTICISM IN THE WEST.—I. Before St. Benedict.—(1) Rome and Italy.—It has been remarked, and with justice, that while, in the ingenuity of the Fathers, a certain made of all the various degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy—even down to that of foresor—no allusion has ever been found to ascetic, anchorite, cenobite, monk, or nun. The existence at Rome of monks, of the sort of virgins, and of monasteries at this period cannot, however, be denied. We leave on one side the legend of Boniface and Aglae, which is, moreover, of Eastern origin.2 Constantia, daughter of Constantine, gathered together a company of St. Anthony's virgins. It was in a Roman monastery also that St. Marcellina, sister of St. Ambrose, consecrated herself to God (352-366).2 Pammachius, another Roman patrician, along with Fabiola, lived the ascetic life in a monastery. He was made proselyte even from among the highest society of Rome, and Marcella, daughter of the woman, also, with Melanchus the Eleutherian, devoted herself to the life. A community of ascetics and cenobites was founded on the Aventine, from which that of Sophronia, Asella, Paulina, and Fabiola. The favour shown towards these monastic establishments by Pope Damascus, and, in particular, the arrival in Rome of St. Jerome, who became the spiritual father of the community on the Aventine, greatly accentuated the movement.3 The attempt made by Vigilantius, Bishop of Aquileia, to found a monastery had no other result than that of starting a controversy with St. Jerome, from which Vigilantius came forth utterly crushed and humiliated (c. 355).4

In the rest of Italy the progress of monasticism was scarcely less rapid than in the metropolis of the middle of the 4th cent. Eusebius of Vercelli, t.i. then exiled in Egypt, returned to his church (in 363) 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, whileermen, under the bishop, Vincent (407-422), Novara, under the bishop Gandentius (397-417), Bologna, Ravena, under St. Peter Chrysologus, the Avia, under the bishop Eulogius, and Turin, under the bishop Victor, all, in the interest of the monastic movement.

In S. Italy, besides Nola with its illustrious bishop, St. Paulinus, we find monasteries at Naples, at Capua, and in Etruria, Sabinia, Umbria, Picenum, at Tusculum, Monte Calvo, Funici, on the banks of Lake Fusine, on the islands off the Mediterranean coast of Italy, Gorgona, Capraja, Sardinia, and the Isle of CabiU (near Torrechim.).6 It would be difficult to draw up even a simple catalogue of these monasteries, so numerous were they.

Cassiodorus (c. 570) was contemporary with St. Benedict. It has even been conjectured that his Rule was borrowed from the latter, but this is no longer possible, as拱old rule 6 it is now 6 at all is of the minister of Theodore, on his property of Vivarium, gave the example of a monastery where the ascetic practices of the monastic life were allied with a high degree of intellectual culture. While, on the abbot of Montecassino, the monks gave themselves up to their solitary vocation, in the monastery built at the foot of the mountain the cenobites spent their time in the diligent copying of MSS.

(2) Gaul.—Monasticism, which was to play so considerable a part in Gaul, was established there at an early date (2nd half of the 4th cent.) and with great éclat by St. Martin of Tours. At first it took the eremitical form. The disciples of St. Martin lived as hermits, meeting for exercises in common only on certain occasions. The first monastery founded in Gaul was that of Ligugé, in 590. There were, besides, Marmoutier (Martin-Monasterium, near Mantes), a cell of the Eleutherian. For other houses, we read that 2000 monks were present at the obsequies of St. Martin.2 St. Martin wrote no Rule for his monks, and the latter seem simply to have followed the general practices of his predecessors. The disciples applied themselves in company with their master to the work of the apostolate. This would explain why this first attempt at monasticism in Gaul did not leave any lasting traces behind it.

We find, about the same date, by which there were monks at Romen, in the Morinie (Boulognais, Artois, W. Flanders), in the forests, along the seacoast, and even in the islands of the coasts.4

St. Sulphicus Severus, the historian of St. Martin, established a community of ascetics in his villa of l'imliniacum.5 Gregory of Tours († 594) gives in his work most valuable information regarding the monastic movement in Gaul in the 5th and 6th centuries. The greater number of the monks whose lives he wrote St. Martin and their Charismatic spirit, are still largely under the influence of the teaching of St. Martin.

The most interesting of all these experiments in the monastic life at this period is the foundation of the celebrated Monte Cassino, on a spot that name the coast of the Mediterranean near Campania. Monastic life, inaugurated there towards the year 410 by St. Honoratus, is to continue through many long centuries, almost without interruption, to our own day. It was at the beginning a mingling of the eremitic and cenobitic elements. Both manual and intellectual work were held in honour, and great was the influence exerted by the monks of Lérins throughout the Middle Ages.6 It will be seen, however, that this earlier

5. Maloney, op. cit.
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. 736), and, it may be said, in the whole of the West. He founded the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, which became renowned, and other monasteries also.

St. Cassian, bishop of Arles, must also be regarded as one of the principal monastic legislators at this date. We can only mention the monasteries founded by Leonian in the diocese of Vienne, by St. Theodulph in Isère, in the Isle Bara (St. Claudius), and at St. Maurice of Aganae, and by SS. Romanus and Lupicius in the Jur. (c) Britain, Ireland, the Celts.—The monastic life was established fairly early among the Celts and Anglo-Saxons, and underwent an extraordinary development among them. Its introduction into Great Britain was due to St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, who came to the island c. 429 to restore ecclesiastical discipline. In Wales Llan Llydaw, Llanecavan, Ti-Gwen, and Bangor soon became renowned. Some of the monks from these monasteries—St. Gildas, St. Lunain, St. Paul Aurelian, and St. Samson—established the monastic the Rule of Cassian, in which it made a great advance. 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. Another saint whose name 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 was worked entirely by the principles and traditions of Irish monasticism, spread rapidly in Gaul and disputed for a time the predominance of that of St. Benedict.

(d) Spain.—In Spain the beginnings of the monastic life are somewhat obscure. The Council of Elvira (c. 300) makes no allusion whatever to ascetics or virgins. The Peregrinatio Eutherie belongs to the last quarter of the 4th century. It is the account of her journeying in the East and her return to the Holy Places, sent to her nuns in Spain by a Spanish virgin named Euthynia, or Egeria, who was, in all probability, abbess of the community to which she writes. We find further traces of the ascetic and monastic life among the Priscillians and the Fructuosians. The Priscillian gave himself as an example of asceticism (see art. PRISCILLIANISM). It has recently been shown that the Regula Conscasia Monachorum, attributed at first to St. Augustine, then to a contemporary of St. Fructuosus, probably comes from a Priscillian source, in the 4th century. It is a Rule for cenobites, original in character.

The Rule of St. Isidore (+ 636) and that of St. Fructuosus of Braga (c. 600) also deserve mention. They enjoyed considerable success until the advent of the Rule of St. Benedict in Spain, which became there, as in almost the whole of the Western world, the only Rule for monks.

Vigilantius, who represents the element hostile to the monks and ascetics, was a priest at Barcelona in 296. During the year 409 the invasions in Spain, as everywhere else, resulted in the destruction of the monasteries. Mention of this is to be found in the chronicles of the period.

The Council of Tarragona, in 316, turned its attention to the monks. St. Martin, abbot of Dunio near Braga, who is known as St. Martin of Braga, and who had been a monk in Palestine and played so important a part in the history of the conversion of the Visigoths (587) and of that of the Arab invasion (711), took certain monks and hermits—the African Donatus, who, along with 70 monks, also from Africa, took refuge in the monastery of Servatianum, in the province of Valencia; St. Emilian, who enjoyed a wide-spread cultus in Spain; the hermit, Valerian, in the neighbourhood of Astorga, etc. (e) Africa.—In Africa the first monastic centre seems to have been formed around the person of St. Augustine. This saint had studied the monastic life both in Rome and in Milan, and, on his return to Tagaste, and installed himself with some of his friends in a house, where they gave themselves to the practices of asceticism. Ordained priest, he founded a second monastery at Hippo, where he lived himself till he died in 430. He then transformed his episcopal dwelling into a monastery like those of the bishop 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, and Hadrumetum, Uzala, Calahue, Cirta, Milev, and Carthage became real centres of monastic life. The *Regula pro monachis attributed to St. Benedict* (c. 520) was revised by him in 525, as we have already said, but it is drawn from his letter (excli.) 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.1 We have already spoken of his famous treatise, *De Opere Monachorum*, composed in the year 497.

The Vandals persecution was unable to destroy all these monasteries, but it arrested for the time the progress of monasticism in Africa. Byzantine rule (523-799) restored peace and liberty, and a true enthusiasm of religion took place, in which monasticism naturally benefited. Several new monasteries were founded, notably at Raspe and at Tebessa. The raids of the latter still exist.2 But the Muhammadan invasion was to destroy monastic life in Roman Africa as well as Christian life in general. (f) On the Danube, in the region of Noricum, we have to mention the wonderful work among those people of St. Severinus (481-520), called the *apostle of Noricum.*

2. From St. Benedict to the 13th Century.—St. Benedict, born at Nursia (c. 480), died at Monte Cassino (c. 540), deserves a place apart in the history of Western monasticism. The influence exercised by his Rule may be compared to that of St. Basil in the East. Having dwelt, at first, as a hermit among the Sabine mountains, he later gathered disciples round him, founded monasteries at Subiaco and Monte Cassino, and wrote a Rule which, after the lapse of two centuries, 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.4 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 that of practice of the Rule is the principal function of the monks. It regulates the hours for prayer and 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 organs. The abbot, elected for life by his provost, or prior, and his seniors, while at the head of every 10 monks is the dean. Then there are the cellarer, who is charged with the temporal affairs of the monastery, and the various other officials that divide between them the different functions necessary to the well-being of the house. The monastery should, as far as possible, provide for itself and possess a garden, a mill, and all the necessary offices and work-shops. The sick, too, are to be specially taken care of, and the monks and the *obediens* receive necessary instruction. Those who offend against the Rule must receive punishment according to their deserts.5 Such is, in summary, the Rule of St. Benedict—a Rule characterized by great simplicity, but in which is clearly reflected that spirit of wise discretion and justice which was the genius of the Roman character, while at the same time it is penetrated 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 popes 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 pre-eminence over all other monastic Rules. He himself founded a monastery in his own house (the Monastery of St. Andrew, on the Cellean), in which the Rule of St. Benedict was observed, and sent to England one of its monks, his disciple St. Augustine, who, while commencing the work of converting the Anglo-Saxons, at the same time implanted in their midst that Rule which was destined to take such firm root there and to spread far and wide over the West.

(a) England.—The Christianity established by St. Augustine among the Anglo-Saxons was thoroughly monastic in character. In the greater number of towns—e.g., at Canterbury, York, London, Ripon—may be compared to that of St. Basil in the East. Having dwelt, at first, as a hermit among the Sabine mountains, he later gathered disciples round him, founded monasteries at Subiaco and Monte Cassino, and wrote a Rule which, after the lapse of two centuries, 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.4 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 that of practice of the Rule is the principal function of the monks. It regulates the hours for prayer and 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 organs. The abbot, elected for life by his provost, or prior, and his seniors, while at the head of every 10 monks is the dean. Then there are the cellarer, who is charged with the temporal affairs of the monastery, and the various other officials that divide between them the different functions necessary to the well-being of the house. The monastery should, as far as possible, provide for itself and possess a garden, a mill, and...
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.1

(b) France.—However great the success of the Benedictines in England, St. Benedict, be it said with truth, if its history be regarded as a whole, that France was the land of its predilection. The story of the Rule of St. Benedict being brought to Merovingian Gaul by his disciple, St. Maurus, and of the latter’s foundation of the abbey of Glas on the banks of the Loire as the first Benedictine monastery in that country, has been contested.2 Whatever the truth of this question may be, 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 St. Columban and in imposing its authority on all the monasteries. A synod held at Autun, in 679, speaks of it as though it were the only monastic Rule in existence, and that of Châlons, in 813, declares formally that it is followed in almost all the monasteries of the country.3 The movement attained its apex under Charlemagne, the great protector of Benedictine Rule in France, and under his son, Louis le Débonnaire. The reform of St. Benedict of Aniane witnesses at once to the unity and to the vitality of Benedictine life.

It is again in France that we must seek the original and important mission 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 Burgundy, in 910, and the 7 monks were brought from the abbey of Baune, where the Constitutions of St. Benedict of Aniane were followed; hence the Cluniac reform sprang from that of the 9th century. Its first abbeys, B经开区, Odo, Mayeul, 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, and a part of the 13th centuries it exercised an unrivaled influence on Christian morals and institutions. From the political and religious points of view, it offered to the popes valuable and indispensable assistance in their struggle against the emperors, and the latter, as well as the kings of France, were obliged, more than once, to reckon with 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, Uzercues, St. Jean d’Angely, St. Bertin, St. Germain d’Auxerre, and Vézelay in France, and Cava, Paris, and St. Paolo inafi 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 1008, 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. While Cluny, although careful to retain faithful to the spirit of Benedict, was largely devoted to the liberal arts, and of letters, and had exercised considerable influence on the external world, Citeaux, under the inspiration especially of St. Bernard, returned to an anarerer conception of the monastic life. All monotiousness and solemnity, even in the liturgical offices, were proscribed, monastic architecture was reduced to its simplest expression, and intellectual and artistic culture was set on one side, manual labour and the exercise of every kind of hard work taking its place.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. The Cistercians, however, even in their most famous monasteries, did not follow the rules of Cluny, where the members were subject to the abbot, and only to him.

(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. Firmian 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, bishop of Cologne. During the 8th and 9th centuries the Celtic monks of St. Columban came into Germany and founded a number of monasteries. Among these we may mention St. Gall, Ebersmünster, Moyen-Montier, St. Odile, Honan (Onogia), and Aschaffenburg, not to speak of those at Strasbourg, Mainz, Cologne, Ratisbon, Würzburg, Erfurt, and Heggbach.6

In 1185 all the Scottish monasteries of Germany were united to form a congregation, under the jurisdiction of the abbot of St. James of Rathbon, by Innocent III. Gradually the numbers of Scotch-Irish monks that were at first continually coming into Germany began to diminish, and by the 15th cent., they were replaced, in most of the monasteries, by Germans of German and French extraction. The monastery of Bursfeld and becoming one with it. Mention, however, is made in the 17th cent. of a Scottish abbot, Ogilvie by name (1746).

Reichenau on Lake Constance began, in the 8th and 9th centuries, to form a great monastic community, under the direction of St. Gall, and called the Benedictine Rule. The story of the monastery led by entering the 11th cent., and the result of Bursfeld and becoming one with it. Mention, however, is made in the 9th cent. of a Scottish abbot, Ogilvie by name (1046).


2 La Trappe is the most important of the foundations of the 13th cent. in Germany, and succeeded in being established in the 17th cent. of a Scottish abbot, Ogilvie by name (1746).


5 Haneck, B. 727; Heinbrecher, l. 526.

mention in this connexion is the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle in 922, famous for the legislation which it issued concerning monks. In 924, at Tassilo, no fewer than 29 cloisters were founded, some of which have left a name behind them in history—e.g., Tegernsee, Benedictkloster, Polling, Wessobrunn, Kremsmünster, Scharnitz, and Medingen.

Charlemagne and Louis the Pious were the great protectors of the Benedictine monks. At their courts were to be seen Alcuin, Adalhard, Wala, Angilram, Arn, Ansegis, Paul de Deacon, and, above all, Abbot of Aniane, the greatest monastic reformer. The Cluniac reform found its way also to Germany, where it commenced a new era of activity and prosperity for the monastic life. The monasteries of Reichenau, St. Maximin of Trèves, Echternach, St. Emmeran of Ratisbon, Tegernsee, St. Maurice of Magdeburg, and Weißenburg flourished anew under its protection. Einsiedeln, whose patron was St. Meinrad, a hermit who died in 861, became likewise the centre of an important monastic reform, which extended to the abbeys of Petershausen, Disentis, Pfäfers, St. Blaise and Muri, Hohenwiel, Kempfen, Ebersberg, and Rheinau (near Schaffhausen). The monastery of St. Emmeran of Ratisbon in its turn introduced into the neighboring monasteries the observance of St. Peter of Salzburg. Tegernsee, Prüll, Weltenburg, and several others. Ulrich of Ratisbon (or of Cluny, + 1093) was one of the most active agents in the Cluniac movement in Germany and Switzerland.

Hirsau, or Hirschenstein, founded about 980, was also of great importance from the monastic point of view. The constitutions of this monastery were adopted by 130 other monasteries. Hirsau, as well as Cluny, offered valuable assistance to St. Cuthbert of Durham by his strenuous activity in defence and against the abuses among the clergy. Like the Burgundian abbey, it also had much influence on art, architecture, and culture in general. The reform of Hirsau, while keeping its own spirit intact, was, to a large extent, inspired by that of Cluny. The annals of the abbey were written by Trithemius and Basilius.

Another reform, which, like that of Hirsau, drew much of its inspiration from Cluny, while keeping a strong special character of its own, made itself felt not only in Italy, the land of its birth, but in Germany also. This was the reform inaugurated by the monastery of Fruttarum (Frudelée), near Turin, founded in 934. Its canonical regulations, as well as the regulations of other monasteries and in Germany, notably by the monasteries of Gorze, St. Maximin of Trèves, St. Blaise, in the Black Forest, and Murri, Garsten, Gottweig, Lambach, etc. Besides these reforms issued from within the monastic order itself, mention must be made of the efforts made by ecclesiastical councils to bring back the monasteries to the practice and observance of the Rule. In particular may be cited the Synods of Reichenau (854), and of Pöltersdorf (1058), Rome (1068), London (1112), and Paris (1292–1315). The decrees of the last council, which received the approbation of Innocent III., exercised a great influence on the monastic life as a whole.

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, however, better perhaps to the spirit of the age, but which none of the less drew numerous souls athirst for perfection and formed a current which, although not actually inimical to the ancient monastic institutions, was nevertheless very distinct from it. Such were the great Dominican and Franciscan orders and a few other religious families inspired with the same principles. No other attempt at monasticism that was really original and powerful 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 life 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 (1414–15) decreed to cast the 20th century out of the Benedictine order, and was the factor that inspired a great meeting, comprising 131 abbeys of various monasteries, which was held at Petershausen in 1417. In 1418 Pope Martin V. sent the abbots of Subiaco, Roth, and Suytringer, 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 the monasteries of Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia rallied to the movement. In the course of the following centuries, Austria, Munich, and Stetten, St. Peter of Salzburg, Kremsmünster, St. Emmeran of Ratisbon, Bramanet, Tegernsee. The great Italian abbeys of Subiaco and Farfa 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 of regulars and their observance of the Rule. The decree of Innocent III. and of the 4th Lateran Council, unites the exempt monasteries to form congregations, institutes, general chapters, and cloisters, and legislates concerning visitors, presidents of congregations and of regulars, the admission of religious to the orders of superiors and nuns; in a word, it establishes a collection of rules and laws concerning the monastic life.

Congregations were immediately after founded on those principles.

Even more important than the Melk reformation, so far at least as Germany is concerned, was that of Bursfeld. Founded in 1003 on the banks of the Weser and colonized by Corby, this abbey was destined to play an important part in the 15th century. John I. of Saxony, the founder, endowed the new house with the estate of Bursfeld and its right to hold a fair; the community then amounted to 300 monks. The abbey flourished from the beginning, and even the original monastery was raised to the rank of a college. The monastery was divided into two abbacies, one for the east and another for the west, and the foundation was made by King Henry VIII., who granted to the community all the lands and rights of the Benedictine abbey.

1 We have already seen, that, even as far back as the time of St. Pachomius, the endeavour was made to unite monasteries in a species of federation; another and more complete example of this was again in the 9th cent., under the authority of St. Benedict of Aniane. But it is not, in reality, till the 11th cent. that we find among the Westerners the usage of monastic federates properly so called. From the Cistercians the practice passed to the Benedictines, and from them to other orders (cf. Berlière, 'Les Chartreux généraux,' in Mélanges d'Init. etc., iii, 1889; p. 399 f.; Helmichauer, p. 217 f.).

2 A. Schreiber, Chronicon Melitense, Vienna, 1707; M. Kropff, Bibliotheca Melitensis, do. 1746; F. Kellinger, Gesch. des Benedictinerordens (Melk), 2 vols., do. 1831, 1838; Berlière, 'La Réforme de Melk au XV siècle,' in Revue de l'Ordre monastique p. 304 f.,

3 Petrus ab Andoavos (Walterscapello), Institutionum monasticarum secundum Concilium Tridentinum Decretal, Cologne, 1584.

4 See the list in Helmichauer, p. 300 f.
Dederoth († 1439), who had already reformed the abbey of Clus, took Bursfeld in hand in 1433 and also Heimbuch. The three monasteries remained closely united. In 1446 the abbots of Bursfeld became the president of the congregation. The community was occasionally visited by the general chapters, visitors, and every means of safeguarding the observance of piety and regularity. The success of this reformation grew from day to day. The cardinal of Cusa, Nicholas V., and Pius II. became its important promoters. At the death of Abbot Johann von Hagen (1469) the congregation numbered 36 monasteries, which later increased to 250. In 1579 the abbey of Bursfeld, which 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 1803.2

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 Coxyca (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 to spread throughout Spain; gradually it predominated, until it finally eliminated the observance instituted by St. Isidore. In the 14th and 15th centuries two important congregations rose up, those of Valladolid (1390) and Monserrat (1492). The latter made foundations in Portugal, Peru, and Mexico.3 The movement of the clausatrices at Saragossa and at Tarragona were less important.4

The Low Countries were a monastic land for centuries. Wilfrid of York, on the occasion of a journey to Rome in 678, having been thrown on the shores of Friesland, was there welcomed with great warmth. After his return to his monastery at 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.5

The Reformation in Germany in the 16th cent. led to the secularization of the monasteries, the closing of monastic buildings, and the handing over of their revenues to laymen, especially to Protestant princes. A great number were suppressed. It has been calculated that in the Protestant War more than 1000 monasteries and castles were destroyed. A few monasteries were, however, saved from the general ruin. (cf. Heimbucher, i. 289.) In England, the effects of the Protestant Reformation 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 secularization and almost complete secularization by Henry viii. and his minister Thomas Cromwell (1534). Elizabeth finished the work of destruction in 1560. Scotland’s turn came later on (1539-1560). In all it has been estimated that 578 monasteries, of which 63 were Benedictine, were confiscated. Besides the falls and lamentable defections there were not wanting monks who became martyrs, and who paid with their lives their fidelity to their vows.1 The life of one of these monks was examined 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. The 17th cent. was marked by an important movement, the conventual life was maintained in the monastic congregation of SS. Vannes and Hydulphe in Lorraine and that of St. Maurit 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. Maurit in intellectual work bore splendid fruits and helped to found a school of erudition that has given to France a Mabillon and a Montauscon, a Denys de Sainte-Marthe, a d’Achery, a Constant, a Kinnart, etc.—a school that has never been equalled.2

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) Sylvestrines.—The first of these orders sprang from the Benedictine trunk is the Sylvestrines, so called from the name of its founder, Sylvester Gonzelin, of the family of Gozzoloni († 1267). In 1227 he retired to Osimo and followed the Rule of St. Benedict, adding new monasteries, 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 36 monasteries, the greatest part of which were in Italy and a few in Portugal and Brazil. At the present day this number is greatly diminished. The church of St. Stephen del Cavo in Rome now belongs to them.

(b) Celestines.—The Celestines are a more important branch of the Sylvestrines, the latter having their foundation to the pope of that name, St. Celestine v., who at first was a hermit on Monte Morone in the Abruzzi, and then at Mt. Majella. He lived favoured to combine under one anachoritic monastic order of the Benedictines and the practices of the anchorite life. When he became pope, he protected and favoured the order which he had founded, approved of its constitutions, and accorded it many privileges. His congregation, having made numerous foundations in Italy, spread into France, Saxony, Bohemia, and the Low Countries. It possessed 150 monasteries, of which 96 were in Italy and 21 in France.3

(c) Olivetans.—Bernard Tolomei (+ 1438), a professor of Law at Siena, who, in company with a few companions, retired to Mount Oliveto, some leagues from Siena, 1. A. Savio, English Monasticism in the Eve of the Dissolution, Oxford, 1905; James, Henry viii. and the Monasteries, London, 1858; Tantum, op. cit.
whence its congregation takes its name. They lived as hermits, while following the Rule of St. Benedict in so far as its main principles are concerned. John Xystus established it with some of the faithful who had retired to the Pyrenees. They were then styled the Montesi, and were known as the Camaldolese or the Desert Fathers.

During the 12th century, the Monastery of Monte Cassino was the chief center of Benedictine life in Italy. Many other monasteries were founded in the Apennines, and the Benedictine order spread throughout Europe. The Rule of St. Benedict was the guiding principle for these monasteries, and it remained a source of inspiration for monks and nuns alike.

(4) **Monasticism.** The study of the monastic life has always been an important aspect of religious history. Monasteries played a vital role in preserving and transmitting the ancient texts and sacred traditions of the Church. They were also centers of education and scholarship, with many of the greatest scholars of the Middle Ages being associated with monasteries.

The monastic movement was not limited to the Benedictines. Other orders, such as the Cistercians and the Carthusians, also developed in the Middle Ages. Each order had its own rules and customs, but all were committed to the principles of the Rule of St. Benedict. The monastic life was a complete and self-sufficient way of living, with the monks and nuns devoting themselves to prayer, study, and manual labor.

The monastic orders were instrumental in the cultural and intellectual development of the Middle Ages. They were responsible for the production of many of the greatest works of art and literature of the period. The monasteries were also important centers of political and social life, with many of the leaders of the Church being monks or nuns.

Despite the many challenges faced by the monastic orders, they remained a powerful and influential force throughout the Middle Ages. They continued to play a vital role in the spiritual and cultural life of the Church, and their legacy is still felt today.
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.

The 19th cent. was one of restoration for monasticism in France, Germany, Austria, and Italy; the ancient monastic congregations and the great abbeys were maintained in spite of all difficulties, some attempts at monastic restoration were made in France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Austria; and the reader will find in the article 'Benedictine Order,' in CE ii. 445-453, for a fuller account of these attempts (cf. Heimbocher, i. 600).

V. CONCLUSION. — In an article that must necessarily be brief, we have been able to give only a very short summary or historical outline. To give it any degree of completeness one should study in detail the influence exercised by the monks on the Church and on society in general: consider what has been their work of sanctification, of charity, of apostleship; enumerate the services which they have rendered to civilization as savants, litterateurs, artists, agriculturists, and, at times, as politicians. It would then be seen that, although vocation, renunciation, their monastic profession to a life of retreat and renunciation, which is the kernel of their vocation, the monks have accomplished a work that has been equalled by no other society of the ages.

If this résumé of monastic history had any pretensions to completeness, some mention should here be made of the nuns, in whose ranks are found characters as remarkable as those of Loba, Mechtil, Charlotte, Hildegarde, Roswitha, and others.

From the historical point of view, however, this is unnecessary. The nuns brought no new element into the monastic life, but were content to follow in the footsteps of the monks under the influence of the great reformers of the monastic order.


For a complete bibliography see Heimbocher, i. 461; s.v. 'Monasticism,' in CE v. 463, 464, 465, 472; s.v. 'Monasterium' in PEPS xvii. 214 ff.; Berlière, op. cit. (bibliography at the end of each chapter), and Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine, 1907-12, Suppl. to Revue Benedictine, Marburg, 1912; Butter, op. cit., pp. 685-687; Leclercq, loc. cit., and Chevalier, Répertoire, Témoignages, loc. cit. F. CARBOL.

MONASTICISM (Buddhist).—I. The monastic order.—The monastic order in Buddhism, as instituted by Gautama Buddha himself, was not essentially a new creation in India, but was derived from ancient Hindu usage and practice. Separation from the world, in the solitary existence of a hermit or ascetic or in regulated communities, had been almost from time immemorial a characteristic feature of Indian life. Interwoven with monastic rule and self-discipline as the basis of his religious system, and defining this as the sole way of religious attainment, the Buddha presented to his hearers no new doctrine or ideal, but urged and enforced a duty familiar to them from the teaching of their own sacred books. The distinctive feature of the Buddhist order, in which it was differentiated from its predecessors, and to which, in large part at least, it owes its worth, was attention and care, was the removal of all restrictions of caste. Membership of the order was open to all from the lowest to the lowest, without distinction of race or birth. All alike were bound by the vow of poverty, relinquishing all personal or indeed possession of worldly goods, and sought in meditation and spiritual endeavours that deliverance from the bonds of existence and misery which, the Buddha taught, could never be achieved in the turmoil and distraction of a life of ideal, the latter term being given to the novices or junior monks, and atharvī, 'elders,' to those who were the senior or ruling members in the monasteries. The community of monks as a whole was known as the Sāṅgha, or order, and with the Buddha himself and the Dārāma, the sacred rule or law, formed a Buddhist triad, each member of which was idealized and invested with a sacred character, and ultimately became the object of a definite worship, the Deity. A Sāṅghikas, dwellings of five kinds, viharas, adhāravas, storied dwellings, atties, caves. The more elaborate and permanent dwellings were, in the first instance, apparently always the gifts of wealthy laymen, who desired to do honour to Gautama himself or to the order which he had founded. A usual name for the larger monasteries was saṅghārama, the abode or delight of the Sāṅgha; and the term vihāra was employed also to denote the temple where the images were enshrined, 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 absolute freedom of entrance into the order. Such restrictions took the form of the prohibition of admission to those suffering from any mental or bodily defect, as the blind or lame, and to the vicious in habit or life, or in the 'three-refuge formula' which every candidate for admission into the order was required to repeat the Sāṅgha is personified, and to each in succession the suppliant applies for protection and aid; 'Buddha, Sāṅgha, friend of the poor, servant of the poor. I seek refuge in the Buddha, the Religion, and the Order' (Mahāvīra, i. 12. 15).

10 Quotations vi. 1. 21. SE BXX vi. 158; cf. Mahāvīra, p. 30. 4, where these are termed 'extra allowance' or 'sustenance' or 'sunsiferous-Monasticism.

11 The three-refuge formula is explained by the commentator to mean a gold-coloured Benegal house.
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The consent of parents also was required in the case of a minor. No distinction of priority of casts, however, was ever made in the Buddhist population. Then it seems to have been true that the earliest converts were for the most part Brahmans. Inasmuch as in and through the order alone was final deliverance to be attained, it was an essential feature of the Buddha's gospel that no accident of birth should hinder a man from entering upon and prosecuting the path that led to salvation, to nirvāṇa. It was impossible for the layman to work out his own salvation while in the world, fettered by its ordinances and under the obligations of the world. He must renounce the world and become a monk, that, undistracted and at leisure, he might pursue the highest ends and win for himself final deliverance.

The earliest ceremony of admission to the monastic order appears to have been as simple as possible, and confined to a recital of the 'three-refuge formula,' together with a declaration on the part of the applicant of his desire to become a monk. At first Gautama himself received and admitted all candidates. Later he entrusted this right to the monks themselves, each monk being permitted to ordain one novice. This rule again was found to be too strict, and ultimately the only limit to the number that a monk might himself ordain was the condition of efficient oversight.2

On admission the candidate provided himself with the usual almsbowl and the appropriate three-vestments (trikrama) which constituted almost his sole apparel. The robe seems to have been originally dull red or reddish-yellow, as worn by most of the Hindu ascetics, but varies at the present time in different countries; in the south it is usually yellow. They were to be made of wool or of cotton, and were usually made of Magadhian.4 Besides the almsbowl the ordained monk carried also with him a staff, a razor and tooth-pick, and a water-strainer, the last in order to ensure that no living creature should inadvertently be destroyed by him when drinking. The use of the rovy in addition was a practice of later origin. Frequently the robes were the gift to the Buddha or his disciples of wealthy laymen, who sought to secure merit for themselves by generosity to the holy.

Upon converts from other sects who came desiring to receive upasampada a probation (parinirvana, 'sojourn,' 'delay') of four months was imposed. Fire-worshippers and Jāthikas (wearing many roves or torn pieces, like the rice-field of Magadha). Besides the almsbowl the ordained monk carried also with him a staff, a razor and tooth-pick, and a water-strainer, the last in order to ensure that no living creature should inadvertently be destroyed by him when drinking. The use of the rovy in addition was a practice of later origin. Frequently the robes were the gift to the Buddha or his disciples of wealthy laymen, who sought to secure merit for themselves by generosity to the holy.

The daily routine of monastic life admitted of little variation. The day began early with recitation and prayers, followed by the regular round for alms. Silently and with downcast eyes the monks moved in procession and presented themselves before the householders' doors, to receive whatever food might be placed in their bowls. For this they were not allowed to make request, as the Brahman students and ascetics were accustomed to do. Whatever was bestowed they were to accept with gratitude; if no gift were offered, they were to pass on to another house without showing resentment. On their return a simple noon-day meal was followed by rest and meditation, and the day closing with service and recitations in the temple or hall of the monastery. In most of the

1 See art. Initiation (Buddhist).
2 The regulations with regard to clothing appear to have been in part modified and directed against the clan ascetics, who went about unclothed.
3 Mahāvīra, i. 12.
4 Pi. 1. 39.
5 Pali parinikka, '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, 85 f.).
6 Kern, p. 391.

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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 which are held and shelled in Monal, Bulgaria 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 whole 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 (bhikṣunis, Pali bhikkhunis). The tradition is that at the third and repeated request of Mahāprajñāpati, Gautama's aunt and nurse, strongly supported by Ananda, the Buddha gave his permission for women to go out from the household life and enter the homeless state under the discipline and discipline professed by the Tathāgata. The concession, however, would prove disastrous, so Gautama prophesied, to the prosperity and duration of the faith which he taught; the pure religion and the good works would endure only for five hundred years instead of a thousand. On the same occasion he prescribed the obligations and duties of the bhikṣunis contained in 'Eight Chief Rules,' to which they were bound in strict obedience. The regulations involved subjection to and dependence upon the order of monks in all respects. A nun even of a hundred years' standing was to rise and respectfully salute even the youngest monk, nor was a nun to venture to admonish a monk, though she must submit to receive admonition from him. Further a nun may not keep Vassa in a district in which no monk is resident. It is probable that the ordination of women as bhikṣunis and the establishment of nunneries are in reality due to a later date than that of the founder of Buddhism. The institution has never become popular or gained a strong hold in any Buddhist country; and the number of the nuns has always been small relatively to the number of monks.

3. The Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian, Hiuen-Tsang, and others, in the 5th and following centuries of the Christian era, found monasticism flourishing in N. India, and the great monasteries with their thousands of learned and studious monks exercised a powerful influence over Indian life. They belonged in almost equal proportion to the two great schools of Buddhist doctrine, the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna (g.v.). In the time, however, of the visit of Hiuen-Tsang, the most renowned of the Chinese monks (A.D. 629-45), they seem to have been losing ground everywhere to the rival sects of the Brāhmans. The most famous Buddhist monastery was that at Nālandā, the modern Dārāgūr near Gayā (g.v.), a description of which is given by the latter pilgrim. See, further, art. NāLANDA.

4. Ceylon.—In Ceylon the power and influence of the community during the early centuries of the Christian era, under the rule of the famous Ceylonese kings, who were enthusiastic Buddhists, attained a high level, and were exercised not only ecclesiastically but also in political affairs. The rulers themselves received abhikṣa (g.v.) at the hands of the monks, who not only offered advice and exercised authority in matters of State, but as judges 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 most 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 northern half of the island, which was then the chief home of religious faith and prosperity, 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 Parakrama the Great (*c. A.D. 1187*). 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 Mahāvaṃsa, or 'Great Chronicle,' a native record in Pali of the island from the introduction of Buddhism by Mahinda (Mahendrā), the son, or, according to Huen-Tsang, the younger brother, of Aśoka, at the close of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. to the reign of King Mahāsaṃgha in the earlier part of the 4th cent. A.D. There is also a collection of devotional 'songs' or 'psalms' of the monks (Therīgāthā) 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 on the whole a high conception of their piety and self-denying spirit. A similar collection of Therīgāthā, 'Songs of the Nuns,' forms part of the same Piṭaka. The defect of the Mahāvaṃsa regarded as an authority, and above all 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 monks of the Mahāvaṃsa 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 on the two great monotheistic denominations of the world—Buddhism and Christianity. The sacred edifices of the great Brahmā, or prisoner, and Jetavanā 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 as regarded the leading and established church of the Mahāvaṃsa. To what extent, however, their teaching diverged from the orthodox standard, or their manner of life was nonconformist, we have no means of ascertaining. See Mahāvaṃsa, tr. into Eng. by W. Geiger and M. H. Rode, Oxford, 1891; J. R. P. Davids, tr. the Sinhalese and other literature. The text of the Mahāvaṃsa was edited and published by Geiger for the PTS in 1896, and an earlier tr. by G. Turnour and L. C. Wijesinha was reprinted at Colombo in 1889.

The Pali text of both collections was edited by H. Oldenberg and R. Pielch, London, 1888. Translations of the Therīgāthā and Therōgāthā by C. A. Rhys Davids under the title Psalms of the Early Buddhists, the Therīgāthā and the Early Buddhists, the Therōgāthā, were published at Oxford in 1900 and 1918.

3 See Cave, Ruined Cities of Ceylon; Copleston, Buddhism in Magapaya and Ceylon, ch. xxiv.
More recently there has been a recrudescence of sectarian differences in the island. These, however, concern monastic usage and habit rather than any missionary enterprise. There is little if any variation throughout Ceylon. There are three chief sects, the origin of which appears to have been due in all instances to external initiative and influence; and one of these at least seems to owe its existence to a distinct protest against laxity of demeanour 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 restore, if it be said, the true Siamese monastic discipline which had been lost. About fifty years later a separation took place, apparently on disciplinary, not doctrinal, grounds, and the Amarapura sect was founded, its leaders being monks who owed their rank and ordination to the Burmese city. The third and protestant sect, the most recent and numerically the least important, is the Ramanya or Rangoon. The Siamese is the most wealthy and numerous, including among its followers about half of the monks of the island. Most of that important and popular temples and shrines are in their hands. From ten to fifteen per cent belong to the Ramanya. These last pledge themselves to a stricter observance of the vow of poverty, and neither individually nor collectively do they own any property. As do the others, landed property. They follow a simpler mode of life, and avoid with the greatest scrupulosity all contact with worship and customs of Hinduism. Outwardly the sect differs but little from the other two in whose ranks the Robe is worn; the Siamese leave the right shoulder uncovered, but the Ramanya and the Amarapura draw the robe over both shoulders. The Ramanya is most influential in the southern part of the island, the Siamese in the central province; but the latter is said to be losing ground to its 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 monk take place at the full moon, and on the mid-days intervening; thus four times in the lunar month. More formal services last for ten days or a fortnight without intermission. Any resident of wealth, who by charity to the monk secure merit for themselves. During the three months of Vassa (Wassen) the monks leave the monasteries and live in the villages, either in specially constructed sheds or huts or by invitation in the houses of rich laymen, who entertain them generously at their own expense. The rule that in the season of the rains, corresponding in Ceylon to our late summer and autumn, no journeying may be undertaken is interpreted in the sense that no monk may be absent from his village or temporary home for more than six or seven days.\

5 Siam.—Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Siamese monastic rule is the control exercised by the king. The Burmese, being a minor king, and himself nominates the sanghabhat, or archbishop, supreme ecclesiastical dignity of the country. He selects for the office one of the four chief abbots, who are entrusted several 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 ascetics. He may, in the last respect, give his consent to any movement not connected with any of the sects, 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 inmates of the monasteries themselves frequently spend a considerable part of the year in journeying from one shrine or sacred place to another. Parties of these pilgrims are known as phra tokling, and as they file in procession along the roads they form a picturesque element in the country side. Each monk is accompanied by a sisyu, or attendant, who carries his almsbowel and other utensils, and a portable shelter or tent consisting of a large Chinese umbrella, which is set up in the ground at halting places and a white cloth thrown over it. There are also a few nuns, known as chi-bong, who live for the most part in huts in the neighbourhood of the monasteries. They are usually women advanced in years who are without relatives to provide for their well-being or maintenance. There are no regular nunneries.

The four chief abbots, together with four coadjutors or assessors, form a sort of Court of Final Appeal in all matters of religious or ecclesiastical administration or discipline. The position 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 Burmah, the rule obtained that every male member of the nation should at some time in his life take upon himself the monastic vows, and become resident in a monastery. The accepted minimum period of residence was three months; after this the monk was free to return to the life of a layman. Most of the 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 of the day at the shrine of the Buddha, monks wear their rich presents and costly robes for the use of the monks during the coming year. At the more important monasteries in Bangkok the king himself, as head of the Church, goes in procession with the other monks bearing rich presents and costly robes for the monks. In all the festivals and numerous public holidays the monks take a considerable 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 incomes 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 Burmah and elsewhere in the south. The day begins and ends at an early hour. Morning prayers in the bod, the principal hall or temple of the monastery, before the great gilded image of the Buddha, are followed by the usual early begging round. The food placed in the bowl is received in silence, and eaten.

1 See Copleston, ch. xxvii., 'Modern Monastic Life,' where other and minor differences between the sects will be found recorded. 2 a. see Helen, Studies in the Religious of the East, London, 1913, p. 556 f. 3 Mahar. ii. 117; Copleston, pp. 1291, 1291.
MONASTICISM (Buddhist) 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 recitation from the sacred books, or in preaching. The usual title of the monk is phra, 'saint,' or telepoin. The latter name is said to be of Môn origin, signifying 'our Master.' The Japanese term for monk is Bô. 6. Burmah.—The monastic life of Burmah is in its essential features similar to that of Ceylon. The monastic buildings themselves, however, are on a larger scale and more elaborate, and the lives of the monks are more strictly ordered and more monastic.

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 ceremonials, and more especially, on account of the influential position which they have occupied as centres of learning and education. Previous to the establishment of European missionary and Government institutions, which to an increasing extent have supplanted them, every Burmese lad passed through the monastery schools, 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 a generally monastic life at the monastery. 1 Thus, although the majority returned to a secular life and to the pursuit of agriculture or trade, the entire male population of Burmah has had practical acquaintance with the life of a monk and the monastic requirements and aspirations. The system contributed effective- ly to national unity and strength, and for many centuries made of the Burman a literate people, even if the standard of attainment was not very high. The monks and nuns were also leaders in the habits of regularity and obedience which served them well in their after careers. See art. BURMA AND ASSAM (Buddhist).

7. Tibet.—The distinctive feature of the monasticism of Tibet is its elaborate and gorgeous ritual, recalling in many respects the ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church. The similarity is due for the most part to the influence of the early Nestorian missionaries, who, while leaving little trace of their cruder ritual, have had a pressing influence on the monasticism of the country. Large parts of the old Buddhist monasteries were placed in remote districts, either in sheer mountain-fastness or in the middle of the desert, surrounded by an inner circle of devotional halls. The dwellings of the monks and nuns were also more remote, and in the winter were thickly wooded, and sometimes even on a barren plateau. The religious ceremonial extended to the whole day, and the monks and nuns devoted themselves to the study of the sacred books, either in their cells or in the great monasteries. The influence of the monasteries was very great, and many of the religious ceremonies of the country were founded on the monastic system.

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, that were subjected 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 wealth was enormous, and pictures of this monastic life; 2 these for the most part if not entirely were adherents of the Mahâyâna school. Their narrative, nevertheless, conveys the impression that the real influence of the faith upon the character of their habits of the people beyond the monasteries 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 stupas are numerous and for the most part desolate in conditions and the presence of Buddhist monks. The monastic buildings themselves would be of less solid construction, and either have perished or are unrecognizable. 3

9. China.—Of the monastic life of other Buddhist lands which follow the Mahâyâna with more or less concession to native modes of thought and superstition there is little further that requires notice in a generally monastic life at the monastery. It will be sufficient 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 procession have varied greatly with environment and 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 sorcery and magic than of Buddhist faith. The exceptions were those monks far removed from the centres of population, where the monks, though ignorant, were simple, kindly, and pious, seeking salvation through self-denial and right living. The nuns were no less degraded and for the most part despoiled of most events in China, however, with the division of numerous temples and monasteries to educational purposes, the desertion or destruction of others, and the spread of Western influence and science, have entirely changed the character of the Chinese monastic life and thought of the people concerned.

It is not easy to forecast what the ultimate effect upon Buddhist life will be, or how far it will modify or even destroy so essential and characteristic a feature of the Buddhist life as has ever been. That the effect will be profound and far-reaching there can be no doubt. 4

10. Korea.—The monastic institutions of Korea resemble those of China, whence both doctrine and practice have been derived. Religious 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. Kasuga, Deal, ii. 207 ff.; Kotkan, bk. 208 ff., Fa-Hian, ch. iv. (Geige, p. 181 ff.); Vartholome, Deal, ii. 207 ff.; Sakeio, 6, 238 ff.

2 Of. M. A. Stein, Ancient Khotan, 2 vols., Oxford, 1907, p. 309, and Notes and reviews of Desert Catalogue, 2 vols., London, 1912, cited by L. Giles, J. Pollitt, and others, in J.D.A.S., 1911, etc. Stein found that the memory of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, is still retained at the 'Halls of the Thousand Buddha,' in the west of the province of Kansu, and elsewhere in Central Asia to the present day. The tradition of his learning and devotion, and of the miraculous power which he was credited, proved to be a real power in the minds of the priesthood.

3 Rachmann, Buddhism as a Religion, bk. iv. ch. vi.; Erkina, Chinese Buddhism; Weier, Buddhisme chinisch, l., 'Monasticism,' p. 224 ff.

1 See art. EDUCATION (Buddhist), vol. v. p. 177 ff.

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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 more important institutions are grouped around the temple, but none are isolated within its walls. Their numbers also are decreasing. The monks themselves command little respect, and are drawn, for the most part, as in China, from the lower classes. The example and influence of Japan also 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 neighbourhood of Seoul a few nunneries exist.

The most distinctive feature of Korean monasteries is the presence of pictures on the walls. These are drawn and coloured on paper and mounted on silk, and usually represent scenes from the lives of the Buddha. Often the entire surface of the interior walls is 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, often quite small, or of clay or wood. Metal images are almost if not entirely unknown.

In their dress the monks have preserved the national costume in the form of a long cloak with long sleeves, and generally a peaked cap. The head is shaved, in conformity with Buddhist practice, but not the beard. The shaven head, however, is not branded after the Chinese custom, although branding may be effected on other parts of the body. Monasteries are usually 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 laity, or, where opportunity serves, upon the personal labour of the monks in the cultivation of the temple lands.

11. Japan.—The temples and monasteries of Japan are large and well-appointed, and give the impression of a reality of creed and life which is almost altogether wanting to those on the continent. The numerous Buddhist sects of Japan have their home and distinctive life in the monastic communities, and the monasteries themselves in the details of their present variety 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 strengthness of the national life found their almost complete counterpart in the monasteries, which formed associations of fighting monks at war with one another, oppressing and plundering the common people. In more settled times, speculative thought, mystical, devotional, and idealistic, has been highly developed, perhaps most conspicuously in the ' Sect of the Pure Land,' who hold a theistic creed, and expound and practise a moral code which has much in common with that of the N. accompanying a revived religious life also, at different periods of the nation's history, missionary effort and preaching have been prosecuted with zeal and success. Both at home and in China a similar work of propaganda is being carried on at the present time with much devotion and energy.

12. Conclusion.—It is natural to compare and contrast the monastic principles and life of Buddhism with those of the Christian orders of the Middle Ages. In the

The general features of discipline and government there is obviously similarity. All communities vowed to poverty and a celibate life, whether Hindu, Muhammadan, Buddhist, or Christian, almost of necessity organize themselves on some lines that are similar within their walls. The features of Buddhist monasticism would seem to be two: (1) the practice of literal mendicancy, which takes the form of a daily round, equipped with staff and begging-bowl, to receive whatever charity is given, for the support of the holy life, may be mort. In the countries where the Mahayana type of Buddhism has prevailed this custom is not and probably never has been obligatory or usual. It forms a distinct and characteristic element, however, of early Buddhist rule and observance. (2) According to Buddhist teaching, salvation is to be found only within the limits of the order. The layman can achieve his own deliverance only if and when he does the work of the monk, and takes upon himself the monastic vows. He must seek release from the world in a life of retirement, meditation, and self-denial, for otherwise can the letters of karma be broken and nirvana gained.

In Buddhist practice and doctrine, therefore, the monastic order holds a nor the most part of the national life, and above that which it occupies in any other great religious system.

LITERATURE.—A selection only from a great and ever-growing literature can here be given. Many important works have been referred to in the text, others are available in the publications of SBE and elsewhere; SBE xiii. (1891), xviii. (1896), xx. (1898), 'Vinaya Texts,' xi. (1900) 'Buddhist Suttas,' xi. (1894) 'Buddhist Mahayana Sutras'; H. C. Warren, Buddhism in Translations, Cambridge, Mass., 1896; T. W. Rhys Davids, Flowers of the Buddha, p. 1 and ii. The order is revivied foreign countries. These are a few of: c, 1907; H. W. Cancer, Radiated Cities of Ceylon, new ed., do. 1900; Shway Yoe, The Burmese, His Life and Nationalities, do. 1910; A. C. Barman, Study of the Burmese and Others, do. 1908; C. H. Chamberlain, Handbook for Travellers in Japan, do. 1909; A. S. Geden, Buddhism (Buddhist), Encyclopaedia (Buddhist) Histories and Greece (Buddhist), and on the several Buddhist countries.

A. S. GEDEN.
the Indian view of life as a whole. By the Indian life has ever been regarded as essentially evil, the relief from the burden and sorrow of existence as the chief and final goal. In many forms of Indian doctrine, especially the Buddhist, but also in that of Hindu leaders and teachers before Gautama, this belief in the necessity of escaping from monastic dedication and life. It was impossible for the layman, distracted by the cares and encumbered by the possessions of the world, to secure salvation. Emancipated from these, he was free to devote himself to the highest end, and to win his way to deliverance (moksa) (g.v.).

A second respect in which historically Indian monasticism in general has been distinguished from Buddhist or Christian is the deficiency of co-operational 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 inclination and will. The ideal of the Indian monk or ascetic is not and never has been a fixed residence and asceticism forever, but wandering for pleasure, to visit the various sacred places and shrines, and to dispose his manner of life and his time independently in all respects as seemed best to himself. Apparently the habits and methods of the monastic life have altered since the earliest ages. The mendicant, or wandering ascetic, rather than the resident community of monks, has been the characteristic feature of Indian religious life; and the monasteries have served in the larger degrees as monasteries 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 a shapeless and timeless home in the monasteries, and after a longer or shorter stay move on entirely as their own inclination prompts.

The ideal practice of a life thus ordered and determined is of extreme antiquity in India. It would seem to be based ultimately upon the Hindu regulation of the four śramaṇas (q.v.), according to which every Brahman towards the close of his life must become a wanderer, the world must take the hindmost place, and the ascetic gives himself to the ascetic life and the ascetic garb. In intention, therefore, 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 quarters, and the less pretentious of any class may follow the same easy and convenient mode of gaining a subsistence without 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 Jaina monasteries, and gave to them precept and habit and rule. Only in organization did the daughter communities go far beyond anything that was developed in Hinduism. Here the preference for an independent and self-regularized monastic life, as the only easy and convenient mode of gaining a subsistence without trouble to themselves, is said to be regarded with disfavour. The saṅghikas is the religious student, who engages himself to remain with the guru as pupil and disciple after the close of the regular period of service as a brahmanda, and the titles "beggar" and saṅghikas are more appropriate and more usually applied to the wandering ascetic, without home or stated means of livelihood. The former denotes the Hindu mystic and saint, who endeavours to attain to union with God by the way of self-control and asceticism. The saṅghikas has "eats off" all worldly fetters and attachments, and is separated from all earthly wants or ties. "Bhikṣa, "beggar," describes rather the common characteristic of the class. In the Pali form of bhikkhu it has become the usual term for the Buddhist monk; Hindũ n-šage 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 dānas is fed at the door of the Hindu householder is never made in vain, and the flow of Indian charity and

order to which the monastery belongs. Attached to it are a temple or shrine for the services of the gods, and in the larger monasteries at least a separate dharamsalā, or rest-house, for the accommodation of travellers. The term matha appears to have been originally applied to the solitary hut of the religious recluse, though a monastery was the community of hermits living together in the forest in the practice of austerities. Of such a woodland hermitage an attractive description is given in Kālidāsa's Sakuntala. The name was ultimately extended to include all more or less permanent homes or residences for the monks. The mathas exist in considerable numbers all over India, but the inmates for the most part live a retired life, keeping to themselves, and both they and their houses to lie hidden from the sight of Europeans. Each sect or monastic order has its own mathas, that of the founder of the order being regarded as the chief. There is, however, no central control, nor any interference in the management or affairs of the monastery by any great body of British Government. When the latter fact died out in Bengal, some of its monasteries passed into Hindu keeping and were appropriated for the use of Hindu monks.

To erect a monastery for the service of the monks and wandering ascetics has always been regarded as an act of religious merit. The matha is the gift of a generous and pious layman; and of such donors there has never been any lack in India. In most instances an endowment for the upkeep of the monastery is a temporary act: or the establishment of or by subsequent grant, and this is increased from time to time by the gifts of patrons who endeavour thus to secure merit for themselves. The individual monk is bound to reside in one of these, 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 temple authorities of their large revenues has sometimes been so defective that the British Government has been compelled to interfere, and take over temporarily the control of the monastic estate.

The Hindu monk is known as yātini, one who curls his passions and has renounced the world, or vratā, the devotee who has taken upon himself the vows of renunciation and consecration. The former term is technical and is used of the layman who has given himself to a life of asceticism. The titles yāti and saṅghikas are more appropriate and more usually applied to the wandering ascetic, without home or stated means of livelihood. The former denotes the Hindu mystic and saint, who endeavours to attain to union with God by the way of self-control and asceticism. The saṅghikas has "eats off" all worldly fetters and attachments, and is separated from all earthly wants or ties. "Bhikṣa, "beggar," describes rather the common characteristic of the class. In the Pali form of bhikkhu it has become the usual term for the Buddhist monk; Hindũ n-šage 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 dānas is fed at the door of the Hindu householder is never made in vain, and the flow of Indian charity and

1 The abb toment of a monastery in the Pandhāra made complaint to J. C. O'Connor of the crowd of idle and worthless saṅghikas who encumbered themselves upon him and took advantage of his hospitality (Myths, Aesopics, and Saints of India, p. 201).
hospitability to ascetics is unstinted. The red- or yellow-coloured robe of the monk is an unfailing passport to generosity and benevolence all over India. Such generosity accrues to the merit of the monk, but it gives no reflection of the motive of those who receive the alms. Among the latter there are not a few whose robes cover avarice and greed, or perhaps more often mere indolence and a desire to save themselves the trouble of providing for their own wants. But there are also among them sincere men, often of considerable learning, earnest and devoted in their pursuit of the truth.

The Sanskrit law-books contain rules and regulations for the guidance of the ascetic life. The sixth book of Manu is entirely devoted to this subject. Hermits and ascetics are to beg for their food once a day, to be indifferent to their reception, neither vexed at a refusal nor exultant when their bowl is well filled, to restrain their senses and appetites, eating little, and always to be on their guard lest they accidentally destroy life, watching the ground before them as they move, that their feet may not crush any living thing. The same precept is given to the layman and to a monk, but the latter is not to change his residence during Vassa, the season of the rains. Elsewhere it is provided that students, ascetics, and others shall be free from tolls and taxes. They are not to be allowed to belong to the law courts or to the body of the responsible person, 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 go on foot to perform their daily duties. The oversight of the monastery and the responsibility for entertaining itinerant monks or strangers are in the hands of a presiding elder or abbot (maha-bandha). Around him usually is gathered a band of young disciples, who are instructed by him in the Hindu scriptures and render him personal service in accordance with ancient immemorial custom. There is, however, no definite or fixed hierarchy or gradation of office. The inmates of the monastery are free to come or go at their own will, and neither their movements nor their actions are in any way controlled. They must wear the monastic garb, observe the vow of poverty, and depend entirely upon the bounty of others for their daily sustenance. Beyond these simple conditions they do as they please. The actual possessions which the monk of any sect carries with him vary to a slight degree with the sect to which he belongs. The essentials are a staff, a water-pot, and a bed or mat. There are usually added a staff, water-pot, and rosary, a strainer, a pair of sandals, the materials for smoking and betel-chewing, and perhaps one or more vessels for carrying or cooking food.

The vows (soto) which the ascetic or monk undertakes to observe are fixed in number: avoiding harm to any living creature, truthfulness, abstemiousness from theft, self-restraint, and liberality (Skr. aksita, asteya, astaga, brahmacharya, tyaga). These have been altered, with the exception of the last, 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 danger to living beings involved.

The Siksasasutra, the Alahaviraj, and the Khad. C.'s law-books provide for the several classes of monks, and for ascetics. As a rule, monks have split their hair, or worn it in a topknot, and have adhered to one of the four branches of the Buddhist sect. But the Vaisnavites allow themselves greater liberty and seldom, if ever, inflict upon themselves the prolonged bodily torments by which the ascetics seek to gain notoriety or accumulate merit. In all the monasteries 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 considered interesting.

The Siksas also have monasteries of their own and religious orders. The three principal are those of the Akalins, Nirmalins, and Udains (q.v.). They vary in both their dress and manner of wearing the hair, some being shaven 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 mahant wore robes differing from those of the ordinary monk—white long-sleeved shift without any bodice or breast colours. The chief and largest monastery is at Amritsar (q.v.) near the Golden Temple, built of brick in two storeys and with two open courts, belonging to the Udains sect. The other sects also possess monasteries of considerable size. In all a large part of the religious worship consists in the reading of the Gaukas (q.v.), and sometimes of other Hindu sacred books.

Except at the seasons of the great festivals the monks are assiduous in their monastic round of duties: they carry on their secular occupations, on these occasions they are thronged with monks and others who have come to join in the feasting and religious ceremonies.

The monastic institutions of the Jains in some respects hold an intermediate position between those of the Hindus and the Buddhists. Their rules and order are more definitely framed than the former, but are less exacting than the Buddhist and allow more freedom to the individual. As in Buddhism also, the existing system or practice of the Brâhman monks or ascetics formed the model on which the founder of the Jain faith ordered his own community. Mahâvira himself is said to have had a following of fourteen or fifteen thousand monks, and nearly as many nuns. Beyond these simple conditions they do as they please. The actual possessions which the monk of any sect carries with him vary to a slight degree with the sect to which he belongs. The essentials are a staff, a water-pot, and a bed or mat. There 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.

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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. Salvite monks are, as a rule, much more given to their character of austerities. The Vaisnavites allow themselves greater liberty and seldom, if ever, inflict upon themselves the prolonged bodily torments by which the others seek to gain notoriety or accumulate merit. In all the monasteries 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 considered interesting.

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Initiation (diksha) into the monastic order takes place at the hands of a priest after a year's novitiate. 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, one of an ascetic, of not less than a year's standing, may be elected upadhyaya, 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 concurrent action, are in 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 retire from the monastery, which is only during the rainy season and at the principal festival seasons that the monasteries are fully occupied.

MONEY.—Money is the name applied to the instrument devised by man which enables him conveniently to effect exchanges of goods and services. It was a great advance upon barter when an intermediary was adopted by the trafficking parties that provided at the same time a measure of values and a generally acceptable medium of exchange. As man advanced from simple barbarism, he acquired some elementary forms of personal wealth, and the practice of exchanging with others to satisfy his growing diversity of wants would naturally arise; in course of time the advantage of possessing an intermediary which formed a unit of comparison of worth and represented a standard of values would come to be recognized. For this purpose objects of common utility or ornament were early adopted—oxen, cattle, sheep, furs, slaves, shells, nuts, precious stones, and bits of metal are examples of the various substances used as money in different circumstances and stages of civilization. These selected substances illustrate the kinds of wealth that were accumulated as stores of value and used as means of paying tribute and debt. They thus became also a form of what is called 'capital' in modern economies.

Gradually the defects of some of the various substances employed by the monasteries and became apparent in their inconvenient bulk and lack of divisibility for small payments, their perishableness and absence of equality and stability. Thus by degrees the essential attributes of good money emerged; it was found that the precious metals (gold and silver) possessed in an exceptional degree the qualities desirable in a good medium of exchange and as a measure of value. Money should have stability in value; it should be durable, portable, divisible; it should be easily recognizable and capable of being coined. No substances possess and retain all these attributes absolutely, but gold and silver display them in the highest degree; consequently they have been generally adopted for money by civilized nations. The products, variations in their supply create some fluctuations in value, as do also changes in demand which follow on the growth of population and the irregularities of trade. But, on the whole, gold has responded to the specific conditions of a basis for its complex and ever increasing trade and commerce. Standard money has the attribute...
of universal acceptability; it commands confidence that it will be promptly received by others without loss of value. It measures the value of the services of labour; and wages as well as goods are expressed in terms of money, and, when expressed in money, is called their price.

The business of money-changing, of banking and finance, consists largely in the manipulation of money in its various forms and of obligations—debts, credits, loans, etc.—expressed in terms of money. These things are dischargeable either by gold and silver or by documents (notes, cheques, bills, etc.), i.e., by paper money, representative of sums of metallic money and ultimately redeemable in standard currency for present purposes.

The introduction of credit-instruments, as the paper substitutes for gold are called, is an extension of the function of money 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 exchanged for credit instruments, substitutes for money that circulate quickly; they become a peculiar currency of promises or claims that do temporary duty, and they are easily transmitted by post; thus they easily facilitate the exchange of metallic money. They imply that these instruments are promises, and they rest in the long run on the recognized metallic basis—gold; therefore an adequate amount of gold must be accumulated and safely stored in order to give stability, confidence, and uniformity, and inspires confidence; the stamped coin carries with it a promise of the amount and value of the gold that it represents, where gold is the accepted standard of value.

The subsidiary coins of silver and bronze are legal tender only within moderate limits, viz., two pounds in silver, and twelve pence in bronze in Great Britain; they are only token coinage, and do not correspond to their intrinsic value in metal, which is large. The value of that other commodities depends ultimately upon the law of supply and demand; the value varies with the amount available for money purposes, for large quantities of the precious metals are absorbed in the arts and as personal ornament.

The quantity theory of money—i.e., 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 vitiate 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, debased by gold, destroys confidence, raises prices, and produces financial disaster; business is checked, and the injury falls with peculiar severity upon the wage-receiving classes, who find that their wages paid in paper at such times fall greatly in buying power. There is no remedy but the re-statement of the currency on a sound basis. A large number of interesting cases of money reform with the use of money; they are, however, too technical for present consideration, which is restricted to a general account of the nature and services of this useful instrument of civilization.

Mongols

**Literature**


**Mongols. **—1. Ethnology and habitat.—Lake the Amur and the Dravidians (q.v.), the Mongols are a race distinctively Asiatic. They fall into three great divisions—Buriats (q.v.), Western Mongols (Kalmucks), and Eastern Mongols. The habitat of the Kalmucks extends it the Hoang-ho to the Manich (attributed to the Don), and their special centres are Astrakhan and the Caucasus, Zangaria, N.W. Mongolin, Alashan, N. Tibet, and the Chinese province of Koko-nor. The Eastern Mongols inhabit chiefly Mongolia, the northern portion being divided into a number of tribes, such as the Tumets and Chakhars, while the northern section consists of the more homogeneous Khalkas.

The Mongolian type is best represented by the Kalmucks and the Khalkas: 

- **Nearby average stature (in. 63-64); head, sub-brahmcephaline (epiph. ind. on the face, hair, hair, which is black, flexible, and fine in texture; skin of the face and arms is smooth, thin, well developed; skin a pale-yellow or brownish; bones prominent check; black hair, thin straight; nose, Mongoloid; ears, thin, moderately large; mouth, Mongoloid.**

Another peculiar characteristic of this race is the **Mongolian spot**, small dark patches of pigmentation, especially in the periorbital 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 south) and Japanese; in Bengal and Orissa the crossing of Mongolians with Dravidians has given rise to the Meetei tribes of Assam. **Mongoloid** types appear in the Himalaya region and in the Far East.

The chief Asiatic area occupied by non-Buriats
Mongols (Kalmuks, Khalkas, etc.) is bounded on the north by Siberia, on the south by China, on the west by Russian Turkestan, and Chinese Turkistan, 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 chain of forest-covered mountains, known together as the Mongol and Black Hills and Yenisei. To the north side, and by the Altai range and its offshoots on the other. Although the greater portion is Goldi (a Turkic word), or 'Great (Desert) Expanse,' and is described of rivers sufficiently broad and deep to impede seriously the onward movements of horsemen, there are plenty of salt lakes (only one of which escapes into Russia by a river), innumerable oxes and pasture lands, suitably located sweet-water wells, and even cultivable or forest lands dotted about and available in turn at different seasons of the year to the nomads who know the peculiarities of the country so well. This fact explains how armies of millions can easily move on the simple condition that they possess sufficient cattle, horses, sheep, and camels to drive before or with themselves as food and clothing; nothing else matters, for wood and iron can be picked up by the way at various well-known places, and women will often be carried as knapsacks in loaded carts. This vast rim of mountain range nearly all round constitutes a huge watershed, and on the outer side rivers run into Manchuria, Russia, and Turkestan; but the gravely expanse of Gobi with its parched surface atmosphere the sorrows flowing into the depressed desert portions of Mongolia to dry up or disappear into the sands, so that in many places recourse must be had to rude cisterns or reservoirs, automatically collecting fresh water after showers and heavy snows on the adjoining rivers, the valleys of which have during the past 2,000 years witnessed the successive rise to political prominence of several obscure tribes, bringing the north centre of Mongolia proper into direct water communication with Siberia (i.e. Russia) and N. Manchuria (i.e. China).

2. Civilization and Religion.—Mongol family life has been admirably described in a series of articles written (anonymously) by a Protestant missionary for the Chinese Recorder (a Shanghai publication) in 1875. Immutable property is scarcely conceived of, and the idea of personal property and individual rights is almost equally lacking, except in reference to one's horse and saddle, clothing, and weapons. Every woman—so far as is known—seems to be the absolute equal of her husband—is only a life interest, for all wives (except one's own actual mother) pass over on the death of their temporary possessor, with the felt tent and the stock-pot, to his son, or, failing sons, to brothers, cousins, or uncles. In case of great warlike expeditions, of course, there are temporary aggregations of men, and the modern Mongols, like the Turks and Huns, always have an annual tryst; but as a rule tribes scatter, families scatter, and individuals scatter, so that the yurt, or the felt tent (or ming-ge bo, as the Chinese call it in E. Mongolia), is the sole economical unit. In 1790 the entire Kalmuck nation, four subdivisions, consisted of only 200,000 tents all told, i.e. before they were conquered. In the distance, on the prairie or grassy plain north of the Great Wall, one sees one or more black spots like dung-heaps. These turn out on closer inspection to be long strings of tattered felt tents, arranged to withstand the wind and snow. According to wealth or poverty the interior is hung with hand-some or shabby stuffs, and the exterior is sometimes additionally protected with Chinese oil-paper or reed. Whether such simplicity is the general rule; all luxury is make-shift. If a man has horses and dogs, or even only one horse and one dog, and maybe works for someone else as a herd, he is a poor man; a rich man may have as many as may be, in the old fried and modern times. Camels (all of the two-humped or Bactrian kind), not to mention sheep and goats (never pigs); but, rich or poor, the mode of life is always the same—rough, strong, home-made clothes, harness, and equipment; one place has been brought to contain two kinds of tents, one for the summer and the other for winter. A hospital reception for any traveller, poor or rich; no tables or chairs; and a fixed etiquette as to privacy, precedence, or the right to squat in certain honoured or tabooed places. No one who carefully reads the recently written about the eastern and western nomads from the Shilka to the Volga can doubt that in physique, mode of life, and even in basic language, they are and always in historical times have been practically the same. The religiosity of tribes whose national designations have no deeper significance than that from time to time an eponymous hero or a brilliant family, clan, or branch has succeeded in bringing most other tribes under his or its own name or banner.

With regard to the modern Mongols—especially the Khalkas—who had (some time before the Manchus seized their opportunity of uniting them) divided into four subdivisions, through Lagisians the sorrows of the Mongol nomads passed on to the early 13th century. Even Jenghiz himself, though a mere shamanist, or casual 'idolater,' and, so far as is known, destitute of any religious training, seems to have been by nature a good character incapable of ecclesiastical influences, when not put upon him; and this quite spontaneously, for he sent for and respectfully consulted a humble Chinese Taoist philosopher who travelled all the way from Shan Tung to Samarkand to advise him as to the humanity of his own warlike proceedings.

The religion of the Kalmuks and of the Eastern Mongols is Lamasian (q.v.); the older Mongol religion, however, was shamanism, which is retained by the Burials (q.v.).

3. Present-day Distribution.—When the Chinese Ming dynasty in 1639 sent the Mongol tyrants in Peking back to their steppes, the old division into the Western or right 'wing' and the Eastern or left 'wing'—practically Kalmuk and Khalka—was reverted to, and the habit of the two wings was subdivided into the Djirghon Tunen, or 'Six Myriads.' When the Manchus conquered or conciliated the Chakhars and other inner (Eastern) Mongols in 1628-35 (i.e. before they became emperors of China in 1644 as well as Manchu emperors), they organized all of them except the Chakhars into six chogolgan, or 'leagues,' (translated by the Chinese word mung, 'sworn alliance'). These six leagues, four east (Chih Li) and two west (Shan Si), are again subdivided into 24 aimuks, or 'tribes' (translated by the Chinese word pu; this word aimuk occasionally appears in Chinese jenghizide history as aimuk, and in Chinese Manchu history occasionally as aimuk). 1

1 See E. Breuschneider, Travels of the Taedz Ching Chum, Chinese Recorder, v. (1874) 175-199, vi. (1875) 1-22; also Traces of Christianity in Mongolia in the 12th century, by the archbishopric Pothloung, ib. vi. (1875) 104-114.

2 W. F. Mays, The Chinese Government, Shanghai, 1878, suggests that, in so doing, the Manchus were continuing the principle of the Six Myriads, and (pending the conquest at a later date of the Khalkas and Kalmuks) were applying it to the Inner Mongols along the Great Wall.
This is not the place to introduce a discussion on language or a long list of native Mongol tribal names; but it may be mentioned as specially significant that the Khartsein tribe of the Chosotu league are the absolutely direct descendants of Jenghiz. The Talen, or their partisans, are the ancestors of the Inner Mongols. The governing centre is popularly known as Chakhar, a word derived from the leading tribe, called during the Ming dynasty Chakhar, or Chakhan-t. There are also the Mongols of Kokonor, descendants of a collateral branch of Jenghiz's family, with whom have been associated a number of Kalmuck tribes from the west; they also inter-married with the Manchus, but were not entitled, like the Inner Mongols, to style themselves 'monists;' these two main divisions, there being the Tumet tribes of N. Shan Shi, the Barga, the Urianghai, the Mingad, the Jakkhan, and other old remnants mostly of Kalmuck type, which for convenience are ranked among the herdsman, and with them the administration of one of the other of the Manchus (now Chinese) tutsung, or military governors, from Uliassutai in the west to Jehol in the east.1

The Outer Mongols mainly consist of two races—the Kalmyk and the Tung, among whom there were prolonged and bloody wars until the Manchus (after having subdued the Inner Mongols and China itself) reduced both to complete subjection. Even after the ejection of the Jenghizide dynasty from China, when both classes of Mongols were thrust back upon their deserts, they frequently crossed the desert and fought incessantly between themselves, besides, separately or in union, making raids upon the Ming empire. The Khalkha area is easily recognizable on any map because the four (originally three) tribes or khanates into which they are divided are usually plainly marked as the Tushet, Teset, Jassakt, and Snowmen khanates; the last-named was carved out of the first, during the Ming dynasty, by the Dalai Lama of Tibet as a reward for services rendered to the Yellow-lords at the expense of the Red. These four Khalkha tribes, or khanates, were again subdivided into over 49 flags, or banners, and this array was complicated by some of the banners having been incorporated with the Inner Mongols, whilst, on the other hand, three Kalmyk banners were incorporated with the Khalkhas. The other two of the four Khalkha khanates used to fall under the high political influence of the Mongol khutuktu, or saint, at Urga, who had a Manchus resident to keep things right. A certain proportion of the Kalmyk race was moved to the neighbourhood of Lake Kokonor after the Manchus conquest of 1723-54, and it there falls under the control of the Chinese military governor at Sining. These Mongol tribes are divided among themselves; the Kalmyks have their own local saints both in the west and at Kokonor, but the Khalkhas, though Kalmuk, are almost heretical enemies. Nor can the Khalkhas easily coalesce with the 49 flags or 24 tribes of Inner Mongols. The latter represent the true historical Tata, as

3 See Parker, 'Manchu Relations with Mongola,' 'Campaigns against the Khalkhas and Oelien,' and other papers on this subject, in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society,' v. [1856-57], xvi. [1858-59]; also a paper on 'Kalmuck organization,' ob. xixii. [1859-60].

1 The immediate descendants of the Jenghizides were officially styled by the Ming dynasty; after nearly 200 years of warfare with China they joined the Manchus honourably and nearly as equals, for they were never conquered, as the Khalkhas and Kalmyks were. They have always been kindly treated by and have inter-married with the Manchus, some of whose emperors have married pure Mongol women, recognizing them as legitimate empresses of China. When the Republie was first declared in 1912, there was some talk of the Inner Mongols from a racial point of view joining their countrymen, the Khalkhas, under the united rule of the rebellious khutuktu at Urga, but this uprising was averted by the moral delinquencies of the khutuktu, the political acumen of President Yuan, and the lack of sympathy between the pure outer nomads and their own hereditary brethren, who are now by long habit more or less impregnated with Chinese civilization, political privilege, and economic luxury.

MONISM.—I. The term.—The term 'monism' was coined by Christian Wolff (1670-1754), and was used by him to denote the philosophical theories which recognized only a single kind of reality, whether physical or psychical, so that he could apply the name 'monists' equally well to the materialists and to the so-called idealists of his age. It is easy to understand why the word in this artificial sense should never come into general use, and in fact it is only used technically by a limited coterie of individual thinkers of the 18th century. In the 19th cent. the term 'monism' came to be used by the disciples of Hegel as designating their own peculiar mode of thought; thus, e.g., K. F. Goeschel, 'In Partem Alteram, De Monismos,' 'Der Monismus der Gegenwart' ('The Monism of Thought'). In this sense too, however, the term had but a limited usage. In point of fact, it first found a place in current speech as the designation of a philosophical movement closely related to the modern theory of biological evolution, and it was, in particular, the biologist Haeckel and the philo-
logist Schleicher who brought the word into general currency. In Germany the philosophical movement referred to has found concrete expression in a 'monistic society' (Monistenbund), which has drawn to itself a considerable number of adherents. Nevertheless, certain other applications of the term still maintain their ground. In especial, the name 'monism' is given to the philosophical theory which, instead of subordinating the soul to the body, and the body to the spirit, is assumed to be the equivalent aspects of a single fundamental process, and on this ground constantly refers each to the other. Of monism in this sense Spinoza is generally regarded as the leading exponent. Finally, however, the term 'monism' may have meaning. In its attempt to apply it to every mode of thought which seeks to transcend the distinction between the physical and the psychical, and to reach an ultimate unity. The fact that these various significations are often mingled together in common usage has led to great confusion and much unfortunate controversy.

2. Monism as expressing an inherent need of the mind.—In its widest sense monism is the expression of a demand which no philosophy and no religion can ever in the last resort refuse to the human mind at length refuses to allow the real to fall apart into the irreconcilable opposites of body and soul, of nature and spirit; and every system of thought must ultimately arrive at some kind of and in the sense Christianity itself is a realism—a spiritual monism—since it traces all reality to the divine Spirit. In the philosophical realm, however, monism usually stands for the Spinozistic view, which recognizes an exact correspondence between extension and thought, the visible and the invisible, 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: 'omnia et conexio idearum idem est ac ordo et connexion 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 and every thing are the relations of that series alone. Modern psychology, in following up this theory, has propounded the doctrine of 'psychophysical parallelism,' and strives to apply the doctrine to mental and bodily processes in detail. Its whole undertaking 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.

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 predominance to one side or the other, either the physical becomes predominant, and the psychical a mere reflexion 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 there ever be, a pure monism, i.e., a monism maintaining a perfect equilbause between body and spirit, the body to the soul and spirit, and vice versa, as found in Spinoza himself; a closer scrutiny of his thought shows that he is never purely monistic, but always leans more either to naturalism or to idealism—the former in the groundwork, the latter in the consummation, of his system, as appears more especially in his Ethics. In the beginning of that work the supreme factor, the core of the real, is nature, whi; psychical life is a mere representation of theunity of adherence of the soul to the body; at the close, however, this naturalism is transmuted into an idealism, for Spinoza's doctrine that all reality is supported and integrated by a divine life, and that nature only moulis that life into visible forms, as well as the doctrine that man is capable of assimilating the whole universe, and of attaining infinity and eternity by the intellectual love of God ('amor dei intellectualis'), cannot be called anything but idealism. Whatever Spinoza once was and may have meaning, we might apply to it every mode of thought which seeks to transcend the distinction between the physical and the psychical, and to reach an ultimate unity. The fact that these various significations are often mingled together in common usage has led to great confusion and much unfortunate controversy.

(a) 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 philosophical thought the outer and inner worlds were made closely dependent upon each other and were firmly interlinked, they were not regarded as of co-ordinate authority; on the contrary, the universe a real man was pervaded by an inner life, and the union of the visible and the invisible world is brought about upon the basis of the spirit. It was, however, strongly insisted upon that the inward life cannot come to its own, or realize itself in any way embodying and taking perceptible form in the external. Here we have the genesis of an aesthetic and philosophical monism of the idealistic type, and it has often suggested that the latter is a direct outcome of the former.

(b) Naturalistic monism.—On the other hand, the monism frequently associated with the modern theory of evolution exhibits a naturalistic tendency. It regards the physical world as the essential substance of the real, and differs from materialism only in the circumstance that it conceives the psychical, not as derived from physical processes, but as present from the first even in the most minute elements of the material world, and as forming an integral part of it. Even so, however, the psychical is not thought of as attaining to independence and spontaneity; it has no powers or laws peculiarly its own, but is in every respect subordinate to, and wholly interwoven with, external natural forces. From this theory, human life endowed with any special significance or accorded any distinctive vocation. It is true that this naturalistic monism, in its theory of practical life, recognizes the ideal ends of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, and undertakes the task of furthering them. But it can do so only by contravening its own naturalistic principles, and thus it comes to exhibit the fatal inconsequence of theoretically recognizing unity as its supreme aim while having to transgress laws to which it is bound to acquiesce. To render a pure reason here to be otherwise so often sadly ignored, has come to mean more and more for the modern mind. Not only does she reveal ever more fully the delicate texture of her being, but in yielding herself to the practical arts she has added a precious and happy element to the environment. The importance of the material factor for human well-being is much more widely recognized in modern civilization than was once the case. The result of these various developments is that
MONOLATRY AND HENOTHEISM

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 the great beliefs were submerged among human beings and dominated their common 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 existence mankind is now in a state of grave disunion, 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 things is never felt more keenly than in the path of naturalism, which probes what seems to be the simplest and most intelligible solution of the great problem. In reality, therefore, it is the defects of the opposite view that here lend strength to monism.

Another factor which—in Germany at least—operates in favour of naturalistic monism is found in the perplexities that have emerged in the province of religion and the Church. That religion at the present day bristles with problems, and that the adherents of the Churches, as well as the adherents 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 the intimate relations between Church and State. In this circle 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 dubiety regarding it, there is a natural tendency to break away from any 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 religious, cultural factor in human life, and demands that the assumed results of modern science shall not be ignored by those who speak in the name of religion. Its weakness, again, shows itself in the positive aspect of its work, and in its claim to lend a hand to human life and to satisfy the human soul. For such ends it has, in truth, nothing to offer but an intellectual interpretation of things—an interpretation which purports, by improving our conceptions of nature and by showing that man forms part of nature, to be able to supply the human heart with powerful ideas of happiness. But between ends and means, between claim and achievement, there is a wide disparity. The scientific procedure of monism, moreover, suffers from the defect of confusing natural science with the philosophy of nature, and of too readily trans-forming the results of natural science into principles of the cosmos, while giving no recognition at all to the peculiar character of spiritual life or the process of universal history. But, whatever the shortcomings of modern monism, it is certainly a notable feature in the history of the present day.

MONKEY.—See ANIMALS.

MONOLATRY AND HENOTHEISM.—A whole group of words, some of them classical, are compounded with μονο- as a prefix. Ecclesiastical usage added not a few others—e.g., 'monomagia,' a marriage only once; re-monogamia after the death of one's wife being forbidden, 'Monoplystes,' 'Monotheletes.' To these was added, in modern times, 'henotheism' (q.v.); this term was touched with ambiguity, since it was sometimes a synonym for unitarianism. Last of all, apparently by Julius Wellhausen, 1 'monotoly' 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 a multiplicity.

If the first half of the word shows it to be akin to monothelmia, its affinities on the other side are with idolatry (see IMAGES AND IDOLS). Christian usage, from the Bible downwards, vacillates between interpreting idolatry as an all-inclusive worship and as worship of 'false' gods in the sense of non-existent beings. In the Roman Catholic Church the distinction is made between latria, worship paid only to the Persons of the Trinity, and dulia, veneration of the saints (Virgin receives not latria, but hyperdulia). Both in the Roman and in the Greek Churches adoration (προσκύνης) or dulia is rendered to images or icons of the Divine Persons and saints, as well as to the Gospels, relics, etc. (cf. Denzinger's nos. 302, 307, 312, 853 f.).

Unhappily, there is another term which habitually presents itself as a synonym for monolatry and as a rival—henotheism. This word was coined by F. Max Müller while under the influence of Schelling. In a review of Renan's Schelling, entitled 'Semitic Monotheism,' and contributed to the Times in 1860 (reprinted in Chips from a German Workshop, i. [1867], and again in Selected Essays, ii. [1881]), Müller while repudiating Renan's theory of religious history as in accordance with the Semites, finds at the basis of all religion a crude or vague faith in the divine, not yet articulated either into polytheism or into monolatry, and calls this 'henotheism.' As thus defined on its first emergence, henotheism is a hypothetical construction, belonging to a period earlier than recorded history. E. von Hartmann is fairly in line with this when he speaks of henotheism as 'the original nature-religion;' as the 'indifference of mono-, poly-, and henotheism;' 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 1863 (also reprinted in Chips, i., and Essays, ii.). Here we have a pair of synonymous terms—'henotheism' and 'kathenotheism'—which refer to a well-marked historical phenomenon. Study of the Vedas has impressed Max Müller with the way in which each deity, out of a large recognition of his pantheon, is treated in turn as if the supreme or even the sole god. While Indian religion offers the classical illustration of

1 T. H. Huxley (Nineteenth Cent., vi. [1860] 495) is quoted by E. von Hartmann, 'Semitismus und Monotheismus,' in OED, 1898, p. 273: 'natural—Semitismus monotheismus.'

this attitude, it recurs elsewhere. Max Müller recognizes it in Greece, Italy, and Germany (III. 1878, London, 1879, p. 236), as well as in Finland (Contributions to Science of Mythology, London, 1883, p. 47). Both there speak of ‘heathenism or kathenothism’ (III. p. 271), ‘kathenothism or by a shortened name henothem’, (Contributions to Science of Mythology, p. 140).

When P. Asmus describes the whole of ‘Indo-Germanic’ religion as heathenistic, because of the alleged tendency of all its divinities to pass into each other, he is inspired by Max Müller's second usage, though he distorts it.

It may seem to us that Müller has himself become a certain confusion. But the worst confusion of all is introduced by Pleiderer (loc. cit.), without regard to either of Müller's definitions, and in conscious opposition to Hartmann and Asmus. He recognizes—distinctively among the Semites—not, of course, a monotheist instinct, but a ‘national or relative monotheism which in the case of Israel was the porch to pure monothemism’ (iii. 34 n.) and this he calls heathenism. We cannot wonder if high authorities have proposed to suppress the Hebrew ‘heathenism’ because of its ambiguity (e.g., J. Estlin Carpenter, in ER 1885, III. 22); H. Oldenberg, Bel. des Veda, Berlin, 1894, p. 11, note 1; E. W. Hopkins, ‘Heathenism in the Rig Veda’, in Classical Studies, in Honor of H. L. Satterlee, New York, 1894, pp. 75-82, Beliefs and Attitudes in India, Boston, 1895, p. 120; A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, Strassburg, 1897, p. 16, with references to earlier literature).

Kathenothism is interpreted by Carpenter as already extinct. The word is cited by J. L. Rymer (P.T.S. 1864), but it has certainly found little favour.

One might have wished to see ‘kathenothism’ and ‘monolatry’ spared, as names for two very different approaches to monotheism, while the word ‘heathenism’ might either be wholly suppressed or else generalized to include both kathenothism and monolatry, together with any other workings of monotheistic tenacity that fall short of monotheism properly so-called. There is much significance for theists in irrepressible movements towards recognition of one great, one supreme power, one sovereign goodness.

Allan蒙roes distinction (Hist. of Religion, London, 1911, ch. 6, p. 57) has been good in directing our attention to the meaning of the word ‘heathenism (and thus to the phenomena of monotheism). But any suggestion that this distinction is Max Müller's own must be rejected. Cf. the discussion in my Physical Religion, Glasgow Gifford Lecture of 1900, p. 151 n.: ‘It is to be regretted that other scholars have used the word heathenism in a different sense from that which I assigned to it. Nothing can cause so much confusion as the equivocal use of a technical term [but in the case of heathenism there is no technical term] and the newer term has generally had the right of defining it.’

The classical region of monolatry is the religion of Israel, whose phenomena, as we saw, probably suggested the name. The First Commandment (of the greater Decalogue, Ex 20 or Dt 5) crystallizes the requirement and carries it into the moral region. Kindred Western Semitic races—possibly other races too—may have known something similar, their gods lower under heaven or in the depths of the earth, but the frame of the law that was general has generally had the right of defining it.

For a time Christian theology was in danger of surrendering to this illogical logic, as was the case, e.g., when it undertook the task of converting to monotheism in order to terms with the Antiochenes (see art. ANTIOCHENE THEOLOGY, vol. i. p. 584 ff.). The Christological interest of the Antiochenes, in contradistinction to that of the Apollinarians, culminated in the view that a monotheism in Christ was retained along with perfect deity in Christ. These theologians, accordingly, spoke of two natures (διὰ
MONOPHYSITISM

In the one Christ—since for their conceptions, two, 

and 

was the monophysites were 

the unity of His person. Their leading opponent, 

CyriI of Alexandria, was supremely concerned 

maintain this unity, but he did it only by leaving 

out of account every element of human personal-

ity. At Antioch, and later at 

Cyril, we must assume 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 faced together in an indissoluble unity (συν-

οικοποιημα 

θων 

λογων 

συνεκπρεπουν: he borrowed it from the professional work of 

Apollinarian — the θεια 

συνεκπρισεσσα 

των 

θων 

λογων 

( 

EHR 

i, 608), of which it is true, he 

believed that Athanasius was the author. We 

can see how closely he approaches Apollinarian 

at this point. The Alexandrian, nevertheless, did 

not proceed to the conclusions drawn by the 

Laodicen, who rejected the view that the Saviour 

had assumed a complete humanity and a ψηφι 

λογος. 

To Cyril the formula remained a religious 

possibility, but he used all the artificial logic to 

give it also a theological validity. Here 

he takes φιλα 

simply as a κατοι — the divine, 

human nature, however, is something new in 

relation both to the divine nature and to human 

nature, and the properties of the one, the 

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 

το 

θεο-θανατον 

ανθρωπον 

and, although 

in the course of the proceedings he further modified 

his statements, he was condemned on the ground 

that he definitely did not only failed to compose perturbed minds, but 

also fanned the latent elements of controversy 

into flame. In this controversy the disputants, 

moving on the lines of Cyril (and Apollinarian), 

were back to the Boylean, "aionphi'os; but, how-

ever, they spoke, not of the one incarnate nature 

of the divine word, but of the one nature of the 

incarnate word (σωματωματος, not σωματωματος), 

and the meaning to indicate decisively that the 

point involved was not in humanos νομος μετα τη 

σωματωματος. 

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 theological learning and possessed with a more daring ambition than even his pre-

decessor. His great aim was to secure the supremacy 

of Alexandria, and the Alexandrian theology, 

in the Eastern Church, and, as long as he had 

the ear of the emperor, and Rome did not 

deny 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 

Epheusc in 449 (shortly afterward, the 

Guscinian, 

ανθρωποκαιρος, '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, who enjoyed the protection 

of Dioscorus, was restored to the communion of 

the Church, Flavian of Constantinople, 

Domnus of Antioch, and Theodoret of Cyrus were 

deposed. The triumph of Dioscorus, however, was 

but short-lived, for not only did he dam the stream by 

his ruthless dealings, but he committed the blunder of 

irritating Leo by refusing, in spite of the 

protest of the Roman legate, to have the 

Epistula ad 

Flavianum read at the Council. The result was a 

swift revolting of the emperor; Leo, 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 ecclesi-

astical centre of gravity from the capital to 

Alexandria, and the consequent loss of the Church from political control, might be attended 

with the gravest consequences. As empress, with 

the acquiescence of her husband, the military com-

mander Marcian, who was little interested in 

ecclesiastical or doctrinal affairs, she actively pro-

called nauta (substantia) found an equivalent 

expression in φιλα, and person could be rendered 

by εσωστασια. If to endow the 

human nature (substantia) and in us 

person (σωματωματος) person person in us
nominated 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 attain this desirable end was the task of the fifth Ecumenical Council, held in 451 at Chalcedon in the vicinity of Byzantium. The deposition of Dioscorus, as it could quite well be justified on grounds of his having been friendly to the Nestorians, 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 dis-

The formula, which was carried on Nov. 22nd 451, starts from a recognition of the Councils of Nicea (325), Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431), and reproduces the Nicene and the so-called Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed; it then affirms that Cyril's letters to Nestorius and the Orientals, as well as Leo's Epistle to Flavian, have been adopted as attestations of the true faith. It next proceeds to the confession of belief in Jesus Christ as perfect God and perfect man, consubstantial with the Father, Father and Son being one God and co-
stant with us according to His humanity, in two natures (εν δύo φθονοιστέ, not εικόνιον φθονοιστέ as in portions of the literary tradition), without confusion or change, without division or separation (ἀνατριχία τοιαύτην, τοίον τε και μην διαφοράν τοιαύτην). The confession ends with a statement already quoted from Leo's letter, now rendered as follows:

της των φθονοιστών ἀνατριχίαν διὰ την ενμοιχίαν, συζευγμένη μὲν τῇ ἑκάτερον εἰκόναν φθονοιστέ καὶ εἰκόνιον εἰκόνιον καὶ μην ἕξοδον ἐπεμελέσιν τοιαύτην.

A decree, promulgated (7th Feb. 452) by the two emperors Marcian and Valentine III, imposed severe penalties upon 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. Dioscorus was exiled to Gangra in Paphlagonia, where he died in 454.

The acts of the Council were not long in manifesting themselves. In Palestine an active revolt broke out among the monks. Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, who had become prominent at Ephesus (449) as an energetic partisan of Dios-
coros at Chalcedon, deserted the patriarch and his protegé Eutyches, and 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 ins-
surgents was Peter the Iberian, monk and bishop of Mygma, in the province of Gangra. The rebellious monks found a patroness of high rank in the empress-dowager Eudocia, then resident in Jeru-

In fact, it is told of one of these fanatics that, when Leo's Epistle was brought to him, it took to the letter of the Father to His son; he should accept it or not, and that a voice cried from the tomb:

*Cursed be the ungodly Leo, robber of souls, as his name signifies; cursed be his profane monk (Monomachus), cursed also be Marcian and the ungodly Pachylas; cursed be Chalcedon and its Symbol and all who yield acceptance to it; cursed be he who subscribes to Nestorian, or who is in Christ, the Son of God, after not the union* (G. Renaudot, Hist. patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitana, Paris, 1715, p. 129).

This wild outburst of hate expresses most appropriately 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 certain Proterinus was appointed by the government upon the Alexandrines as bishop in place of Dioscorus. On the accession of the emperor Leo I. (457-474), the presbyter Timotheus Aelurus (i.e. 'the Weasel'), who had been on friendly terms with Monophysites, was raised to the episcopal throne by methods of sheer violence. At Easter, 457, Proterinus was murdered by the populace in the baptism of the cathedral church, while Time-

This was a reflection of the division of Diptychs, and pronounced the anathema upon Chalcedon ('the Synod,' as it now comes to be called in the sources). Timotheus held his position until 460, when, after fierce conflicts, he was driven from Alexandria and banished to Gangra; he was subsequently sent to

The patriarchate of Antioch was likewise kept in a state of unrest by long protracted dissensions. Here the presbyter Petrus Fullo ('the Fuller'), who in no long time supplanted Bishop Martyrius, was deposed in 460 by a sentence of the Council, and contended for the doctrine that God had been crucified (ὁ θεὸς ἐκταγμένης). To the liturgy he added the singing of the Trisagion (Is 6, 4) supplemented by the phrase θατρεῖται ἡ ὡρα; and he also introduced (ἀρετικός) the Mass, probably with a view to emphasizing his opposition to the Chalcedonian formula, as also, 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 govern-

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 defection 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 (491-498) exerted all their energies to establish ecclesiastical equilibrium in the East, but they failed altogether in the task of maintaining peace with Rome at the same time. A proceeding of signal importance was the attempt of Zeno (482) to introduce for a new formulaii, the so-called Henoticum, in place of the Chalcedonian symbol. The Henotikon was designed to give expressive emphasis to what was common to all parties, and accordingly it rec-

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necognized the Councils of Nicea, Constantinople, and Ephesus as witnesses to the faith, disclaimed Nestorius and Eutyches, and condemned every one who "now or ever, at Chalcedon or elsewhere, thought or thinks otherwise. The formulaii express the doctrine of the natures of Christ were adroitly kept in the background, so that every cause of offence might be removed. In spite of it all, however, the project of the emperor failed of complete success whether the true Church should accept it or not, and that a voice cried from the tomb:

Cursed be the ungodly Leo, robber of souls, as his name signifies; cursed be his profane monk (Monomachus), cursed also be Marcian and the ungodly Pachylas; cursed be Chalcedon and its Symbol and all who yield acceptance to it; cursed be he who subscribes to Nestorian, or who is in Christ, the Son of God, after not the union* (G. Renaudot, Hist. patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitana, Paris, 1715, p. 129).

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monophysitism was an ideology that rejected the dual nature of Christ, which was a major theological conflict in the late Roman Empire. It was opposed by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, which affirmed the dual nature of Christ and is considered by most Christian denominations as the correct doctrine. The monophysites, who adhered to the belief that Christ had only one nature, were persecuted and faced schism in the early Christian church. The term "monophysitism" has been used to describe the beliefs of these early Christian communities that rejected the Chalcedonian formula of two natures in one person for Christ.
divided the one Christ into two ἰδρύματα, since no nature could possibly assert itself (ἐνέργειας) that did not remain self-substantive (ὑποκείμενον); the hypothesis of two φύσεων led to that of two φύσεων, and so to the abjured heresy of Nicae- torius. In conformity with the position of Cyril, and with a mode of expression first met with in the writings of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, viz. ἅπαξ λειτουργία (τιμίως καὶ ἥσσος τιμίως) and ἰδρύματα Ἰησοῦν (Paul Melchiades, Litterae, § 829). Severian took as the basis of his speculations the inherently complete divine nature and person of the Logos. The Logos, in His act of assuming flesh—flesh animated by rationality—becomes flesh and man, as His body was born of an immaculate womb, 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 Theodosians, who saw in it an expression of the identity of essence between that body and our own, and were thus able to avoid the heresy of Eutyches. It was precisely in this thesis, however, that Severian and his followers were wrong. It was simply inconceivable that Christ's body had been subject to corruption (φθορά), which has been a characteristic of human nature since the Fall. In order to understand the precise usage of this term in the present connexion, we must note that it did not refer to the φθορά 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 φθορά in that sense, i.e. as decomposition. The question at issue here had to do with the natural infirmities of the human body (ἀρνητικῶς πάθως)—its liability to hunger, thirst, weakness, sweating, weeping, bleeding, and the like. The view of Julian, Philoxenus, and the Gaiantites was that, while Christ certainly hungered and thirsted, it was because He desired, not because He required (οἷς ἄρηγκ φθοράς), to do so—because, in short, nothing would have happened had He been unwilling. But the divine undergirding. He had voluntarily taken upon Himself human pains and needs. He was the Son of man, as man was the Fall, while all other men, though sons of Adam too, were possessed of a body and a nature that were different. The question that had to be answered was, was Christ a human being, or was He only a human being?

We are thus able to understand the heretical designations applied by the warring Monophysite parties to one another. The Julianists or Gaiantites charged their opponents with phatholatry, the worship of the corruptible. These 'plathartolatry-laters,' however, retorted upon their accusers with the epithet 'aphatholodectists' or 'phantasistai,' 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 extremist besides, although not able to prove it, the most extravagant seems to have been reached by those Gaiantites who maintained that the body of Christ, from the moment of its union with the Logos, should be regarded not only as uncorrupted (ἀκλίμακτος) but also as uncreated (ἀκλίμακτος). These were stigmatized as 'ἀκτίστηται' by their opponents, whom in return they called 'ἀκτίστοκοι, i.e. 'watchers of that which was created.' Divisions arose even among the Severians themselves. The Julianists, a dozen, taking his stand upon such Scripture passages as Mk 13:2 and Jn 11:25, maintained that, as the body of Christ was subject to natural conditions, so its animating spirit could not be regarded as immi- scient. To the adherents of this doctrine their opponents applied the name ἀκτίστοκοι.

4. Justinian and the new orthodoxy.—On 1st August 527 Justinian became sole emperor of Rome. It does not fall to us here to set forth fully his far-reaching ecclesiastical policy in its transforming effect upon all things. The decisive factor in his attitude towards the West was his recognition of Monophysitism. Theodora, his empress, had for years been anxious to take the most stringent measures against the Monophysite heresy, which had caused so much trouble during the pontificate of the pope Gregory I. The Emperor, however, was not willing to risk the war with the Persians by creating a new breach with the Eastern Church. But when he learned that the Persian king was to celebrate a special feast in honor of the Virgin Mary, he determined to take immediate steps to suppress the Monophysites.

This project was so disturbing to the Monophysites, especially as the empress Theodora was working with growing fervor for the rehabilitation of the party with which she sympathized in her devout mood. A few years after Justinian's accession to the throne, accordingly, negotiations were opened with the insurgents, and the most eminent of the bishops deposed in 518—no, however, including Severus—were summoned to a council at Constantinople, where they would be won over at a religious conference. In this conference, on 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 φύσεως ἀνθρώπου). This Theopaschite formula was manifestly a friendly overture to the Monophysites. But the 'Collatio cum Severiano' (538 or 539), after two days of verbal controversy, came to nothing. On 15th May 535 Justinian issued an enactment in which he once more declared Chalcedon to be a standard of faith to coordinate 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 Anthimus, a protegée of the empress Theodora and a theological partisan of Severus himself, had been raised to the episcopate. But this did not satisfy the emperor, who was not satisfied with the Chalcedonian settlement. In the following year (536) Pope Agapetus was able to influence the emperor that the doctrinally suspect patriarch was superseded by the orthodox Menas. It is nevertheless the case that, during the course of Justinian's fall, the Monophysites firmly maintained their position at the court, while in Syria and Egypt their ecclesiastical power was supreme (cf. § 5).

Justinian himself made zealous efforts to comprehend the points of the doctrinal controversy. His great aim was to reconcile the teaching of Cyril and the Symbol of Chalcedon. In this he found effective support in that most eminent of his theologians, Leontius of Byzantium († 543 as a monk in Palestine), who, in his enunciation of the ἔνθεσις τῆς ἐναρμοστῆς, ἐνθέσιας τῆς ἐνεργείας, κατά Νεώτητας καὶ Εὐθειῶδεστής and other writings, won renown as a prolific author and an able assaulter of the Severian Christology. Theologians of that time were based wholly upon the Aristotelian logic. A novel feature of it, however, was his ingenious application of the idea of the ἐνθέσιας of Christ's human nature as ἐν τῷ φύσεως, so that that nature is not ἐνθέσιας, but ἐνθέσιας. The term 'hypostasism' 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 could, without violation of its actual words, be interpreted in the sense of
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5. The independent Monophysite churches.—

The Monophysites of Syria never ceased to regard the banished Severans as the rightful patriarch of Antioch and declined to recognize the successors 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, attempted to reconcile the patriarchs, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The chief representatives of literature in Syria were nearly all Monophysites.

In addition to Severus, Philoxenos, and Julian (cf. § 3), the following writers of the earlier period deserve mention; Jacob of Strum († 621), the author of widely read liturgical homilies, which earned for him the title of "Pute of the Holy Spirit"; Sergius of Reiasa († 536), physician and priest, who translated into Syriac several works of Aristotle and Galen, as also of the polemics of Eusebius and Photius; Jacob of Edessa († 679), equally renowned as theologian, liturgical writer, philosopher, historian, exegete, and grammarian; George, bishop of the nomarchate of Arz, a writer whose letters have come down to us in large numbers. Of the medieval authors one of the most prominent was Eustathius, whose Chronicle forms one of the most important sources of information regarding Monophysites.

In 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 'masprin,' now 'katholikos') resides in the monastery of Deir-Safaran, near Mardin. Efforts made by the Jacobites, from the close of the 15th., to effect a union with Rome had a very meagre result. At the present day the Roman Catholic Syrians number about 30,000, and are subject to a patriarch, who takes his title from Antioch, but lives in Mardin.

In Egypt the conflicts between the Severians and the Monophysites of Galatia (cf. § 2) at length captured the unity of Monophysitism, which, nevertheless, became the faith of nearly the whole Coptic population. The patriarch of the orthodox, the Melchites (i.e. "Imperial"), who was also proconsul of the province, laid great stress upon the homage of very few outside the higher official ranks in Alexandria and some of the larger towns. The Monophysite propaganda was carried also to the Nabians and the Abolians. From 616 marauding bands of Persians ravaged the religious stations on the Upper Nile, and it was only after the Arabs, with the hearty good-will of the Copts, took possession of the country that the Monophysite patriarch ventured to leave his place of refuge in the Upper Egyptian desert. During the Middle Ages the condition of the Coptic Church was a fairly prosperous one, but subsequently it was sorely harassed by the repeated attacks of Monophysitism, and it is only within recent times that it has been able to make a fresh advance. The Christian Copts of the present day still maintain their Monophysite creed (see, further, art. COPTIC CHURCH).

Finally, Monophysitism penetrated also to Armenia. The Armenians, while still engaged in battling for their own faith with Parn Mazdeism, were quite unaffected by the dogmatic controversies of the Imperial Church. The expanding propaganda of Monophysitism, however, induced them to adopt the Henoticon of Zeno (cf. § 2). Thereafter they maintained close relations with the Syrian Monophysites, and at the Council of Dvin, in 554, they occupied the more radical position represented by Julian of Halicarnassus. From that time they have remained faithful to Monophysitism, though they subsequently gave their adherence to the more moderate Severian school.

LITERATURE.—I. SOURCES.-(a) Decrees of the Councils, Declarations of Synods, papal briefs.

(b) Historical works and Chronologies.—Zacharias Rhetor (Chronikae Scriptorium Byzantinorum), a work which, written from the Henotic standpoint, a record of ecclesiastical events from the Council of Chalcedon to the death of Zeno (extant only in a Syriac version; see below, under Historiae Miscellaneae); Theodorus Lector, Apographa in the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople at the beginning of the 6th., written from a position of a historian of the Church from Nestorius to Justin I., which now exists only in fragments; Johannes Malalas, Chronographia, written in Julian's reign; Evagrius, Ecclesiastical History, written after 546 (ed. J. Dieder and L. Parmentier, London, 1899); Theophanes Choniastus, Chronographia, written after 1010 (ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1885-88). Of the Latin chroniclers Liberators, Brevariorum Romanorum Notitiae, is of value. The most important of the Syriac authorities are: Chronicon Edessinum (ed. i. Gnid, in Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, "Chronica Minor," i. Paris, 1905), dating from the middle of the 8th. cent.; Historia Miscellanea, a compilation of the same period by an unknown Monophysite writer, and including the history of Zacharias Rhetor mentioned above (ed. K. Ahrens and G. Krueger, Leipzig, 1899); also, F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Broom, London, 1899; and J. Dieder (L. E. 555), Ecclesiastical History (3rd ed., ed. W. Carleton, Oxford, 1855).

(c) Patriotic, Syrian Rufus of Mayyvana, a collection (c. 315) of the sayings, prophecies, visions, and revelations of various distinguished Monophysites, and especially of Peter the Iberian (ed. E. I. F. G. de Strassburg, Orientalia, Paris, 1911); the biography of Peter the Iberian, probably by the Iohannes Rufus just mentioned, written in Old Syrian (Leipzig, 1899); Vito ciminius apud Monophysitae celebrissimus (ed. E. W. Brooks, in Corpus Script. Christ. Orient., "Scriptores Orientales," xxi. Paris, 1899), the biographies of the Syrian monks Euthymius and Sabas, by Cyril of Scythopolis (after 557), etc.

MONOTHEISM.—In the history of religion, monothelism, the doctrine that 'there is one God,' or that 'God is One,' is somewhat sharply opposed to a 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' belief, or the older beliefs, which some form of monothelism replaces, had dealt with them, were themselves for the older faiths 'gods,' then the monothelism which is each time in question opposes, and replaces, some such form. This is what happens when Judaism and Muhammadanism 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 opposition doctrines which 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, despite their more or less divine character, lack some or all of the features which naturally belong either to God or to gods, and since demons, the spirits of the dead, or magic powers may be in question in such religions, the name 'polytheism' can hardly be quite accurately applied to the whole class of beliefs which are in any important way opposed to monothelism. So, in the history of religion, monothelism has two opponents: (1) polytheism proper, and (2) beliefs that recognize other more or less divine beings besides those that are properly to be called gods.

In the history of philosophy, however, monothelism has a much narrower range of contrasting or opposing beliefs. Polytheism, as an explicit doctrine, has played but a small part in the history of philosophy. To the doctrine 'God is One' or 'There is one God,' where this doctrine forms part of a philosophy, there are opposed opinions which are often classified under three heads: (1) philosophical pantheism, (2) philosophical atheism, (3) philosophical scepticism regarding the divine beings. The modern name 'agnosticism' has been freely used for a philosophical scepticism which especially relates either to God or to other matters of central interest in religion.

Frequently, in summaries of the varieties of philosophical doctrine, the term 'pantheism' has been used as a name for such philosophical doctrines as 'identify the world with God.' Pantheism is often summed up as the doctrine that 'All is God,' 'Everything is God,' or, finally, 'God is everything.' But a more careful study of the philosophical doctrine which have gone under the name of pantheism, or which have been so named by their opponents, would show that the name 'pantheism' is too abstract, too vague in its meaning to make any clear insight easily obtainable regarding what is supposed to constitute the essence of a philosophical pantheism as opposed to a philosophic monothelism. 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, or theology, or religious tradition, the first proposition appears to be contrary to the second depends upon the special interpretation, or upon the special prejudices of critics, sects, or philosophers of a given school.

One who asserts the 'unity of God' may or may not be laying stress upon the fact that he also makes a sharp distinction between the real called God and other realities—e.g., the world. That such sharp distinctions are often in question is an important fact in the history of philosophy. Nevertheless the doctrine that 'God is One' has been philosophically maintained at the same time with the doctrine that 'God is all reality.' For such a view, the two doctrines would simply be two ways of expressing the same centrally important fact. One who wishes to understand the numerous controversies, subtle distinctions, and religious interests which at one time or another have been bound up with the name 'pantheism' must be ready to recognize that the term 'pantheism,' when used without special explanation, is a poor instrument for making clear precisely where the problem lies. In brief, one may say that, while the term 'pantheism' has been freely employed by philosophers, as well as by those who are devoted to practical religion, it is rather a name, or a philosophical 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 adheres to its implications and is concerned concerning the nature of God. But the proposition, 'God is all,' or 'God is all reality,' has, in the history of thought, no meaning which can be made clear unless one first grasps all the essential principles of the historical name, rather a cause of confusion than an aid to clearness. Thus, one who wishes to understand theessential meaning of the term 'monothelism' by contrasting the historical forms of monotheism with philosophic doctrines which have been opposed to it, we may attempt to solve the problem of defining what is essential to philosophical monotheism by dwelling upon a contrast which, especially in recent discussion, has been truly emphasized, and which could be asserted, e.g., that in speaking of the nature of the 'One God' who is the essential being of monothelistic belief, either (1) one holds that God is 'immanent' in the world, thus asserting the doctrine of the 'divine immensity,' or (2) one holds to the doctrine of the 'transcendence' of God, thus asserting that the divine being is in some fashion 'transcends' the world which He has created or with which He is contrasted. But here, again, one deals with two doctrines which, in certain philosophical contexts, do not appear to stand in contrary opposition to each other. For, as is well known, there are philosophies which insist that God is in a certain sense 'immanent' in the world, and also in a certain sense 'transcendent' in His relation to the world. Aristotle, in a well-known passage (Met. xii. 10), gave a classic expression of the relations of the doctrines which are here in question, when he stated the question thus: 'the divine being is related to the world as the 'order' is to the army, or as the 'general' is to the army. Aristotle replied by saying that 'in a certain sense God is both the 'order' of the world and the 'general,' although rather the general.' Thus the opposition between divine immensity and divine transcendence does not precisely state the issue and class of issues which one finds play-
point, once more to review the issues with regard to the nature of God, but now from a somewhat different point of view. The problems, both about 'God' and about the personal nature of the divine being, have their origins antedated their philosophy. In a few cases, notably in the case of Greece on the one hand and India on the other, the origin of the philosophical tradition regarding the divine being can be traced back to another religious tendency, while the transition from religion to philosophy is fairly well known, and passes through definite stages. In one other instance, the transition from a tribal religion to a form of monotheism which was not opposed to polytheism, has been traced back to another religious tendency, which deeply influenced the subsequent life of philosophy and which is also decisively 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 conflicts of doctrine which, in the case of the history of philosophical thought, have been momentous. Ignoring, then, the complications of early religious history, ignoring also the effort further to define and to classify those doctrines which have marked the history of almost all definitions of monotheism and its opponents which we have just reviewed, it seems well to reconsider the important varieties of philosophical belief regarding the divine being in the light of the great historical contrast of the three forms of monotheism which India, Central Asia, and Israel put before us.

We shall discard the name 'pantheism,' and make no attempt to define the contrast between divine immanence and divine transcendence, or to speak of the problem 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 say that, from the historical point of view, three different views of divine life have been of great importance both for religious life and for philosophical doctrine. One of these three views has been exclusively confined to the nature of which the form of opinion in question is most characteristic. The other two views 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 each to 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 other with the influence of Greece, and the third with the influence either of India or of nations and civilizations which, in this respect, are closely analogous in spirit to the civilization of India.

(1) The monotheism due to the doctrine of monotheism in the religious tradition of Israel defines God as 'the righteous Ruler of the world,' as 'the Doer of justice,' or as the one 'whose law is holy,' or who secures the triumph of the right.' The best phrase to characterize this form of doctrine is, therefore, monotheism for the wide variety of special forms which it has assumed, to indicate its historical origin, and also to imply that it has undergone in the course of history a long process of development, is this: 'the
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ethical monotheism of the Prophets of Israel. It is
we include under this phrase that form, or type, or
aspect of monotheism, which characterizes philo-
sophies that have been most strongly influenced,
directly or indirectly, by the religion of Israel.

(2) The monotheism which has its historical ori-
dinarily in and through which it defines God as the
source, or the explanation, or the correlate, or the
order, or the reasonableness of the world. It seems
take this form of Hellenic monotheism. In the his-
tory of philosophy, and especially of that philosophy
which has grown up under the influence of Chris-
tianity, 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 influ-
enced by ethical monotheism, the most important and
essential features of the philosophy in question
will be determined by this in which it deals with the
relation between the order of the world and the
nature of the ‘One God.’ Aristotle’s statement of
his own problem regarding whether God is identical
with the world is raonotheism. The beginning of the
world as the ‘general’ is related to the array is a good example
of the form which the problem of monotheism takes
from this point of view.

(3) The third form of monotheism is very wide-
spread, and has actually had most influence histori-
cally. In the history both of religion and of
philosophy this form of monotheism, somewhat
like the Ancient Mariner, ‘passes, like night,
from land to land, and has strange power of
speech.’ Often unorthodox at the time and in the
place where it is influential, it has indirectly played
a large part in the creeds of various times and
places. Usually fond of esoteric statements of
document, and often condemned by common sense as
strange and absurd, it has, at many times,
great popular influence. The official Christian
Church has had great difficulty in defining the
relation of orthodox doctrine to this form of
opinion. In the history of philosophy the three
types of monotheism have formed part of
extremely important systems.

This form of monotheism is especially well
marked in the early history of Hindu speculation.
It is often called ‘Hindu pantheism’; and it is
indicated that it is not directly represented by systems of belief
and doctrine which have grown up on Indian soil.
On the other hand, it has a less exclusive relation
My Indian philosophy than the Hellenic form of mono-
theism, in its later history, has to Greek philosophy,
so that the connection here insisted upon between
this kind of monotheism and the early history of
Hindu philosophy must be interpreted somewhat
liberally. In fact, at the close of the history of
Greek philosophy this third form of monotheism
appeared as a part of the Neo-Platonic philosophy.
Yet in this case an Oriental origin or direct influ-
ence is extremely improbable. Examples of
the tendency of this form of monotheism to take on
new forms, and to be influenced by other motives
than those derived from the religion or philosophy
of 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.’ The name ‘monism’ therefore is more
satisfactorily for describing it than the name ‘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?’ But what we may mean
will, in a general philosophical basis just indicated, ‘Indie monotheism,’
whether it appears in Hindu philosophy, in Spinoza,
or in Meister Eckhart, tends to assert, ‘The One
is God and God only, and is also precisely because the
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 general 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 uncritically
omitted.

The ethical monotheism of the Prophets of Israel
was not the product of any philosophical thinking.
The intense earnestness of the nation into whose
religious experience it entered kept it alive in the
entire history of philosophy. The beginning of
Christian monotheism depends upon an explicit effort to make
a synthesis of the ethical monotheism of Israel and
the Hellenic form of monotheism. This synthesis
was as attractive as in the course of its develop-
ment, it has proved problematic and difficult.

The reason for the problem of such a synthesis, as the
philosophers have had to face, is due largely to the
success of the ethical monotheism of Israel in
the world. Hellenic monotheism, as we have
seen, is deeply rooted in the historical
and philosophical development of the
world. Hellenic monotheism, therefore, is
understood by its many tendencies. On the other hand, the
monotheism
of Israel was, even in its ante-philosophical form,
a kind of voluntarism. God’s law, viewed as
one term of the antithesis, the task and the rules,
or which He saves or kills as the other, was
more sharply contrasted than Aristotle’s ‘order
and ‘general’ tend to be. When, in the develop-
ment of the philosophies which grew out of the
Greek tradition, the Hellenic concept of the Logos
(‘word’) assumed its most characteristic
intellectual was, on the whole, in favour
of defining the unity of the divine being and
the world as the most essential feature of monotheism.
But, at each stage of this development, this intel-
lectual 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 contract 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 lies the conflict between intellectualism 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 philosophical monotheism, we can state only half of the problem. Had the monotheism of Israel and the Hellenic doctrine of God as the principle of order been the only powers concerned in these conflicts, the history both of philosophy and of religion would have been, for the Christian world, far simpler than it is. The motives which determine the third idea of God have tended both to enrich and to complicate the situation.

It is true that a direct connexion between ancient Hinduism and early Christian doctrine cannot be traced. But what we have called, for very general reasons, the direct type of idea of God because of the course of time, a part of Christian civilization for very various reasons. As we have seen, the doctrine that God alone is real while the world is illusory depends upon motives which are not confined to the Hellenic period. In the conflict between God and man, we have 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 this view of the divine nature. The religious experience of the Greco-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 very complications which for philosophy have grown out of the efforts to synthesize Hellenic monotheism and the religion of the Prophets of Israel to a definite type, are repeated still more in the mystical monotheism. The mystics to insist that what the intellect cannot attain, namely, an understanding of the nature of God and His relation to the world, the mystic experience can furnish to those who have a right to receive its revelations. Philosophy—intellectual philosophy—fails (so many mystics assert) to solve the problems raised by the contrasts between good and evil, between God and the world, as these contrasts are recognized either by those who study the order of the universe or by those who thirst after righteousness. What way remains, then, for man, beset by his moral problems, on the one hand, and his intellectual difficulties, on the other, to come in real touch with the divine? The mystics, i.e., those who have insisted upon the third idea of God, and who have tested this idea in their own experience, have always held that the results of the intellect are negative, and lead to no definite idea of God which can be defended against the sceptics, while the mystics advance the mystics to 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 as the philosophers, but 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 an insight which no practical activity, however righteous, attains.

To teach such doctrines as matters of religion, 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 intuitions upon which mystical monotheism lays stress are opposed to the sort of insight which the intellect obtains. Even here, however, the opposing tendencies in question are not always in any very direct contrary opposition in the thought or expression of an individual thinker or philosopher. Thus, in an individual case, an exponent of intellectualism may develop a large part of his philosophical work to a return to the Hellenic type of theism. That this was possible the Neo-Platonic school had already shown (see act, NEO-PLATONISM). Whereas Christian monotheism is strongly under the influence of intellectualism, it tends to become a synthesis of our second and third types of monotheism. In such cases the monotheism is Hellenic in its fondness for order, for categories, and for an intellectual system of the universe, and at the same time devoted to an immediate intuition, to a recognition that the finite world is an appearance, and 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 sharper, and is more fully conscious. Despite all these oppositions, however, it remains the case that one of the principal problems of Christian theology has been how to synthesize these various tendencies to bring the third of the ideas of God, the third of the tendencies to define God as One, in some tolerable and true synthesis either with the first or with the second of the three types of monotheism, or with both.

In the technical discussions of the idea of God which have made up the introductory portions of many systems of so-called 'nature theology,' it has been very general for the philosophers of Christendom to emphasize the Hellenic type of theism. The so-called philosophical 'proofs of the divine existence' make explicit some aspect of the Hellenic interest in the order and reason of the world. The 'design argument,' first stated in an elementary form by Socrates, and persistently present in popular theology of the monothestic type ever since, is an interpretation of the world in terms of various special analogies between the particular sorts of adaptation which the world shows to divine providence and theist, to the the way in which the world in art, makes use. The so-called 'cosmological argument' reasons more in general terms from the very existence of this 'contingent' world to the Logos whose rational nature explains the world because of the world. The 'argument' insists upon motives which arise in the course of the effort to define the very nature of an
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orderly system. In its briefest statement the ontological argument is epitomized by Augustine when he defines God as 'Veritas' and declares that Veritas must be real, since, if there were no Veritas, the proposition that there is no Veritas, would itself be true. The more highly developed forms of the ontological argument reason in similar fashion from our own ideas of the nature of the Logos, or of the rationally necessary order system of things in order to reify 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 general basis 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 a 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 intellect and the contrast between intellectual theology and the religious life have often led to philosophical efforts to escape from the very problems now emphasized to some measure of solution. The most it has been possible to assert is that there is no philosophical solution to the religious problem of theism. Thus intellectualism in theology, in the forms in which it has historically appeared, has repeatedly tended to bring about its own elimination. The more highly rational it has become, and the more its apparent barrenness, or its inability to combine the various motives which enter into the three different monotheistic tendencies has become manifest, the more the result of a careful analysis of the intellectual motives has led either to the revival of mysticism or to a sceptical indifference to philosophical theism. To say this is merely to report historical facts.

Some negative results of the more purely Hellenic type of monotheism became especially manifest through the results of the Kantian criticism of reason and of its work. It is extremely interesting, however, to see what, in Kant's case, was the result of the criticism of the thought of the time as to the possibility of monotheism and of the existence of God. By temperament Kant was disposed to take interest in experiences of mystic type. For him, therefore, the failure of the intellect meant a return to the motives which, in natural formation, led to the 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-Fichtean order is, however, not the Hellenic order, either of the realm of Platonic ideas or of the natural world. It is the order of 'the kingdom of ends,' of a universe of free moral agents, whose existence stands in endless contrast to an ideal realm of holiness or moral perfection, after which they must endlessly strive, but of whose real presence they can never become aware through a mystical vision or by a sure logical demonstration. The righteous man, according to Kant, says: 'I will that God exists.' Kant defines God in terms of this will. Monotheism, according to this view, cannot be proved, but rationally must be acknowledged as true.

We have in this Century of Reason 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 intentional, 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 certain to become prominent in the attention of serious-minded men, even though the Kantian formulation of the ethical ideals seems for the moment, in our mobile contemporary philosophical and religions thought, too abstract and rigid. And so we have the necessary 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, we will indicate a more explicit monotheism. In its modern formulation the more we become aware of what constitutes a person. Meanwhile, as was remarked above, the problem of monotheism has other aspects besides the problem of personality.

The essential point is that final end and last aim, as for our fathers, capable of formulation in the terms which have here been emphasized. To repeat, the philosophical problem of monotheism is (1) In what sense is the world real? (2) 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 development of such a kind of harmony. The further discussion of the nature of this harmony does not come within the scope of this article (see art. God [Bible and Christian]).


JOSIAH ROYCE.

MONOTHELETISM.—1. The Problem.—The Mononegetic or Monolethic controversy seems
at first glance to be a mere sequel to the Monophysite conflict, a knowledge of which is assumed in the opening article. But, however, we see that the later controversy has a character of its own, since it shows how the adoption of the orthodox Diphysite point of view was not regarded as leading necessarily and directly to the Chalcedonian or Monothelite (p. 814 f.) it was indicated how the new orthodoxy came to terms with the problem of the two natures in the one person of Jesus Christ—the problem raised by the Symbol of Chalcedon. The person of the God-man was conceived as arising from the person (ἐκ θεότητος) 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 ἐνεργεῖα. On this hypothesis it might seem entirely justifiable to ascribe everything that Christ said or did to the one volitional activity (ἐνεργεία) of the God-man, and actually, indeed, to regard all as emanating from His undivided will (θλημα). Such a view, moreover, could be supported by the evidence of earlier Fathers. Cyril, with reference to 1 K 8:4, had said of Christ: μιας τε και συγγενής δ' αμυν [i.e. word and hand] ἐνδεικνύει τὴν ἐνεργείαν; and it was possible, above all, to adduce the witness of a number of fourth-century Egyptian Monophysites—a passage containing the phrase μια θεωρηθηκε ἐνεργεία, which was destined to play so important a part in the coming days. The Monenergists were possessed with the idea that the redemptive activity of the God-man emanated wholly and solely from His divine nature, that nature providing the stimulus which was mediated by His rational soul and brought to realization in His body. Nor had even the natural operations of Christ been the work only of His divine nature, but it had been realized by the human soul as well, as one whole nature of Christ's human nature was 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 rationally endowed body of Christ effected its natural movements only as far as its divine nature was congenitally united. In this case, the objection urged by the opposite party against this theory of the oneness of Christ's ἐνεργεία was based upon the feeling that it surrendered 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 Monenergists 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, the theses of the Monenergists approximate very closely to those of the Severians—the more moderate party of the Monophysites. As the Monenergists themselves came to recognize this, they surrendered the phrase μια ἐνεργεία and rallied around the τρεῖς θληματα. This position they regarded as unassailable, since two wills (as distinguished from mere impuls or natural tendencies) could not possibly be involuntarily to involve two subjects endowed with volition (δύο ὑποστάσεις). 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 abhorrent to the doctrine of the sinlessness of Christ's human nature, in which all parties were at one, and would therefore have been accursed blasphemy. Gregory of Nyssa, writing long before, had said: τὰ δὲ τῶν Θεολογίων φρόνημα ἐνεργείαν εἶναι τὴν καθαρίαν τῆς θληματος. The adverse party was wont to appeal to passages like Mt 26:24, where the human will and the divine will seem to stand in opposition; but the Monothelites sought to show from the Fathers that, on a strict interpretation of this text, Christ had a human will εἰς ὄνεικόσιον 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 ἐνεργεία, they maintained, the human ἐνεργεία becomes a πᾶθος, 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 Monenergists and Monothelites sought to support their contention also on the ground that the phrase δύο ἐνεργείαι had never yet been heard in the doctrinal writings of the Church. But this was not absolutely valid, yet Sergius could say with some show of reason that none of the δυατοτομίας τῆς ἐνεργείας μεταγιγογός, i.e. none of the recognized Fathers of the Church, had made use of the phrase. As compared with the formula of the δύο θληματα, again, the Monothete case was a still stronger one. In earlier writers the phrase δύο θληματάδων is used only as expressing a final consequence foisted upon those who held the doctrine of the two natures. The use of the phrase in a positive sense can be traced only in a single work, written—i.e. genuine—before the Monothete controversy, viz. the treatise περὶ τῆς ἄγιας τριάδος καὶ περὶ τῆς Θεολογίας ascribed to Eulogius of Alexandria († 607). But, while the Dithelites were thus unable to call tradition to their aid, they operated all the more zealously with the inherent logic of their case. In point of fact, no logical objection could be urged from the standpoint of the new orthodoxy, only in opposition to his position Sergius of Byzantium, against the procedure of ascribing δύο φωναί ἐνεργείαι to the δύο φόντα. Indeed, it was, more than all else, this logical inference, i.e. the consistent development of the opposition affirmed in the use of the phrase, which 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 not damage to Byzantium and its Church. It smoothed the way for the advance of the Arabs and of Islam. Far-seeing and energetic politicians sought to arrest the mischief by working for the ecclesiastical reorganization of the eastern and southern provinces of the empire. The most outstanding figures in this movement were the emperor Heraclius (610-641) and the patriarch Sergius (610-638). Sergius, a Syrian born of Jacobite parents, was already giving his mind to the thought of his tenure of office. He caught at the watchwords μια ἐνεργεία and μια θληματα τρεῖς τρεῖς θληματα, which had apparently been introduced into the controversy by the Alexandria Monophysites, and he succeeded at the outset, on the
basis of the doctrine implied by those expressions, in winning the emperor's approval of his designs. Soon afterwards (622) Heraclius issued an edict proscribing the doctrine of the θεός εὐρετέας. But, although the Saracens lough, Sergius sought the means of patriotic bearing to bear upon the Armenian and Syrian Monophysites, the negotiations made little headway. It was not until 633 that indications of real progress began to show themselves. Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria, whom Heraclius had translated to that city from Phasis in Lazica, succeeded in bringing about a union with the Theodossians, i.e. the Monophysites (see art. MONOPHYSITISM, § 3). The doctrinal programme drawn up by Cyrus, while differing from the Armenian and the Monophysites in the forefront, guarded it carefully by special clauses; it distinctly recognized the Cyrillician terminology of the one incarnate nature, and it adopted the Apekopistic formula of the one anthropic energy. The Monophysites had some grounds for thinking that, as one of our sources puts it, it was not they who made alliance with Chalcedon, but rather Chalcedon with them. About this time, too, the metropolitan church succeeded in effecting an understanding with the Armenian, though this did not last long. The greatest triumph, however, was the winning of Athanasius, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch; for now the occupants of the three great Oriental sees were all on the same side. But at this juncture the union that had been brought about with such difficulty was gravely imperilled by the action of a Palestinian monk.

This was Sophronius, who had at an early date made alliance with the Alexandrian patriarchs Eulogius 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 μα της ευρετειας 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 της ευρετειας or two, but forbidding him to sanction the thesis of the two wills, which he stigmatized as blasphemy (καθαρευχθηκε). 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 began to advocate 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 any 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 the ban by an Ecumenical Council. 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 ask what Honorius had really said. The missive in which he explained his theological position to his colleague in Constantinople is extant only in a Greek translation, but the agreement of this translation with the Latin autograph was definitely confirmed at the Council. In this letter Honorius had set in the forefront his desire that the controversy as a whole and its mysteries should be allowed to rest or relegated to the grammarians. 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 added impartially to the view that, whatever decision might be made between the hypothesis of the one and that of the two energies, it was at all events necessary to adhere in a single will (δύναμις καθαρόν της οὐρανος λόγου τοι); for, as the Son of God had assumed a pure and supernaturally begotten human nature, the idea of a second will, disparate or antagonistic (δύναμις αναρριχησομενον της οὐρανος λόγου τοι), was simply out of the question. Passages like Mt 26' or Mt 5', 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 (ος καθαρευχθηκε της τετων αναρριχησομενον της οὐρανος λόγου τοι). 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 reprop its writer with having adopted the doctrine of the one will is simply a misapprehension, since 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 was 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 judgment as the latter did, and thus, to speak paradoxically, would have pronounced his own condemnation. Agatho and the Council of 681 stood face to face with a situation of a totally different kind. As Monotheletism had then become a matter of public ecclesiastical debate, it was simply bound to condemn it, and, in doing so, they could not avoid reproaching the missive of Honorius as well. Above all, however, we must not forget that Agatho not only referred to the missive against the monoenergetic manifestation 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 apostolice traditionis doctrina illustravit, sed profana prodiencyne immutabilis iudicium subvertere conatus est. This judgment is, no doubt, unduly severe, and, measured by modern ideas, may even be positively false. Still, it certainly shows the remarkable freedom from prejudice with which the authority of a pope in matters of doctrine could then be viewed even in Rome itself. It is quite incompetent, on the other hand, to use the judgment of Honorius into the question of papal infallibility. If we keep in mind the provisions of the Vatican dogma regarding the import and scope of the pope's infallibility, we shall see at once that they do not apply at all to the missive of Honorius. If the latter is declared to be without error, the same attribute might with equal justification be applied to any other utterance of a pope.

4. Byzantium and Rome in conflict.—After the
death of the emperor Heraclius, and the brief reigns of his two sons, his grandson Constans II, (the so-called Monothlete II) was raised to the throne in consequence of a court revolt. Constans, too, adhered to the Ecthesis, which, however, had meanwhile encountered a keen resistance, especially among the clergy of the East. The patriarch Pyrrhus, officially consecrated Monothelites; the N. African bishops raised a vigorous agitation against it; and soon the whole western province was ringing with passionate debate. Constans, on the other hand, remained loyal to the Ecthesis. The patriarch Pyrrhus, who had preceded Sorgius, was deposed by Constans on political grounds, being superseded by Paul, a man of like doctrinal views with himself. Pyrrhus went to Africa, and there intervened vigorously in the controversy. With Maximus, an aide of Constans, who had likewise removed to Africa, he conducted a discussion the records of which are among the most notable documents of the whole controversy. Here Maximus proved the victor.

This Maximus was the most eminent and effective champion of Dithethelism, and his position to his ered won him the title of 'Confessor.' He was born c. 658 at Constantinople. His career was that of a high State functionary, and he acted as imperial secretary in the reign of Heraclius. From 639 he lived in the monastery of Chrise, near Constantinople, until he was soon attainted to the dignity of an abbot. He worked energetically on behalf of Dithethelism both in Africa and at Rome, and in 641 a council that he convoked (the Lateran Council of 641, below) was summoned. At the part which he thus played ran counter to the policy of the emperor, he was at length put upon his trial. In 643 he was arrested and taken to Constantinople, and two years later he was banished. In 642 the unfortunates were brought before a legal process, the result of which his tongue was cut out and his right hand struck off, and he died within the year in the East coast of the Euxine. The best known of his extant works is his Scholia to the pseudo-Dionysian writings, and it was, in fact, the comments of Maximus that secured the Church's recognition of these texts.

The vehement opposition of the Dithethelates, however, did not wholly fail to influence the ecclesiastical policy of the emperor. Already in 648, acting on the advice of Constantine Paul, had issued a decree, the so-called Typus, declaring that the dispute regarding the doctrine of the wills must come to an end at once. The Typus, unlike the Ecthesis, avoids all argumentation on matters of a detailed point, and withdraws from its provisions all civil and civil penalties. But the Dithethelates would not be silenced. They had now their centre in Rome, and a Council conducted in 649 by Pope Martin in the basilica of St. Martinus, attended by the Greek monks whom he 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, bitter at resenting this, as well as the pope's friendly relations with the exarch Malchus, then lying under suspicion of high treason, had him sent to Constantinople (651). On the trial, banished to the Chersonese, in which he died, he was driven from his sufferings.

5. The 6th Ecumenical Council and the end of the controversy.—For a time it appeared as if the new policy of peace would be attended with success. Pope Vitalian entered into friendly alliance with the emperor; ecclesiastical communion between East and West was tacitly restored; and, when Constans visited Rome in 655, he was received with imperial honors by the emperor, however, the antagonism broke out more fiercely than ever, and the discussion 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 (procëdil, hence 'Trullan' Council) of the imperial palace at Constantinople.

This Council, which, with brief interruptions, until September 681, is recognized officially by both Churches as the 6th Ecumenical Council. The members, with abundant 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 (§ 5), 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 Tomus of Leo I. (cf. art. MONOPHYSTISIM, § 4). In the Synod of the Council the terms in which the Chalcedonian formula defines the relation of the two natures are applied to the two inherent wills (δυο φυσικα θεληματα θεοτητας).

Thus the two wills corresponding respectively to the two natures are not opposed to each other (οὐκ ενέχεισθαι), but 'with the human will is obedient to the divine and omnipotent will to which it is subject (οὐκ έν αυτῇ θελεται καί η ουσια αυτης καθεχεται), μεταξιου μεν αυτου καί ενα πληρης θελεται,' or 'the human will is necessary, while the will of flesh must indeed act, it should be subordinate to the divine will. Just as the flesh of the God-Lord (τοις τε θεοις λογοις) is called flesh, and is flesh, so the natural will of this flesh is called, and truly called, the will of the God-Lord. And, as His holy and stainless animate flesh was not taken away in being made divine (θεοφυλαται ον εναρξην), but remained within its own limitations and relations (ον εις ανθρωποτητα και λογον θεοτηταν), so the human will likewise was not abolished in the act of definition, but was still preserved.'

Agatho did not live to see the triumph of his cause, and it was left to his successor, Leo II., to secure the acceptance of the Council's decrees in the West. The most zealous opponent of Dithethelism in the East, Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, was prevented from doing further mischief by confinement in a monastery. The second Trullan Council, the Convoked Council of Constantinople (682), homologated the condemnation of Monothethelism. This does not mean, of course, that the conflict was wholly at an end, and, in fact, it was intermittently fanned to fresh outbursts by the wranglings of the Byzantine court.

Eventually the emperor Phileppius Bardanes (711-713) undertook to deal with it, while his successor, Anastasius II. (713-715), restored the authority of the Council of 660-681. But Monothethelism was still faithfully adhered to by the Monophysites of Mt. Lebanon.

LITERATURE.—1. SOURCES.—(1) letters and other written communications of those who took part in the controversy, as found in the documents of the 6th Ecumenical Council; (2) contemporary works, esp. the writings of Maximus Confessor (Oppositiones theologicae et politicae ad Marium, Disputatio cum Psycho) and statements in Anastasius Sinaita, Ἱερά τοις εὐαγγελίας έκ καί εὐαγγελίας, bk. IV. (A. Mal., Strzyg., Vit. Nova Coll., etc., West, (3) later chronicles and historical works, e.g., the Torpes συναγωγας of the patriarch Nicetasich, and the Τάξες τοις τιθηται Τοις of Theo-

II. MODERN WORKS.—The reader should consult the works cited at the art. MONOPHYSTES. At the murder of the emperor, however, the antagonism broke out more fiercely than ever, and the discussion 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
MONSTERS (Biological).—Monstra vocantur quia monstrant. This ancient platitudinmay seem ridiculous to-day, but it has not yet lost its meaning entirely. Doubtless in a modern civilized society the birth of a two-headed lamb, of a 'bulldog calf,' or of a cycloian 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 disturbance of the balance. They reveal the nature of individual influences, as manifested when one has been exerted in excess, to the exclusion or suppression of the countervailing factors.

In the study of monsters two lines of research are indicated by subdivisions of monstrous formations. Variations of lesser degrees constitute the class of 'abnormalities,' although, as explained in art. AbnormaLITIES (Biological), no hard and fast line separates the two groups. Many monstrous formations are determined by disturbances 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 precocious senility may be 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 parts or parts actually affected. In view of the vast number of categories thus recognized, only the most cursory survey is possible here; and, instead of rehearsing the long list of classes and their subdivisions, it must suffice to note that, while the whole body has suffered in some cases, in others certain parts only will be found to be distorted.

The developmental history of monsters shows us that, as a general rule, the departure from what is normal will be greater and more complete in proportion as the disturbance was early in its occurrence. For in the first phases of development, when the total mass of the embryo is almost infinitely small, even a slight error will affect the rudiments of every organ and structure that is to be perfected subsequently. At this point again two distinct groups of monsters must be contrasted. In some cases the embryos may void its contents prematurely and so pass to this, in histological pathology, the antiquated term 'molec' is still applied. Or, again, the disturbance may lead to partial 'geminant,' i.e. to some distorted kind of twin-formation. Thus twins of equal size may contain a monstrosity, and after the birth may produce such a phenomenon as the 'Siamese twins.' In other instances of this class the twins are quite unequal in point of size and, it may be, of development. As a result, an 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 excrescence 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 gemination may have been complete but unequal, and one twin is born in a normal state, while the other, instead of being represented by a spherical mass, consisting of various tissues and rudiments of organs 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 extreme instances of developmental anomalies. Variations in 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, the lizards, and other reptiles, and the parasitic organisms have been studied by means of the disturbing causes, and to these we shall now turn.

The artificial production of monsters first claims attention. In fish-hatcheries the occurrence is accidental and 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, and the various forms of parasites produced with the aid of the fertilizing element has been varied.

Physiological research of this kind has established clearly the inseparable identity of the egg-cell to a variety of influences, whether these be physical, mechanical, or chemical. At this point another possibility seems to demand notice. The influence of so-called maternal impressions has long been discussed by those who are not prejudiced on this subject. Only the highest forms of life are suitable for observation or research in this respect, and it cannot be said that the potency of such impressions has been established.

Turning more particularly to human beings, it may be mentioned that medical research has shown that certain monstrous developments, viz. Acronegaly and Achondroplasia, are due to the excess or deficiency of certain fluids which normally pass with the blood to bathe the tissues of the body. In this department of research only the first steps have been taken as yet.

In such ways the anatomical study of monsters shows the investigator what parts or parts has suffered, while the physiologist is able to point to the disturbing element. Thus we are left with the impression that, where the balance of reacting forces
The monstrous creatures of Babylonian and Assyrian art are well-known—winged bulls with human heads, hydras, and other abnormals. These were set in front of entrances as a means of frightening away evil spirits, and a similar use of ludicrous figures is known elsewhere (see Door, vol. iv. p. 845). The titles were both lower and a means of identification.

Among the folk everywhere monstrous beings 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 the older paganism. The water-horse and water-bull of Celtic lore are typical examples of monsters which have still a real existence to the folk in remote districts. Demonic beings are also often envisaged as monsters, and everywhere more or less terrifying giant and dragons have been subjects of popular belief (see Demons and Spirits, Giants).

The mythologies of most races tend to give a demonic, gigantic, or monstrous form to the supernatural agencies of culture—like the Greek—Tiamat and her brood in Babylonia, the opposing gods of whom Delphi conquered, the Egyptian, the demon or monsters who strive with gods in Hindu, Greek, Teutonic, or Celtic myth. They typify chaotic powers, the powers of the powers of the earth, 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 Marsonas 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 subjects a grotesque, if 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 monstrousness 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—perhaps as a result of the many instances of demons or devils from the Carthaginian Hanno onwards. In Egypt monstrous creatures were often figured on tombs, and the god Bes is depicted as a dwarfish but monstrous and repulsive figure.

LITERATURE.—Special mention may be made of C. Dareste, Recherches sur la production artistico des monstres (Paris, 1857); other contributions to the literature are so numerous as to preclude even a partial enumeration here. Recent studies of comparative biology are provided by E. Schwabe, Morphologie der Miindlinge, Jena, 1906.

W. L. H. DUCKWORTH.

MONSTERS (Ethnic).—1. Various kinds of monsters.—The existence of monstrous beings, human, animal, or diabolical, is believed in in 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 monstrous animals are often supposed to exist, like the Bun-yip of Australian tribes—a mythical water-monster who carries off women—or the monster or dragons said to swallow yorkis at initiation in New Guinea. 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 tusks or more heads, to be hideous 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 fanged ferocious face and monstrous barbary. The devil is found, especially in Oriental mythology and folklore. Here whole classes or tribes of monstrous beings exist, like the rakshas of Hindu myth—hideous hounds with shape-shifting powers or the hideous hounds of Arab belief, or the satyrs, centaurs, and cyclopes of Greek mythology. Here also human tribes of monstrous form are a subject of popular belief. The people of Babah (Java) were supposed by the Arabs to have two heads in their breasts. Here or there in the West Indies some of the tribes supposed to live beyond the region of the Scythians,—men with goats' feet, men with one eye (the Arimasi)—and other tribes believed in by the Libyans—monsters with dogs' heads, bulls' heads, or with eyes in their breasts. Pliny also writes copiously about such tribes. Irish mythology speaks of tribes of men with dog, or cat, or goat heads. Tribes or individuals covered with an abnormal growth of hair are often mentioned by ancient or medieval travellers from the Carthaginian Hanno onwards. In Egypt monstrous creatures were often figured on tombs, and the god Bes is depicted as a dwarfish but monstrous and repulsive figure.

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 monstrousity that is attributed to men, mythical animals, or demons in mythology or primitive art. As man's imagination peopled the world around him with spirits, so these appeared to him as gorgons, hydras, and putrid monsters from the Nilotic islands (Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections, Brit. Museum, London, 1910, p. 77; cf. RBE III. 85-9).

(b) C. A. Birket-Smith, The Religions of the Ancient Celts, Edin. 1913, p. 271

(c) J. B. P. Head, Head, for instance.

(d) This is particularly noticeable in illuminated MSS or in pictures of the Temptation of St. Anthony type.
and chimeras alike. There was a constant tendency to visualise the creatures of the human form as human yet as more than human, as animal and yet as more than animal. As man drew little distinction between himself and animals, as he thought that transformation from one to another was possible, so humanity spread together. This in part accounts for animal-headed gods 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 phallics. 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.

(b) This last fact may have in turn influenced the dreams of men, and, as dream figures were realities, 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 Austerity), 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 the skin see its own sores.

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 actuality by the waking mind, and still appearing to haunt them when sleep was rudely broken by the effect of fear. Again, hallucinations seen in waking hours by those whose mental balance was deranged might also aid in the creation of monsters, as they form part of the world inhabited by persons with certain kinds of mental affliction.

Such hallucinatory appearances, described to the sane, would by them be accepted as real, and it is probable that the medicine-man, living an abnormal life and seeing strange visions, is never quite sane. But, again, the savage in his waking life is probably the subject of hallucinatory impressions to a far greater extent than the civilized man. His psychic state when awake bears a close resemblance to his psychic state when asleep. What he thinks he sees is actual to him, and every illusion, however incredible or monstrous, is a fact. Even in cultured Egypt there were figured on the tombs the monstrous forms which the deceased thought he had seen in his lifetime.

(c) Monsters, again, may owe their origin to a basis of fact. Any large predatory animal whose coming and going was obscure would tend to be envisaged in still more awful guise. Some, indeed, have argued that the original conception of large and monstrous 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 such creatures, 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 Maoris migrated. Perhaps actual abnormal or monstrous births may have assisted in the formation of mythical monsters, or would tend to be regarded in popular belief as matters of common occurrence. Thus in China the standard histories are full of such prophecies. It is certain also, apart altogether from the possibility of abnormal births as a result of bestiality, that men have often speculated upon this or imagined the effects of such unnatural unions between different species of animals or between beasts and human beings. This is seen in universal folklore and in ancient myth, as well as in the half-gossipping histories and chronicles of bygone days and in the pseudo-scientific works on natural history from the thirteenth century. Medieval theology 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, nearer or more distant, would inevitably 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 loathsome cannibalism. Even such tribes would invest them with distorted forms. Here, probably, is to be seen the origin of the belief in those monstrous tribes already alluded to, invading peoples, behaving with brutality, are sure to be regarded as monsters. In the same way the monstrous cannibalistic ogres of folk-tale are exaggerated forms of actual cannibals (see Cannibalism). Again, where certain deformities are assumed by warriors to strike terror into their opponents, where faces are painted or tattooed, mask or animal head-dresses worn, these are apt to be a real part of the men themselves.

(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 tusks as the claws of monstrous birds—the griffin or the rach. Hence the rise of many myths about these beings—e.g., of how they were slain by gods or spirits beneficent to men.

There is no doubt that the belief in the existence of monstrous forms has had a profound influence on the minds of man, probably for the reason that, as has been proved experimentally, an abnormal shape has a strong power of suggestion.


2 See the figure Horner and Mushie, 1895, p. 40, for the creation of myths and mythical beings from dreams.


4 S. Freud and his school have argued that the mythological forms may be seen in dreams, equally, as one akin to a waking dream. See his Der Dichter und das Phantasieren, in his Sammlung Kleiner Schriften zur Neurasthenie, Leipzig, 1911.


MONTANISM.—1. The movement now generally known, from the name of its founder, as Montanism had its birth at a village called Arilabu in the province of Phrygia, probably not so far from Philadelphia (Romans, Cities and Biographies of Phrygia, p. 573). There, as it seems, about A.D. 150, Montanus, a recent convert, who had been a pagan priest, began to prophesy. His paralyses were so often accompanied by strange phenomena resembling those associated with demonical 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 ecstasy at all, but an oracle, as a contemporary writer (Eus. HE v. xvi. 7, 14) calls it, θανάσεως. In agreement with these statements an Oracle of Montanus declares that the prophet is as a lyre played upon by the divine pleurastan; and the form in which most of his extant utterances are commended implies that he was a mere passive instrument, and that the phrases which fell from his lips were actually the ἀποστισμα τερας of the Deity. His opponents reminded him of the style of the ancient prophets, whose human agents proclaimed the will of God in public with the Lord and with the Lord's Church.

2. After a time—as seems to be implied, a considerable time—Montanus was joined by two women, Maximilla and Priscilla, or Prisca, who with his sanction deserted their husbands, and who also claimed to possess the prophetic charisma. Their utterances were similar in matter and in manner to those of their leader.

3. There can be no doubt that Montanus maintained that this 'new prophesying' differed essentially from the preceding prophesying. Thus the novelty of its form was to be explained. It was the fulfilment—so it was alleged—of the Lord's promise of the coming of the Paraclete (Jn 14:16-17). The apostles had not the perfection of the Holy Spirit (Jn 14:26); 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 prophetesses were regarded as mouth-pieces of the Paraclete in the same sense as Montanus. Eusebius supports the contrary when he reports that, while Montanus was held to be the Paraclete, the women were 'as it were prophetesses of Montanus' (cf. Ioh. Alex. de Triin. iii. 42; pseudo-Tert. Harr. 7). It is possible that at first they were put in a lower position, Mt 28:20, but not in Jn 14:16, being referred to them only at a later time, 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, is the cardinal principle of Montanism. This is manifest by the very phrase 'new prophesying', which seems to imply that by the title 'prophets' they who arrogated to themselves, as distinguishing them from other Christians (Psalmus) (Ioh. passio. Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 13 [PG viii. 1300 E]); and by the polychoty of anti-Montanist writers, whose argument was mainly directed to proving that this 'so-called prophesying' was in truth a false prophecy proceeding from the spirit of evil.

The charisma was not regarded as confined to Montanus and 'the women.' Theolodus, e.g., was an ecstatic, and was reported to have died while in an ecstasy.

6. We are not surprised to learn that this sudden outburst of prophecy, and the claims that were made for its leaders, provoked much opposition. Many of those who heard Montanus and his companions would have silenced them. Two Phrygian bishops made an appeal to 'prove and refute the spirit that spoke in Maximinus; another, who had come from Ancyra in Thrace, attempted to exorcize Priscilla. At first, we are told, the movement advanced slowly; 'but few of the Phrygians were deceived.' But after a time, it seems, the majority of the Phrygian Christians became adherents of Montanus. Thus only can we account for the fact that at an early period his followers were commonly spoken of as the 'Phrygians,' and their teachings were referred to as 'the heresy of the Phrygians' (οι Φρυγες, οι Φρυγιανα διδασκαλια, whence the Latin cathophryg, cathophrygi). In due course formal protests were issued by the bishops. While the movement was still in its infancy, Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, wrote an elaborate treatise 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 (Eus. HE v. xvii. 1). Many synods met in Asia and elsewhere, and condemned the movement. On the other hand, the Montanists used similar words about the ecclesiastical rulers, and stigmatized them as slayers of the prophets. They put forth treatises in which the arguments of their opponents were answered. It was hoped 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 (Eus. HE v. iii. 4; cf. xvi. 22), which clearly refers to the persecution under Marcus Aurelius.

7. It is difficult to fix the date of the beginning of the prophesying of Montanus. The choice is usually held to lie between A.D. 152, under which year Eusebius reckons the origin of the movement in its Chronicon, and A.D. 150-157, which is supported by Euphranius (Pat., x. v. 8). It is certain that these two dates are inconsistent, for Eusebius may be giving the year, not of the earliest prophesying of Montanus, but of some prominent event which he regards as the beginning of the 'heresy'—e.g., the migration to Putea (see below, § 9), or the promulgation of one of Montanus' more startling innovations. In any case it is probable that the inference from the fact that Claudius Apollinaris wrote his treatise sometime before the end of A.D. 177, is not based on insufficient grounds after 174 (Lavoir, Eusebiana, p. 1591) when Montanus with his false prophetesses was in the act of introducing his error (HE iv. xxvii.). 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 prophetesses' (ib. v. xix. 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 leaders, died in 175-176. The movement must have enjoyed considerable dissemination for a sufficiently long time to give it the strength and stability which it undoubtedly possessed. These considerations point to an origin much before 172. The earlier date is therefore to be preferred, though with the qualifying which necessarily attaches itself, in such matters, to the statements of Euphranius. He has certainly fallen into error in one passage (perhaps two) in which he gives dates connected with the Montanist movement (Harr. xvi. 11, 29). The Paraclete was manifest in Montanus, and in him and his companions revealed the fullness of Christian teaching, was, as we have seen, the original and the adherents of Montanism, since it was the office of the Paraclete 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 dogmas. His opponents bear witness that he accepted the canonical Scriptures and was orthodox with regard to the resurrection of the dead and the divinity of the Trinity. But such critics, whether they approved or disapproved of the others who were called Montanists, would probably consider his 'innovations' considerable.

Not long after the beginning of the prophesy-4. ing Montanus crossed the Phrygian border and established himself with his followers at a city called Eas. This place, which lies to the west of Eumemia, and not far from the Phrygian Pentapolis, Pepnata, with the neighbouring village of Tymion, he named Jerusalem. To this settlement, which was thereforeforward the centre and holy city of the Eastern Montanism, he endeav-9. ourd 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 (Ens. HE v. xvi. 9, xvii. 4; Epiph. Harr. xlvii. 2), apart from a more explicit oracle attributed to another prophetess (Epiph. Harr. xlix. 2), would lead us to the conclusion that the 'new' prophet 'taught men to expect in the near future something that was prophesied by oracles (Tert. 14). The primitive Montanists, in fact, of the proclivity of chiliasm, but chiliasm of a new order. It was this hope of the Parousia at their Jerusalem, that gained for them the name of Pepuza.

Connected in some measure with their chil-10. liastic teaching was their view of the prophetic office in the Church. The prophetic charisma was not an occasional gift, bestowed as the need for its exercise arose, according to the dictum of 'the Apostle' (1 Co 13th), it was perpetual, one of the notes of the Church. Consequently Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla received their office in a line of succession. Quadratus and Annonia of Philadel-11. phia, were the link between which they continued with Agabus, Judas, Silas, and the daughters of Philip (Ens. HE v. xvii. 3, 4; Epiph. Harr. xlvii. 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.

Again, the exalted position given to the 'new prophets' led naturally to the assignment to them of prerogatives generally regarded as belonging to the apostles (1 Co 12th), and thus to the prophet and the regular hierarchy. The prophets had the power of absolution (orac. ap. Tert. de Pud. 21). This power they shared with the 'martyrs' or confessors (Ens. HE v. xviii. 7).

And, the association, the recognition, the approbation of Maximilla of two prophetesses involved the recognition that young men might hold high office in the Church. Maximilla and Priscilla seem to have made independent contributions to Montanist teaching (Hipp. Phil. viii. 19; cf. Did. Alex. de v. ca. xii. 3; ZKG xxvi. 490); and they were probably in the habit of prophesying in the congregation (Ens. HE v. xvi. 9; apoc). There is evidence that, at any rate in later times, other women followed their example (Orig. ap. Crescon. Cod. v. 279), or even outdid it; for we read of a prophetess in Capadocia in the 3rd cent., perhaps a Montanist, who baptized and celebrated the Eucharist (Firmilian, ap. Cyrn. Ep. lxxx. 10), of female bishops and priests, and of virgins who regularly officiated in the con-12. gregation at Pepnata (Epiph. Harr. xlix. 24; Did. Alex. de Trin. iii. xii. 3).

Montanus made laws regarding fasting (Ens. HE v. xviii. 2; ἁγιωτάτης ἐνισχυματικής; cf. Hipp. Phil. viii. 19; Tert. de Pud. 21). He made a point, apparently, that he increased the number of the fasting days, rather than that he reduced them to rule, eliminating thereby the element of free will in such matters, making them a duty to be observed by all Christians alike, and not only by those who used them as a means for attaining higher perfection. Among these ordinances (perhaps a later development, due to the 'women' [Hipp. Phil. viii. 19] were those which led to the particular kinds of food (ἐγγερσόμενος, ἐφαρμοσμένος).

There is some evidence that in Phrygia the Montanist rule as regards the number of fasts fell below Catholic custom (Soz. HE vii. 10, where after two weeks of 21st, 25th, and 29th fasts, a but there is no evidence of such a system among the Ephesian Montanists 'of Tert. de Ivi. 15), while in the West it did not greatly exceed it (see de Labriolle, La Grise, p. 391 f.). The regulations about fasting indicate therefore that the instances of the Galatizing or legal tendency which was desirous in Montanism by its adversaries (Tert. de Ivi. 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.

Under the same category may be brought the Montanist regulation of second marriages. For on this point their divergence from the Church must not be exaggerated. The Church discour-aged second marriage; the Montanists held it to be fornication. That which the Church permitted in special cases the Montanists excluded by a law which admitted no exception.

We learn (Ens. HE v. xvi. 20, xviii. 5) that the Montanists held martyrs (including confessors) in high honour, and even set special stores to their opinion on questions of doctrine and practice. But this was no peculiar feature of their system; it reflected the general teaching of all early Christ. 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. 23), if not also with those of Phrygia. It must be stated, however, that there is no proof of the statement, often made, that Phrygian Montanism involved a severe asceticism, or that its adherents were more antagonistic to heathensm than other Christians in the same district, or displayed special eagerness for martyrdom. Such evidence as exists points in the opposite direction (Lavogia, Ensebiania, pp. 127-135).

Montanism, after its severance 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 of so-called 'deaconesses', or female officials (ἐνισχυματικοί [Ens. HE xvi. 14]). St. Jerome (Ep. xli. 3) reports, in agreement with an ordinance of Justinian (Cod. Just. I. v. 20, 3), that the hierarchy consisted of the patriarch of Pepnata, επισκόπος apparently three or four 'deacons of the stewards', bishops, and inferior ministers.

Of the peculiarities of Montanism here enumerated some were a revival—perhaps rather a survival—of the belief and practice of an earlier period; such, e.g., are the recognition of prophets as a permanent order (1 Co 12th, Epiph. 41; Didache, 11 ii.), the prohibition of second marriage (Athenag. Leg. 33; Theoph. ad Autol. ill. 15; Iren. iii. xvii. 2), chiliasm (Just. Ditt. et Trypt. 80; Ens. HE iii. lxxxi. 121.), the ordination of women, and the expectation of an immediate Parousia (Hipp. in Dom. 18f.; Orig. Cels. vii. 8-10). The substitution of Pepnata for the literal Jerusalem may be due to the same influence. His option for the advantage of possessing a holy city in the district from which Montanus drew the greater number of his adherents.

It is not necessary to pursue the history of
MONTANISM

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 Church and the world enjoyed peace—famine not, for man was the same as before—peace. Of the Antiochenus, cf. Iren. *H. E.* 4, 12, and ultimately adherents of the movement were found in every part of Asia Minor, in Egypt (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 13 [PG viii. 1300 C]; Did. Alex. *de Trin.* etc.), and even in Constantinople, though they were always most numerous at the following of Theophilus (from orgies connected with a vine-skin [Epiph. *Hist.* xlviii. 14; *Finast.* 49, 76; *Aug.* *Hist.* 76]). It is perhaps scarcely correct to speak of Montanism as a sect. In its later stages it was rather a collection of heterodoxies, which had survived the stringent edicts of various emperors, and was perhaps not wholly extinguished till the period of the Turkish invasion (Ramsay, p. 574).

19. 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 (§ 6). Here it is to be noted that Caius (c. A.D. 200) accuses them of composing new Scriptures (En. *H. E.* vi. xx. 2), while other authorities attribute numerous writings to Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla. A certain Asterius Urbanus compiled a collection of oracles of the prophets (ib. xvi. 17†); and Tertullian wrote a Catholic Epistle in imitation of (ib. xvii. 5) an anonymous author quoted by Eusebius alludes to literature of this class when he states that he hesitated to write against the Montanists for fear of being charged with adding to the Canon (ib. xvi. 3). It is clear that 'new prophesy' was propagated by writing as well as by oral teaching.

A necessary result of this was a tendency 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, if 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 2nd cent. there were two parties of Montanists, who took different sides in the Monarchian controversy, and both of them appealed to the oracles of the prophets as well as to the New and Old Testaments (Tert. *H. E.* 7; Did. Alex. *de Trin.* ii. 13, iii. 18, 25, 38, 41; ZKG xxvi. 452 ff.; *Tert.* *H. E.* 2, 8, 13). Thus the authority ascribed to the writings of the prophets produced a tendency to the dualism, although this was the result, as modern critics generally agree, of matters of faith, and probably also in matters of discipline. This tendency would be greater if, 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.

20. 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 its origin (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 17), there was no generally accepted name for the sect. The various communities seem to have been commonly designated by the names of local leaders. Thus we hear of the followers of Proclus or of Alexander (pseudo-Tert. *H. E.* 7), the adherents of Montanus, Alciatiades, and Theolotus (En. *H. E.* iii. 4), the followers of Miltiades (ib. vi. 3: probably the Montanists of the Pentapolis), the Priscillians, and the *neueser* (En. *H. E.* vi. 2; cf. Tert. *H. E.* vi. 7, 11, and see Ramsay, pp. 709 ff.). The latter name see Vögt, *Empfehlungen für verschiedene Erklärungen des anti-montanistischen Kampfes,* pp. 107, 129 ff. Apparently the last name of this class to emerge was that with which we are most familiar, 'Montanists' (first found in Cyril, *Cat.* xvi. 8). There are also nicknames, which we may suppose have been merely local, and to have witnessed to local peculiarities (cf. 29).

Artotyrty of Galatia (from the use of bread and cheese in the mysteries), the Taseodrignite (from a peculiar way of holding the hands in prayer); of this Possessernehmien is a variant form; cf. Ramsay, p. 556), and the Asseodur or Asse of Galatia (from orgies connected with a vine-skin [Epiph. *Hist.* xlviii. 14; *Finast.* 49, 76; *Aug.* *Hist.* 76]). It is perhaps scarcely correct to speak of Montanism as a sect. In its later stages it was rather a collection of heresies, which had survived the stringent edicts of various emperors, and was perhaps not wholly extinguished till the period of the Turkish invasion (Ramsay, p. 574).

21. The earliest notice which we possess of any knowledge of the Montanist movement in the West appears in the year 177. In that year the Christians of Gaul, acting as ambassadors for the peace of the churches, wrote letters to Pope Eulensinus and to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia expressing their opinion of the movement. Since Eusebius (*H. E.* v. iii. 4) pronounces their position, 'pious and orthodox,' it may be, that one of the bishops to whom these letters have been addressed, on the whole, anti-Montanists, dealing with this conclusion is confirmed by the account of the persecution at Vienna and Lyons, written by an anonymous author cited by Eusebius (*Hist.* 7, 225 f.). If we may judge from two passages of Irenaeus (*H. E.* III. xi. 9, *xxviii.* 6 ff.), who was their emissary to Rome, though they avoided the extreme position of the Alegi (see art. Locos, above, p. 197), it is evident that the Montanists rejected the Johannine writings, and though they refused to deny the existence of prophetic gifts or the right of women to prophesy in the church, they yet condemned the followers of Montanus as schismatics. It would seem that Eleutherus confirmed their judgment.

It is difficult to explain this incident without supposing that there was at the time a Montanist propaganda in Rome. No doubt the Montanist missionary there were quickly followed (perhaps preceded) by representatives of the orthodox party in Phrygia; and it may be conjectured that among these was Aviresus Marcellus of Hierapolis in the Pentapolis, 'the chief figure in the resistance to the Montanism in the later times' (Ramsay, p. 709). He certainly visited Rome with a purpose in some way connected with the welfare of the Church; and in one of the passages from Irenaeus just referred to there are phrases which indicate that some Christians for the peace of the churches (cf. *Iren.* *Hist.* iii. 7 with *H. E.* v. iii. 4) and a treatise dedicated to Aviresus almost at the time when his famous epitaph recording the visit to Rome was written (cf. *Iren.* *Hist.* iv. *xxvii.* 6 with *H. E.* v. vii. 7, and see Ramsay, pp. 709 ff.).

22. Twenty-five years later, under Pope Zephyrinus, a fresh attempt was made to introduce Montanism into Rome. The Montanist leader Proclus held a disputation there with Caenis, which was afterwards published, and some fragments of which remain (En. *H. E.* II. *xxix.* 6 ff., vi. xx. 3). The pope favoured the 'new prophecy,' and had actually put forth letters of peace to the churches of Asia and Phrygia; but in the end, under the influence of Praxeas, these letters were withdrawn (Tert. *H. E.* 1). There were doubtless later attempts of the same kind; one is referred to by St. Jerome (Ep. XII.). But Montanism was never strong in Rome, and it disappeared from the church after the beginning of the 5th century.

23. It secured some foothold in Spain. But of its history in that region we know nothing except...
MONTANISM

that it had some adherents there at the end of the 4th century (Pacianus, Ep. i. 11.).

24. In Africa the propaganda had more success. By the end of the 2nd cent. knowledge of the 'new prophecy' had reached Carthage—perhaps from Rome, less probably direct from Phrygia—and it gained there its most illustrious convert in the person of Tertullian. St. Augustine seems to have gone over to it (v. 30, 31., 32, 33.), though he found it in 22, 33., in 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 words are necessary; for Montanism, as an institution, in the sense in which the name applies in Tertullian, differs so much, and withal is so little consistent, that 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; note 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 prophets to inspiration by the Paraclete. But it seems to us that those who speak of the Oracles of Phrygia (I.c. 3), we find no hint in his writings of the strange phenomena which were the normal concomitants of Montanist prophecy 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. Hier. xlvii. 3-9) would have had the force against so well controlled as this. Tertullian, indeed, identifies ecstasy with amnesia (adv. Marc. iv. 22, v. 8), but with such qualifications of the meaning of amnesia (de An. 43) as to bring him very near to the conclusions of Eusebius. 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 his view prophecy ceased with the Baptist (de An. 9, de Ici. 12), till it was restored in the prophets of the Paraclete.

Montanus mentions Pepuna. He was a chiliasm, and he expected the Parousia in the near future; but he believed that it would take place in Jerusalem (adv. Marc. iii. 24). He cannot have read the oracle (Epiph. Hier. xlix. 1) which declared that the New Jerusalem would descend at Pepuna.

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 acts are unpardonable (de Pud. 19, 21). But he is indignant with those who hold that martyrs have a life prerogative (ib. 22). On another subject he is in conflict with the Phrygians. He will not permit a woman to speak in the church, nor to teach, nor to baptize, nor to offer, nor to assume any function which belongs to a man (de Virg. Vel. 9). If the sentence had been less rigorous, one might have supposed that it came from an 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 denominates flight in persecution as sinful, though in his ad Uzorici (i. 3) he counts it lawful; and in his de Pudicitia, forsaking the milder teaching of the de Perpetuius, he denies the power of the Church to forgive grosser sins.

But in the latter he maintained that which makes 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 than with his later opinions.

27. Even on subjects in which he was in entire accord with Eusebius we find a difference between his earlier and later teaching; e.g., he expressed disapproval of second marriage in his pre-Montanist treatise ad Uzorici; the arguments used are identical with those of his de Exhortationibus Christianis and only, in the fact that an absolute prohibition takes the place of a strong expression of disapproval; or, in other words, that he drew the logical conclusion from his argument. Here, as elsewhere, he found in oracles or visions only a new sanction for opinions already formed.

28. Thus we see that, if the form of Asiatic Montanism was largely determined by environment, and possibly by the influence of individual leaders, the form of African Montanism, as it was afterwards rightly called, 'Tertullianism,' was determined by the personal force of Tertullian himself, and doubtless in some degree by the environment which moulded his character. We cannot forget that the home of Tertullianism was later to become the home of Novatianism and Donatism.

29. If it be asked, What was there in Montanism to attract such a man as Tertullian? It must be remarked that he was unaware of, or ignored, many of those features of the movement which to Eastern opponents caused most scandal. There remained the proclamations of the inspiration of the living Church, burdened with many which had been anticipated by his own thinking. Premising this, we may accept the answer of Sweete (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 who seems to have given 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 last adherents 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 basileia was in Catholic hands (Herr. 86).

LITERATURE.—1. PRINCIPAL SOURCES.—The oracles of the prophets (ed. with commentary in de Libror. La Cit. pp. xliii. 340-350); the anonymous writer of a n. 36 (de An. 43); Apollonius (v. a. 220, quoted de xvii.); the early document worked up in Epiphanius, Hier. xlvii. 2-13 (a. 180-200); Hippolytus, Syntagma, represented by pseudo-

...
MOON.—See STARS.

MORAL ARGUMENT.—'Moral argument' is distinguished from logical either in the nature of the facts to which appeal is made or in the assurance which the conclusion expresses. It is possible that both implications are associated with its meaning. But in general it is often used to denote something more or less of the nature of an appeal to the personal experience, to the personal sympathy, or to the moral feeling of the hearer, as distinguished from the certainty of logical argument.

It is probable that the term derived its specific import from the implications of the 'moral argument' for the existence of God and immortality. In this method of 'proving' them Kant remarked the impossibility of meeting the demands of the moral law in this life, and, as this law required the adjustment of duty and happiness, he sought this realization in life to come. To effect this adjustment the existence of God was supposed to be required. This argument was assumed to be valid when all the logical arguments for the same conclusion were null and void. The want of absolute assurance implied in the conclusion was transferred to all arguments which gave what is called 'moral certainty.'

It also derives part of its meaning from the implication that the moral order of things favours or expresses the ultimate significance of what lies behind it. That is, the assumed rationality of things is taken to imply the nature of the causal agency behind it, and the 'moral argument' is an expression of what is supposed to be implied by the above. In other words, while the logical argument is supposed to be limited to a physical order and its implications.

A fuller exposition of Kait's moral argument for the existence of God and immortality is the following:

Happiness is the natural condition of a rational being in the world, and is the natural accompaniment of virtue. In fact, the moral law itself requires a union or some synthetic connection between virtue and happiness. But in the present natural order this ideal union is not effected, and we cannot treat the world as rational in this connection. Even in the natural order, the connection requires an infinite time for its realization, and hence we have to postulate immortality as the condition of realizing the demands of the moral law which holds valid for the present. Immortality, therefore, becomes a necessity of a rational order. But this union of virtue and happiness, not being a necessary one, requires the causal introduction of something to bring it about. Since we postulate immortality as the condition of rationality, we postulate the existence of God to effect the realization of happiness in connection with virtue. The argument, thus, is that morality, if valid and binding at all, requires God and immortality to make its imperatives rational and its rewards possible.


JAMES H. HYSLOP.

MORAL EDUCATION LEAGUE.—Following on the rise of the Ethical Movement (p. 81) in England, a number of persons interested in the training of the young began to study methods of imparting moral instruction on an ethical basis pure and simple, and in such a manner as to meet the needs of children drawn from all denominations. The Union of Ethical Societies seized the opportunity of an approaching election of the London School Board to invite a wide variety 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 without theological colouring into the Board schools in place of the present religious teaching.

(2) That this moral instruction should be made the central, culminating, and concluding point of the whole system of elementary education, giving unity and organic life 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 instruction for the present religious teaching in all State 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, 'to substitute non-theological,' and made to run thus: '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 that the title of the society was altered to the Moral Education League.

The League, however, '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) has 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 sound method of civic teaching, and for moral moral order in the world, while the logical argument is supposed to be limited to a physical order and its implications.

A fuller exposition of Kait's moral argument for the existence of God and immortality is the following:

Happiness is the natural condition of a rational being in the world, and is the natural accompaniment of virtue. In fact, the moral law itself requires a union or some synthetic connection between virtue and happiness. But in the present natural order this ideal union is not effected, and we cannot treat the world as rational in this connection. Even in the natural order, the connection requires an infinite time for its realization, and hence we have to postulate immortality as the condition of realizing the demands of the moral law which holds valid for the present. Immortality, therefore, becomes a necessity of a rational order. But this union of virtue and happiness, not being a necessary one, requires the causal introduction of something to bring it about. Since we postulate immortality as the condition of rationality, we postulate the existence of God to effect the realization of happiness in connection with virtue. The argument, thus, is that morality, if valid and binding at all, requires God and immortality to make its imperatives rational and its rewards possible.
devoted its energies to influencing the opinion of education. A return issued by the League in 1908 showed that, of the
327 local education authorities in England and Wales over 100 had taken definite action in
emphasizing moral instruction in their schools, in some cases in the secular time-ebable, but usually by incorporating special
moral elements into 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 teachers, and the regular
literature of the League includes a number of text-books by A. M. Chesterton, Baldwin, Wilde-
grave, Robson, Reid, Wicksteed, and F. J. Gould,
umerous pamphlets, a Quarterly (beginning April
1905), and a volume designed for use in India
(Youth's Noble Path, 1911). The education authori-
ties 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 Faqir, system, 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 1895, when a
committee of inquiry into moral instruction and
training in schools examined witnesses and col-
clected 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 1911, when in the shape of the first International
Moral Education Congress, held in London under
the secretaryship of G. Spiller. A similar con-
gress was held at The Hague in 1912.

F. J. GOURD.

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 juridical
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 matter of self-expression or self-
determination of the individual. The latter, we have
indicated, is a legal system, and many of its
theoretical principles are applied to 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 is the general public. A return
from the League's work was that of moral
self-expression applied to the law. The idea of
law is of an order which is to be imposed
upon human nature and, accordingly, to be accepted
by the rational will. One must, therefore, dis-
tinguish between such an imperative, which does not
rest upon any human 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 commands of prudence, point-
out the best ways for the attainment of happi-
seness. Their practical and teleological
character, and hence, in their hypo-
thetical character, they have 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 re-
flexion awakes, however, with its scepticism and
questioning of authority, the natural view of
morality is the teleological one, and the concept of
moral law gives way to that of good. Experience
and a deepening of the moral and religious
consciousness, such as occurred in the Hellenistic
age and in early Christian times, revived the dual-
istic idea of morality and we have moral
theories with their central doctrine of moral law
and obligation. While these were at first theo-
ological in character, in modern philosophy we find
the idea of law maintained also on 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 his will because it is the divine will, and not
the divine will because it is for his good because 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 scholastic theory, so far as
they succeed in raising 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 relation to the individual. Em-
phasis 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.

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
man, and recognized as binding without reference
to the desires or moral efficiency postulated by
human life. Man knows himself as properly of a certain
nature, and cannot reasonably depart from the
rules involved in its realization. These rules are
not imposed from without, but 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
MORAL OBLIGATION was prevalent in the earliest period of modern ethics, and represented the attempt to place morals upon a rational basis. The general idea takes various forms, but is essentially the Stoic form of Grotius and the Neoplatonic doctrines of the Cambridge Platonists and their like. While theistic in their philosophical 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 revert to the teleological type of their Greek originals. The dictates of reason have revealed these moral or natural laws as 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 Platoizing systems to the early forms of English utilitarianism. Indeed, in spite of their legal terminology, it is hardly accurate to include them at all under the 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 his conception of the rational nature of philosophical moral science 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 the ethical principle of a moral law and present 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 reason, which is the only thing we cannot do without 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 autonomous — to use the term. This being the case, 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 there can be free beings at all, and how we as such can be the products of such dictates of reason — those are matters involved in the mysteries of personality. The form of such a law, as independent of consequences, must be abstract. We 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 possible control for the will.

In its illustration of this rational concept of moral law, Kant’s theory also illustrates most adequately 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 tends to subordinate itself to the concept of good and thus lose its jural character. In Kant’s system alone is it at once a law and absolute.


NORMAN WILDE.

MORAL OBLIGATION. — The word ‘obligation’ comes from Lat. obligare, and implies that we are bound to some rule or norm. While legal obligation involves, in any last analysis, some external coercion, moral obligation assumes an inner compulsion, a sense of the personality being bound by that which may have no external authority to enforce it, and which, indeed, may be very imperfectly formulated. Language bears witness to a universal human experience of a sense of this obligation or ‘oughtness.’ Even the most primitive speech reveals the sense of an inner compulsion, an inner voice that says ‘I must.’ In its actual history, however, this inner compulsion has rarely been quite separated from the sense of some external coercion. We find it first expressed in a series of more or less definite inhibitions. Its earlier chapters are written in a series of commandments, saying, ‘Thou shalt not,’ and this primitive morality is based upon customary and largely external usage. It is, moreover, shaped and sustained in an increasingly elaborate system of ‘tabus,’ which form a link between the external and internal authorities. The realization of an internal authority as compelling as any external coercion is a relatively recent conception. Indeed, only quite recent discussions have distinctly distinguished in theory what previously may have been both. It is, however, a very old, a very ancient, and a very natural idea, namely, that to the extent that coercion becomes foreign to the agent’s will, to that extent it ceases to be the agent’s action. Moreover, older moral reflection failed to draw any sharp line between the sense of moral obligation, and the practical understanding, and that empirical content of the rule or norm to which the moral agent feels himself bound.

1. Uncritical religious intuitionism ascribed both the sense of moral obligation and the content of the ethical code to an innate sense, and regarded both as a divine implanting in the human soul. Thus to both was ascribed a certain absolute and fixed character that often ended in an unreal and atavistic morality. Religious and philosophical reflection have revealed the fact that all codes are, in part at least, subject to change according as social and economic conditions change. And, as it became clear that empirical morality was thus conditioned, the whole ascribed absolute character of the whole sense of moral obligation was not equally empirical and destitute of any normative or permanent character. Men began to seek its origin in the ebb and flow of human tradition. Thus arose the question of the seat of this inner voice and the historic genesis of conscience.

2. Greek intellectualism was prone to seek the origin of this sense of obligation in the rational process. Plato represents Socrates as identifying all moral obligation with rational insight, and he himself taught that morality recognized the given heavenly types or forms of conduct in the eternal ideas of the good. And, though Aristotle parted company at this point with Plato, and saw the social and empirical character of the ethical norms, yet on the whole Greek intellectualism never succeeded in keeping clearly apart these two elements in every ethical situation—the code of morals to which a moral agent is bound and the inner compulsion by which he is bound. Thus swung between an uncritical intuitionism and an equally uncritical empirical rationalism. It may now be taken for granted that, though the discursive reason is and always must be concerned
MORAL OBLIGATION

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 resolve moral obligation on the basis of a clear rational insight into consequences of any kind.

3. Critical rationalism began with the work of Hobbes, Locke, and Hume. Locke had little difficulty in showing how untenable was the uncritical intuitionism that sought to define codes of morals. But both Hume and Hutcheson leave unanalyzed a "moral sense" as something ultimate. This moral sense, Adam Smith, in his brilliant ethical treatise, sought to resolve into sympathy, or at least to trace its origin to sympathy, as a natural attribute of man. It was distinct 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 recently, L. J. Hand, and others. 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. At the same time, it became increasingly evident that empirical utilitarianism could build no bridge from the sensation of the useful to the sense of personal responsibility to be socially useful. And, when John Stuart Mill conceded an intuitive capacity for estimating values as the basis of his doctrine, the case for the intuitive recognition of moral values as higher over against 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 instincts, and the survival of group-purposes, as von Hirzenh also shows (Der Zweck im Rech^, esp. vol. i. ch. vi.), but the biological analogy has been distinctly overworked, and it is becoming increasingly evident that evolutionary philosophy must assume variations and does not explain them. Thus on the ethical field origins are no more explained than on the biological, and the sense of a moral obligation cannot so far be successfully analyzed into immoral elements and group-purposes, in detail the sense of individual moral obligation presents many difficulties in connexion with the socially useful, for historically it is easy to show that the sense of moral obligation has time and again protected themselves of conduct patently socially destructive.

5. Critical intuitionism is therefore in many different phases restated 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 Hobbes and Fries, and the philosophies of Wundt, Eucken, Eisele, James, and Bergson are suggesting new formulations for the sense of moral obligation as a category of the practical reason incapable of further analysis. From the psychological point of view, too, there is a sense of moral 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. Thus from the biological and ethical points of view, as well as from and others, assume the capacity for moral distinction and the sense of moral obligation, without attempting to analyze the category further, while realizing that the content of moral appreciation is a subject for scientific attention, 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 the philosophies of moral content, as the sphere of psychical intuitionism has found support in his main contention, and followers of Fries and Jacobi see in the sense of moral obligation the evidence of a capacity for reaching beyond the phenomenal, and link this with an argument for God's existence. According to this school, the fundamental significance of the sense of moral obligation is the compelling power of the purposeful character of man. The mental and spiritual life demands that moral judgments be not irrational, even though complete rationalization may be beyond our power. However divergent the empiric 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 as it is that which makes for the advantage of the group and of individuals; and, as its origin is as mysterious as are all other origins and variations. It is a category of the different reason, and is in no super-rational, but the contents of the moral judgment are subject to the rational process as such. Thus the total ethical complex reveals rational, sympathetic, endamonic, and hedonistic elements. But into one of these the fundamental sense of personal obligation be quite successfully resorted to. Moreover, the compulsion, covering it as does fields of action which no external coercion could regulate, is everywhere becoming the regulative principle of human society, displacing in the moral man outward law, and gaining the socially useful and the sense of moral obligation is the categorical imperative of the informed conscience, and has its seat within, and is not based upon, outward law with its concomitants of external coercion.

Thomas C. Hall.
MORAL SENSE. — The term 'moral sense' is practically equivalent to the field of ethics, and shares with such principles as rectitude and duty, happiness and social health. In the form of *croyances*, the term 'conscience' appears as early as Periander and Bius (Stolzec, p. 192, 23); as an approving and fortifying moral sense. The synonyme *conscience* (bk. ii. ch. xxii), while the disapproval of *conscience* is referred to by Cicero (Lev. i. 14). Upon the basis of a natural moral sense, St. Paul speaks of the Gentiles, those who performed by nature *sensum* the works of the law, being guided by conscience (Cicero, Ro 2.23). The appreciation of an inner moral sense distinct from external commandment seems to have been indicated by Sophocles in the *Antigone*, where the heroine appeals to a higher principle of action, while she repudiates the established law: the Sophists' distinction between *φύσις* and *διάνοια* further marks off the internal sanction of conduct from all forms of external statutes. However important the principle of a moral sense may appear to be, it cannot be denied that the most profound moral systems have been elaborated in dependence of it. Socrates based Greek ethics upon the general principle of knowledge, whence Plato and Aristotle, Stoic and Epicurean, have become ethicists as well as moralists, leaving the ethics of conscience to the minor moralists. The merger development of ethical theory in medieval times failed to develop the notion of a natural moral sense; it is in modern systems of ethics that to 'conscience' and shares its name to be found; even here such ethical philosophies as those of Kant and Spinoza were perfected without appealing to a special sense of morality.

When modern ethics began with Hobbes, it was the opposition to relativism and egoism, that led R. Cumberland (de Legibus Naturalis, London, 1672) to postulate conscience and benvolence as the true foci of conduct, although it was the latter principle that received chief emphasis. As a deist, Shaftesbury insisted upon a 'natural sense of right and wrong' (*Inquiry concerning Virtue*, London, 1669, bk. i. pt. ii. 2), which he identified with conscience, and thus spoke of 'religious conscience' and a 'displeasing consciousness' (bk. ii. pt. ii. 1). With the modernization of society the emphasis was gradually more aesthetically than ethically in the form of a disinterested regard for universal humanity, whence he inquires,

"If there is no moral sense... if all approbation be from the approval of the approver, what's Hebra or us or we to Hebra?" (*Inquiry concerning Moral Good and Evil*, London, 1720, sect. 2).

J. Butler was the first to subject the moral sense to exact psychological analysis, whence he regards conscience as the 'principle in man by which he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, and actions' (*Sermons upon Human Nature*, London, 1720, serm. i. [Works, ed. J. H. Bernard, London, 1800, i. 31]). This inward sense of approval and disapproval is further regarded as a 'reflection' whose essence is that of 'authority' (serm. ii.). Butler tends to complicate the problem when he asserts that the dictate of conscience is ever in accordance with the impulses of reasonable self-love, while the supreme sanction of the moral sense is found in the principle of harmony with nature.

Among the ethical idealists of the 18th cent., Richard Price and Kant opposed the notion of a moral sense, and thereby share in the ultimate moral authority. In his Review of the *Principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals* (London, 1758), Price denies the validity of Hutsenius's 'moral sense', and appeals to the 'understanding' as the ground of ethical distin-
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 according to apostolic precept, laying special emphasis on the importance of Christian unity, the cultivation of personal religion, and the necessity of personal service.

However obscurity surrounds certain points in its history, there is nothing doubtful as to its origin. It dates from the year 1521; Bohemia was the land of its birth; and the most spiritually-minded followers of John Hus were its first members. Among these, the young men of the University of Prague, as earnest reformer and eloquent preacher, owed much of his religious enlightenment to the writings of Wycliff, 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 eucharist as well as of the bread at the Holy Supper; but others, whose convictions went deeper, the Puritans of their day, withdrew from political life, retired to a remote corner of the country, and settled down in the Barony of Littitz. Here they formed themselves into a religious community, thriving along the lines of the institutions of the early Christian Church were revived, under the leadership of duly elected elders. At the Synod of Lhotz in 1461 they further proceeded to elect their own ministers, and for these they obtained ordination from the Waldenses (p. r.), 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 Encichites, the Paulicians, the Cathari, etc. The validity of these orders was recognized even by the enemies of the Unitas; and, as the papal bulls taken to prove a complete ecclesiastical separation from Rome, it resulted in fierce persecution, despite which, however, the membership increased, the congregations multiplied, and the Church’s influence spread far and wide, not merely in Bohemia, but beyond its borders also. The name adopted was Jednota Bratrovčká, the Latin rendering of which, “Unitas Fratrum,” fails to give the exact meaning; “Ecclesia Fratrum,” the Church of the Brotherhood, would be more correct. The leaders in those early days were Peter of Cheltec, 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 1405, 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 lay down certain rules of Christian character and conduct; hence their strict discipline, which later excited the admiration of the Reformers. By the year 1500 they had over 260 congregations with more than 100,000 members; and in 1555 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 own 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 authority. Under its rule the 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 Church. The period 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 leaders among the nobility were executed, its 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 were burned. More than 30,000 families fled from Bohemia, and, under the leadership of 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 also, when collections on its behalf were made in many of the Anglian churches. Indeed, it is said 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 the things of which they can dispose as they please; but to you, our friends (of the Church of England) we bequeath our dear Mother, the Church of the Brethren. It may be God’s will to revive her in this our country or elsewhere. You ought to love her even in her death, because in her life she has given you an example of Faith and Patience for more than two centuries” (Memoirs of the Unitas Fratrum, Amsterdam).”

He also secured the episcopal succession, apart from the Polish branch in which it still continued, by having his son-in-law, Peter Jablonsky, conse-
Moravians and, possessing and, came to fervent found. In their others, and to the estate of a young nobleman, Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. They were soon joined by others from Bohemia; and in association with a number of German Pietists they formed themselves into a society similar to that which then flourished 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, how strict its discipline, how firm the faith and stedfastnesses under sufferings. Almost unconsciously he found himself being led onto to devote his life, his means, and his talents to the re-organization of this venerable Church, and its equipment for further service. But the Re-organization 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 orders of the ministry, which in 1729 were restored, with a David Schmidt was consecrated bishop by Bishop Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, whose father had received the succession from Bythner with the written commission of Comenius.

The little community at Herrnhut rapidly increased and developed in spite of the banishment of Zinzendorf by order of the Saxon Government, on the ground of his having introduced unauthorized religious novelties and of teaching false doctrine. Its fame spread far and wide, since in it a striking union of spiritual life with good works and industrial activity was to be seen. The danger of a narrow type of Pietism (q.v.) was averted by a wonderful experience of revival and a wave of evangelistic missions which with which in 1729, under the impulse of which it embarked on that particular work in the doing of which lay the pledge of its continued existence. At the beginning of the 18th cent. foreign missions were already being carried on within the Church, and it was left to the Moravians to inaugurate the modern missionary movement. This dates from the year 1722, when two of the Brethren set out to evangelize the enslaved Negroes in St. Thomas, wishing to become slaves themselves if that should be the only way of winning them for Christ. In the same spirit others went to the Eskimos in Greenland; others settled in S. America, and carried the gospel for the first time to the natives in the Dutch Colony of Surinam. Work was 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 be found teaching Hottentots and Kaffirs the faith of Jesus. They penetrated to Persia and Ceylon, they preached in Egypt and Algiers, they established their stations on the Gold Coast and in eight of the W. Indies, they started a mission to the Jews—and all this as preaching a reformation of that little Saxon village whose inhabitants numbered only some 600. They formed the first Protestant Church that recognized and attempted to fulfill the duty of world evangelization; and in this effort they stood alone for sixty years. This early characteristic of the Renewed Church still remains its outstanding distinction; and that is why, 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 industrialists of Berlin 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, supplemented by the unadorned 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 Boehler three years later met with John Wesley and became the means of his spiritual enlightenment. Here also the name 'Moravian' came into use; given originally as a convenient nickname (like 'Methodist'), it has now gained a kind of permanence, though it cannot be regarded as satisfactory, since it emphasizes only one point, and that a comparatively unimportant one, in the long history of the Unitas.

The Moravian influence was unquestionably one of the 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 the American S. and the Moravians, and from these two places it spread rapidly. Thus the Church came to consist 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 very slight one, yet through these many years the spirit of brotherhood in Christ has been strong enough to prevent any kind of schism in the body.

The death of Zinzendorf in 1750 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 the founder's home. In the latter part of the 18th cent. the Moravians found themselves in the forefront of the controversy with rationalism; they became the recognized chan-
pions of orthodox Evangelicalism. Here also their influence was as far-reaching as in England, though in a different way. In this case it was due largely to the writings and the personality of Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg, originally a professor at Halle. It made itself felt in the universities; Schleiermacher had learned 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 little Moravian church over the way; that," he said, "is the place in which to find peace.'

2. Characteristics. — (a) Diaspora. — A unique feature of the Church's work on the Continent was, and is still, the so-called Diaspora, an extensive agency for promoting spiritual life and fellowship within the National (Protestant) Churches. It is carried on in many parts of Germany, in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Russia; and, according to synodal resolution, no worker in it is allowed to seek converts for the Moravian Church from among the members of other communions. The effort is in the interests of the Kingdom of God as a whole, supplementary to the existing religious agencies, and is designed to strengthen and promote the unity of believers. This accounts for the frequent complaint of the Moravians by those who know the disinterested nature of their labours, and the catholicity of their spirit. Had there been more denominationalism, no doubt a larger numerical increase would have resulted. The work would have had the kindly-knell 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 it, formed a part of the inheritance which had come down from the days of the Unitas. It was held that, just as the Church had its mission to the heathen, who had never heard the gospel, so had it also a mission to the young to ground and train them in its divine precepts. To carry this out was a priceless privilege ordained of God, to be undertaken with prayer, and to be done for Him. In this spirit numerous boarding-schools were opened in Germany, Holland, England, Switzerland, and America; many of them have become famous, not only on account of the education given, but on account of the consecration of the whole of their proceedings. 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 1722 has this waned; the Church has sent forth its sons and daughters in an unbroken stream, in some cases through five generations of the same family. Most of its congregations have their representatives in the missions, and through these lines the blood of their Church is kept 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.

3. Worship. — The worship of the Church con-
the liturgical element with a large measure of freedom in a more temporary phrase—a blending of order and liberty. The British Book of Worship includes two liturgies for public service, a confession of faith, and formulas for the baptism of infants and adults, for confirmation, ordination, marriage, and burial—and combined with these is a newly-revised collection of hymns of all ages. The 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 wise caution in the use of symbolism, and also to a dislike of whatever would serve to quench the spiritual impulse of the moment. A stately dignity marks the special services and the doxologies in use at the consecration of bishops and the ordination of ministers. The same applies in a measure to the confirmation service, which, as in the Greek Church, is not considered an exclusively episcopal function, but may be performed by a presbyter. At all these services the surplice is worn, as well as at the administration of the sacraments. The Apostles' Creed is in use as representing the oldest, simplest, and most generally accepted expression of the faith of Christendom; and in addition a special confession, based on that compiled by Luther and made up mainly of a connected sequence of Scripture passages, is recited on the great festivals, as the Christmas, Easter, etc. In it the Trinitarian belief of the Church finds 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 suffering humanity; the Church's union, now risen and glorified; the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, 'Who proceedeth 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 and of the grace of the Holy Spirit; 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 essence the theological position is that of the Nicene, Athanasian, and Westminster Confessions; but, since no one Creed can be said to be a complete statement of the whole range of Christian dogma, liberty is allowed for difference of view in non-essentials. The Holy Scriptures are regarded as the only rule of faith and conduct, the basis of all teaching, and the final court of appeal. More stress is laid on Christian life and character than on perfect agreement of opinion. Devotion to Christ, and personal union with Him, form the foundation of the Brotherhood. The Church has kept itself free from anything approaching sectarian peculiarities of doctrine, and this because it came out from Rome on the broad ground of gospel truth and liberty, and did not separate itself from any other Evangelical Church.

5. Constitution and government.—The constitution and government of the Church, which at one time was something of an oligarchy, is now essentially a form of republic, with a constituted power, a constitution, and a hierarchy. The constitution of the Church is that of the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, 'under the sole headship of Christ.' The bishops have no administrative powers on account of their position, though, as a matter of fact, a bishop is in the interest of the men and should be the leader of the board of elders which directs the work of each province. These boards are elected by synod, the members holding office only during the inter-synodal period; they are responsible to the synod for their administration, and it is one of the functions of the board to maintain the mission board, on which each of the home provinces, as well as the foreign field, is represented. This has at present its seat in Herrnhut, though it might just as well be located anywhere else. In addition there is a general directing board of the Unity, which has to see to the carrying out of the principles laid down by the General Synod in regard to constitution, doctrine, worship, orders, congregation rules, and discipline, the execution of the Synod's donations, the carrying out of the Synod's donations, the carrying out of the Synod's missions, as the concern of the whole Church, stand under the management of an international mission board, on which each of the home provinces, as well as the foreign field, is represented. All appointments in the ministry are made by the directing board of each province; each congregation is entitled to suggest names for the filling of a vacancy, and each minister has the right to accept or decline a call sent to him. The different provinces make their own arrangements for the training of their students, with all the various colleges the standard is equally high. The normal course includes the work necessary for a University Degree in Arts, which each student is expected to gain; then follows a three years' study of theology. As a rule, some period is devoted to teaching in the boarding-schools. Later on comes ordination, in the first instance as a deacon when acting as assistant minister; and, on being appointed to a separate charge, a second ordination admits to the presbyterate. Thus the Church possesses and combines within itself many of the features which in other cases separate some of the larger religious bodies. Its orders are strictly episcopal, for only bishops can ordain, but its government is presbyterian, the fellowship of believers the body of Christ, making the Church universal, though no formal subscription to any specific Creed is demanded, or expected, from ministers or members. The individual conscience is bound by no formularies; the bond of union lies in the confession of the Church of Christ; and the exercise of mutual love is the supreme mark of discipleship. Infant-baptism and confirmation are practised; at the Holy Supper the wafer is generally used; the Church seasons are observed with the same special stress on the services of Holy Week and Easter. In some of these observances there is a marked element of ritual, baulked by the usage and tradition of past centuries; but at the same time the Church is as free from the bondage of form and ceremony as it is from all sacramentarianism.

The whole body, scattered over the world's surface, on the Continent, in Great Britain, in America, and in the 14 mission-fields, is still an organic Unity, each portion maintaining its own national characteristics, the Germans attached to their German ways, the English and Americans equally loyal to their own country's interests and customs. Jointly they form an international body of men of many differing opinions, all banded together, not to propagate any special system of church government, or any kind of ritual, or any particular point of
MORBIDNESS

The term 'morbidness' as applied to moral and religious states of mind is popularly a misdesigned word. It designates particularly any undue depressed state connected with one's moral or religious status. Little effort has been made thus far to discover a scientific difference for religious and moral disease or morbidness. General terms such as moral pathology, treats largely of ordinary moral faults and classes as pathological such habits as result from mistaken conceptions of the moral life. Here 'pathological' loses all definite meaning; as well might we class as morbid the mis-spelling of a word.

On the other hand, neurologists and medical writers tend, on the whole, to limit moral and religious morbidness to certain phenomena of the 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 insane is that they are incomplete, for the time being at least, of fulfilling their social functions. Thus, all the insanities are cases of moral inability and, in this sense, of moral morbidness.

There is, however, a broad expanse of moral morbidness that is neither insanity, on the one hand, nor, on the other, mere delusion from a moral ideal through erroneous thinking or through the common instinctive impulses. The best example is the moral distortions frequently found among adolescents. Under the stress of the natural and instinctive reorganization of life is going on, at this period of life, the following types of moral morbidness are not uncommon.

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 communions that emphasize such experiences as conversion, regeneration, 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.

2. Hypersensitiveness to moral and religious situations and conclusions. To be wrong at all is to be heinous; only perfection is really good—this is the attitude of mind. This is what is often called 'morbid conscience.' The victim of it is likely to put absurd emphasis upon the exact performance of trifles that seem to be duties. Habitual self-discipline or censurings towards others may also appear.

3. A passion for certitude, and refusal to live by the ordinary, common-sense assumptions, probabilities, and 'rule of thumb' devices of mature practicality. So to live a sense of certainty becomes almost an obsession. The victim feels uncertain, for instance, whether he has looked the door, although he knows, in the ordinary sense of 'knowledge,' that he has not.

4. Feversh or self-analiminating devotion to a cause, a concept, or an idea. Here morbidness consists partly in emotional excesses, partly in the egregious self-assertion upon which the supposed sublimity of self-obtiteration 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 pains and pleasures of others and lack of sense of obligation are its marks. In less extreme cases such callousness appears onl in spots, as towards some one person, human interest, or kind of duty.

These adolescent twists illuminate the whole subject of moral and religious morbidness. For, if the five types be broadly interpreted, they will be found to cover all cases of such morbidness at whatever stage of life. Here we have over- and under-sensitiveness, excess of action and defect of it, excess and defect of introspection, over- and under-caution, and the like.

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 morbidness in the sense that now grows towards definiteness includes two factors: neural depression (or at least lack of vitality), and some incidental experience that starts an unfortunate mental habit. The fundamental facts with which we have to deal are excess, defect, and distortion of emotion. Not infrequently morbid persons cherish a conviction that their mental processes are rational rather than emotional even though observers easily discover the lack of emotional elements. Confusion of fact and fiction, compassion as reason, are alike determined by some congestion or soreness, or by abnormal callousness. These emotional tendencies are primary psychical signs of neural conditions. The depression may be a hereditary or temperamental trait, an incident of a disease, or the product of an internal irritant, of a drug, or of fatigue. The reason why morbidness occurs so frequently in adolescence is that the puberal change and the consequent reorganization of the personality is going on.

To this cause must be added the peculiar loads in school life, economic life, and social life that our occidental customs impose upon youth. Finally, 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. Morbidness may safely be assumed, in practically all cases, to spring partly out of the excessive depression, which, in turn, may have many causes.

The last of the five adolescent types enumerated does not readily reveal its neural basis. Moral insensibility, indeed, may not seem to require any special neural basis. May it not be a matter of...
MORDVINS.

The Mordvins form a branch of the Finno-Ugrian race (cf. vol. vi. p. 229), and consist of two tribes called respectively the Erzy and the Moksha. Their knowledge of their ancient religion, coming, as it does, almost exclusively from a time when, in many districts, they had been converted to Christianity by the Russians, and when they could practise the rites of their earlier faith only in secret, is very scanty and defective. After the Mordvin people, as a whole, in consequence of the victories by which the Russians finally overthrew the Tatar Khanate 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 we cannot even in the 17th century. It was not, however, till about 1740-50 that they came to submit 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, although 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 religion and sacrificial practices of the Mordvin tribe made by N. Wilson, a Dutchman, at the close of the 17th century, are altogether negligible; nor can we gather much of value from the accounts of P. J. Strahlenberg, K. Müller, L. Lepechin, J. G. Georgii, and V. S. Vallás, 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 Miljikovitch in 1783, and several times printed (most recently in Slavonickija Ezhegodnik, no. 18, Petrograd, 1905, p. 819). From the middle of the 19th century, 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 published by A. Baranovsky and Smirnow (cf. Literature at end). Meljukov (writing c. 1830) 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 Mainsor, 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 Meljukov. A much more valuable production is that of Smirnow, who, after a long and careful study, and who, naturally, 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 letters written by the present writer among the Mordvins themselves, and the fairly abundant MS material subsequently forwarded by native Mordvins to the Finno-Ugrian Society in Helsingfors; it likewise draws upon some (in part very valuable) MSS dating from the middle of the 19th century, now in the keeping of the Imperial Geographical Society, or else deposited in the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Petrograd. The latter group of MSS had been already used in part, though very unsystematically, by Meljukov and Mainsor.
2. The dead.—Life after death was regarded as a direct continuation of earthly life. The departed in their graves live and occupy themselves in much the same way as they did upon earth—hence the articles required by them were placed beside their bodies in the grave. In the family, the deceased and the living (known as the kin) are still together, so that the graveyard is the counterpart of the village; there is no realm of the dead in a universal sense. From the graveyard the human-like shades come forth to visit the living. Each family worships its own dead, the oldest and most respected of whom is the first to be 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 rafter of the graveyard (lutan' birdi). The prevailing idea seems to be that this progenitor should not belong to too remote a past; thus among certain Erzâ Mordvinis in the government of Saratov, who migrated there some 200 or 250 years ago, the earliest ancestors to whom worship is accorded are positively stated to have been the first settlers—the memory, and thus also the worship, of the earlier generations having faded away. Festivals in honor of departed individuals are celebrated during the first year after death—one immediately after burial, and others at specified times, as, e.g., six weeks, or the fortieth day, after death, from which time onwards the shades and the like, the dead become more closely attached to the corpse in the grave, while prior to that time it lingers chiefly in its former home or, it may be, in places which the living person had been accustomed to visit. At this festival the previous deceased members of the family are believed to be in attendance, and are invited to take the newly departed into their midst.

General festivals for all departed ancestors (pas, pa, or atoh bat), again, are celebrated at least twice a year, in spring and autumn (latterly the dates of both the individual and the general festivals were for the most part brought into coincidence with those of the commemorative celebrations appointed by the Russian Church). The ancestors are invited in due form to a feast in the village, the several houses of the family-group being taken in rotation for this banquet of the living and the dead. Festivals, and is a traditional custom from the beginning of the 17th cent., joint festivals for the dead were in an earlier period held by larger family-groups or clans also at intervals of some fifty years. Formerly, animal-sacrifices were offered on these occasions to the deceased, who were 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 honor of the (nature-) gods, the ancestors 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, when thus present by invitation, are welcome guests, from whose benignity all good things may be expected—though at the close of the festival, it is true, they are driven away, sometimes with threats, but, when 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 drowning—or who for other reasons have not received proper burial, as also by those who die without surviving kindred; such unfortunate are, 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 some other accounts, a wooden image or a doll representing the dead was set on the beach by the dead, the festival being subsequently 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 in his place, 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 end of the feast, taken back to it. According to some accounts, he never speaks at all, but takes heartily of the food and receives the tokens of respect accorded by those present. Other accounts inform us, however, that he carries on an active 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 unity, to abstain from theft and excessive drinking, to look well after their cattle, and persons, 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 once, and through the latter alone influence the fortunes of the living.

Although the oldest 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 (pas). Among the Erzâ in the governments of Kazan and Samara we find a deity called Staka pas, 'the heavy god,' who is honoured with special sacrificial ceremonies on their holidays, and is a traditional deity from the beginning of the 17th cent., his epithet of 'heaviness' (i.e. evil generally) being addressed to the sacrificial prayers also as Kan pas, Kuvan pas, and regarded as living 'in the black earth.' The word kan, the signification of which is now unknown to the people at large, is simply the Tatar kan, 'prince,' so that kan pas means the god-prince; kuvan, again, is in all likelihood traceable to the Turkish princely title kagau in its Chuvash or Bulgar phonetic form kogan or kupa (with o or u instead of the common Turk. a), which, though it has not come down to us, would correspond perfectly to the Mordvin kovan. As the Mordvin, in part at least, were at one time among the subject peoples of the Volga Bulgars, the ancestors of the Chuvash 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 also the worship of the deity or spirit called Keremet (Erzâ) or Kerânît, Kerâmad (Moksha), a name of Chuvash origin (in
the Chuvash tongue of to-day, Kirimmit, originally an Arab word). Among the Mordvins this deity bears the titles *sotan, sultco,* which is obviously the Arabic *sulthan,* which was told of him among the Mordvins is meagre and inconsistent. Among 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 minor spirit, like Keremet among the Cheremiss. 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-cult. In the legal proceedings of the community oaths are taken in the name of Keramit, and it is believed that he punishes those who are guilty of crimes.

3. Nature. (a) Air and sky.—In the Erzi tribe the deity of the sky is called Verepas, i.e., 'the god who is above.' We also find mention of Ski-pas and Niske-pas or Niske, the latter of whom, while now identified by some of the Erzi with Verepas, was originally in all likelihood a distinct god (probably of foreign origin). In a number of ancient MSS the name Niske occurs in the form Imseke, whence it appears that the name is really a compound of an old 'great' + the great proper name of the divine name Ski-pas just mentioned. Ski, again, is a participle of an obsolete verb sker, meaning 'bear,' 'procreate,' so that Ski-pas signifies literally the 'generative god,' 'procreator-god,' and not the 'great god,' as the great proper name of the divine Ski-pas just mentioned. The sky-god of the Moksha is called Skaj—a name corresponding exactly to the Erzi Ski—or, with the addition of the term for 'god,' which among the Moksha is still found in the more primitive dissyllabic form pas, Ski-pas, and Ski-pas, which accordingly corresponds in form with the Erzi Ski-pas. In the prayers he receives the designation Vardá, 'he who is above,' or Osun' (the 'great one' (see above), the explanation of the Erzi name Niske). The Erzi Niske or Niske-pas has a consort named Niske-ava, 'Mother Niske,' who is worshipped at any rate by women in their homes (she is now often identified with the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos); he has also two daughters, Kastargo and Verepas, who are the progenitors of the corn and corn-harvest deities. Among the Moksha the wife of the sky-god is, so far as is known, mentioned, along with a daughter, only in a single song, where she is called Skahnas-ava, 'Mother Skahnas.' Strahlenberg states that the highest deity of the Mordvins (of which term he obviously means the Erzi tribe) is Junichiplas; in the first portion of his name, jum, we have perhaps a cognate form of the Cheremiss term jumo, applied to both the sky-god and the sky, and of the stem in the Finnish jumela, 'god,' while the second element is either equivalent to Sj-pas, 'sun-god,' or, more probably, an incorrect form of Ski-pas (see above).

Among the Mordvins generally the sky-god ranks as supreme among the gods, and to him must frequently be offered the first sacrifice and prayer. 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 every sacrificial festival, addressed him with a brief prayer for protection. A special deity of thunder, who is worshipped in the communal sacrificial feasts, is found among the Erzi, and among the Mordvins. Purg'ina-pas ('the god Thundcr,' 'thunder-god'), and the worshippers beseech him to send a beneficent rain, but not the noisome hail; his figure has been strongly influenced by that of the prophetic Elijah in popular Russian belief. Among the Moksha thunder is called olaen, a derivative of ola'at, 'grandfather,' 'old man,' and this, together with the fact that the word is etymologically *janka* (janka = 'bowl,' 'cross-bow'), seems to 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 as well as the moon is designated a god (pas, pavnas), viz., Tsipas (Erzi), Si-bavas (Moksha), 'the god sun,' 'sun-god,' and Kov-bas, Kov-bavas, 'the god moon,' 'moon-god.' Special obligations are accorded to the sun at the sacrificial feasts. The worship of the sun appears to involve no more than that, when a person first descries 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 formula—e.g., as 'morning-glow Maryia,' 'evening-glow Dariya'—and were probably derived, along with the formulae themselves, from the Russians, resembling in this the spirits of midday and midnight, and others of similar character, which are likewise designated by Russian proper names in the magic formulæ.

Among the deities of the sky should perhaps be included a name (probably the first element of the divine name Ski-pas just mentioned) which, in addition to Keramit, was once highly revered among the Moksha, at least in some districts. She was said to dwell 'in the high place, in the upper parts of the atmosphere,' and was therefore the 'upper-god,' the 'sky-god,' the 'up-generator;' she seems, however, to have been rather closely related in some way to Keramit, as in the local law-courts oaths were taken in her name and in his (see above). Here, too, may be mentioned the name Olsam-pas (patc, more correctly polc, means 'elder sister'), who is said in one MS to have been worshipped among the so-called Teryuchans (Russianized Erzi in the government of Nijni Novgorod), but is otherwise unknown.

The name Ujsud or Uvys'd—a word of obscure origin—is used among the Moksha to denote a host of spirits who move about in the upper atmosphere and harmonious sounds (mingled, indeed, with harmonious and inharmonious) but are otherwise unknown in the present form of their hair. Should one who catches a glimpse of these spirits at once implore them to send him good fortune, he obtains his wish, though at times the gift may be death. With this host may be compared the 'Mordvins as Kevak Xopp, 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 Veriava, '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 frost, usually as 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.

(b) Earth, field, and grain. — Mastor-ava, 'mother earth,' 'earth-mother,' especially among the Erzi, appears as one of the most revered of deities, being often named, indeed, immediately after the sky-god; the Erzi, and we often find the set phrase, 'First he bowed before the sky-god, and then before mother earth.' At the communal sacrifices the Erzi besought her to give them a good harvest and to bestow good health upon the
tillers of the field. She seems sometimes to have borne the epithet Mastor-pas, 'god earth,' 'earth-god,' although elsewhere Moksha-speaking as a distinct (male) deity, whom people invoked in their imprecations to bring their enemies to destruction. The Moksha, too, had their Master-ava, 'mother earth,' but in their official worship her place is taken, the place of that spirit usually taken by Norov-ava, 'mother corn,' 'corn-mother,' also designated Norov-pas, 'the god (goddess) corn,' to whom, among the Moksha, corresponds S'or-ava (or sometimes Noru-ava), 'mother corn'; S'or-ava, however, is found mainly in the magic formularies and the songs. Each tilled field had its own particular spirits. For the meadow likewise there was a special presiding spirit, called Nor-azarava, 'mead-mistress,' or the like; but, as far as we know, she was not the object of a distinct cult, or, at most, she was presented before the hay harvest with a few pieces of bread, accompanied by a prayer for her protection.

(c) Fire.—Among the nature-spirits should also be included Tol-ava, 'fire-mother,' 'mother fire,' who is often named in magic formularies and in songs, but of whose public worship we know virtually nothing.

4. House, court-yard, etc.; the village. —The spirit of the dwelling-house bears various names. Among the Moksha it appears as Kud-azarava or Kud-azcrava, 'house-mistress,' 'house-hostess,' and also as Kud-ava, 'house-goddess,' Kud-pas, 'house-god,' 'the god house'; while among the Erza we find Kudon'-tsin' pas, 'god of the house' (ti, 14 or 12 being the analogue of kudo, kod, 'house'), or Ker'an' sofskon' pas, 'god of the lime-bark and the lime-steam' (or lime-house) -- a god, sometimes (perhaps through a misunderstanding and corruption of the original name Ker'an' sofskon' pas, 'the god of thearrow beam, or beams,' and in some districts also Kudon-jurtava, '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 Mordvins designate by the name jurt, 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-azarava, 'dwelling-place-mistress.' This spirit, especially among the Erza, has in many cases dispensed with the above-mentioned household spirit in the proper sense, and taken its place; in this capacity it is also called Kudon-jurtava (see above) by way of distinguishing it from Kardis-jurtava, 'dwelling-place-mother of the yard,' and is represented as a dwarfish female being, or as a dwarf, a spirit which lives under the stove, being thus obviously connected with the Russian domestic spirit Donojoy (on which see KEB iv. 6251.), which likewise lives near the stove, and has the form of a dwarf or a demon. Common to all the Erza is a special spirit of the court-yard named Kardis-sarko, 'court-sarko' (a word of obscure meaning in this connection), who

More particularly in the magic formularies we find a vast number of domestic spirits, qatir-personifications of various parts and articles in the living-room, and generally described as 'mothers,' 'mistresses,' 'mistresses' or 'muses,' i.e., Patavka-azarava (Moksha), 'stove-mistress, Utmanu kirda (Erza), 'ruler of the stove,' Kekai-ava, 'door-mother,' etc. Among the Moksha Kubregia, and among the Erza Tr'amo, the latter, who is the head of the household, is supposed to be an evil spirit of dwarfish human form, who, however, is not worshipped. He brings 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 (1) from seven to twelve weeks in the usurp, remaining meanwhile under the floor; it is then hatched out. It is also impossible to kill this spirit, unless by burning in a certain way the beast from which the word Eta, 'to nourish,' while Kubregia is probably a compound form of ketu, 'croup,' and taex, 'horn' (the term originally meant 'serpent-owl'), though the Mordvins no longer think of it as having such a form. With this we may compare the name Kubegia, which, among the Lithuanian and the Kaukas (on which c.f. KEB iii. 609), is represented now as an owl and now as a fiery dragon; cf. also the myth of the basilisk.
lies beneath a stone situated in the court, 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'unik, "the chief of the court," while others speak of a special spirit called Kubis-ava, "cultivate-market." In the latter, the sacrifices offered are performed 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 tribunals held by the head of the household with his family, according to any Moksha account, 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 Rus-sian Church—e.g., Prolavas (a distortion of two saints' names, Flor and Lavr), surmounted Alasan-pas, "horse-god," Nastusia (Russ. Anastasia), with the epithet Reven'-pas, "sleep-god(dess)"; Milykoev mentions also a swine-god (Tuon'-pas), etc. Moreover, the store-pit, the bathroom, the threshing-place, etc., had each its special presiding spirit, usually designated "mother," or (among the Moksha) "mistress," "hostess, as, e.g., Ban'-ava, "bathroom-mother," or Ban'-azetara, "bathroom-mother," or even on certain occasions offerings of food and drink were presented to these spirits. Likewise the bee-garden, sometimes forming part of the house-garden, sometimes situated in the forest, had its particular spirit: Neskepervava (the garden mother, the garden-spirit); Neske-ava (Bees'-ava, "beehive-god," etc. Mention is made even of an alley: or lane-god (Ulit's-a-pas). The village, too, had its spirit, named Vel-ava, "village-mother," or Vel-azetara, "village-mistress," or Vel'en-pas, "god of the village," the "village spirit" was worshipped at the communal sacrifices.

5. Evil spirits.—To this class belong the spirits called leyf'on ("Satan"; pl. leyf'at), 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 spells they are found also as servants of the wicked earth-god Mastor-pas (see above, p. 159). The Erza believe in a distinct spirit of curses, "the ruler of the curse," called Ert, "curse," Ert-pas, "curse-god," the "god curse" (also Erks), and is anthropomorphically figured as having a wife and a large family. Another evil spirit is Avu's, or Yav's (Moksha), Eys' (Erza), or diys' (Russian), described as a forest-god (especially of honey, "the forest mother," Neske-ava (Erza), "beehive-god," etc.). Mention is made even of an alley: or lane-god (Ulit's-a-pas). The village, too, had its spirit, named Vel-ava, "village-mother," or Vel-azetara, "village-mistress," or Vel'en-pas, "god of the village," the "village spirit" was worshipped at the communal sacrifices.

6. General observations on Mordvin mythology.—Among the Mordvins the personification of the deities (nature-spirits) is of a very fecund character, especially in the cultus—a fact signified by linguistic usage, and more particularly by that of the sacrificial prayers. Thus the "rising and settling 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 a god. The sacrificial prayers are addressed to the amorphous and indistinct "souls" of natural objects, etc. Thus men "dig" the earth-mother, and "sow corn in her"; the field-mother—in place of whom the "tilled field" is sometimes invoked—may be crushed by the house-foot, and "carried away to another person's field"; the corn-mother, it is true, appears in a popular lyric as singing songs in the festive attire of a Mordvin woman, but this personification is not long maintained, for in her song the corn-mother speaks of herself thus: "I was sown in the morning twilight, reaped in the evening twilight, thrown into the granary in order to be brewed into "snail beer at Easter, and baked into pastries at Christmas"; the water-mother "streams," or "wells forth like silver"; the fire-mother "blazes," and so on. So, too, with the household-spirit, we can still to some extent distinctly trace the original idea that it is the animate dwelling-house itself, or, in other words, the amorphous soul of the house. Thus we find the following invocation: Moksha: "Kud-azetara ("house-mistress"), pardon him who built you and heats you;" in an Erza petition of similar character we read, "Kudo-jurtava ("house-mother"), above is thy lime bark (the roof is hatched with this), bees in the garden, (pl. bee-licks), while a parting utterance of a girl who has just been married runs, "Dear house [= soul of the house], I have sojourned much in thy warm house." In conjunction with the spirits designated "mothers" (Erza: "house-mistress" or "hostesses") are found the correlative (male) "old ones" (al'at) and "lords" or "hosts" (azéch)—e.g., Vel-at'a, "water old one," Vel-azér, "water-lord," "Kud-at'a, house old one," Kud-azé, "house-lord." They are for the most part absent from the sacrificial prayers, belonging rather to the sphere of the magic formulae and of folklore, where such married couples are even represented as having children. Here we have obviously a later development, perhaps not unconnected with ancestor-worship, in which male and female progenitors are generally named together as married pairs. It is only in the case of the god of the sky and the god of thunder that personification has reached a more advanced stage, etc. According to a Moksha account, this spirit and his wife produce seventy-seven children every year; every year, however, the whole family is killed by thunder except two, who in the following year beget other seventy-seven, and so on. The 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 diseases-spirits, too, are thought of as married people, who also have children.

1 The blood of sacrificial animals is allowed to run into the city under this rule.
as his 'elder sisters'), are all endowed with life, and their aid is sought to expel disease.

It is manifest that, in the course of centuries, the religion and worship of the Mordvins have been affected by Lithuanian (and to some extent Turkish) influence, as shown by, for one thing, a number of mythological terms—e.g., pasas, pas, 'god' (cf. O. Ind. bhrgas, O. Pers. bura), Fargine, the thunder-god (cf. Lith., perlautas), Keramit (cf. Tatar, kermit), Sattar (cf. Tatar Sajtan, Chuvash Sajttan); in later times they have also been greatly influenced by Russian popular beliefs, especially in ancestor-worship.

7. Worship.—Besides the obligations performed according to the religious calendar, men usually under the direction of the head of the household or his wife, and accorded mainly to the domestic spirits and to ancestors, every village community held its own sacrificial feasts, in which the participants frequently arranged themselves in groups corresponding to their families or clans. From certain reports and indications, however, it would seem that at an earlier time there were joint sacrificial festivals for larger districts. The places at which sacrifices were paid to Keramit appear to have been fenced in. On at least some of the sacrificial sites stood a simple building without windows, which, like the ordinary dwelling-house, was subdivided, and served for diverse 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 comprise all manner of foods from horses, fowls, 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 heart—were usually paid to the deities, and in the sacrifices in honour of the dead the idea that the soul of the victim is to serve the dead person in his under-world life is brought out quite distinctly. There are indications that the colour of the animal sacrificed corresponded with that of the natural phenomenon or the object worshipped, so that the earth-spirit received a black animal, and so on. The ceremonial of the sacrifices to the nature-deities sometimes included magical actions (astrological signs), while 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 the cult of the dead. In the sacrifices to 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 diversities. According to some accounts, there were priests and priestesses—designated respectively in-at'a, 'great old man,' and in-baba, '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, we find the following: at'a, 'old man,' was the object of frequent sacrifice; anat'a, 'the old man,' was the object of sacrifice; aban, 'he who sacrifices or prays,' aban-baba, 'the old woman who sacrifices or prays,' and pokh-baba, '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, the principal employment of the people, and also 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 Keramit (and the obscure Azer-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 suggestion that the priests were selected from the family or caste of the sorcerers. The latter are now usually designated by a term borrowed from the Russian, viz., vorekli, varl'iti (now vorekli, varl'iti), and there is a genuine native term, sodit's'a, sodit'ja, 'she (he) 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 gazining into water freshly drawn from a well in the early morning, or by looking into the face of the person afflicted; they cure diseases by magic spells and magic prayers conjured with the appropriate offerings, and among these prayers there is a specially large number in which a spirit (e.g., the earth-mother) is solicited to pardon a presumptive injury unwittingly done to him by a fall, a punch, etc., and for religious purposes. Other kinds of disease (disease-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 all the year round.

The magic formulæ and associated practices of the Mordvins 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 (Muhammadan in Syria and Egypt).

MOTHER.—See CHILDREN, FAMILY, MOTHER-RIGHT.

MOTHER OF THE GODS (Greek and Roman).—The Mother of the Gods was identified by Homer (H. xvi. 187) and Hesiod (Theog. 634) with Rhea, the wife of Cronos. She was famous in legend for having prevented Cronos from swallowing Zeus by providing him instead with a large stone which she had wrapped inotphing clothes (Hes., Theog. 483-4; 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 the 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 city of Athens. Eschylus (frags 204, 206, 299) speaks of a sanctuary at Cossoi, which represents the goddess standing on the top 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 elements 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 was never so completely lost that the Rhea of the Greek theogonies did not remain distinct from the partner of Attis (Gruppe, Griech. Mythologie, p. 152). Some modern investigators hold the opinion that the fusion did not take place until the period subsequent to the Persian Wars (J. Beloch, Griech. Geschichtc, Strassburg, 1893-1904, ii. 5). Others, while maintaining that the residence 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. 1526 ff.). Beyond this lies the question whether the goddesses subsequently identified were in origin the same or different (Aristoph., Sipylus, 1879-1882, ii. 117; cf. lib. xvi. 193), 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, 1896, p. 194 ff.). Modern theory inclines to go further (A. Rapp, in Roscher, ii. 1699), and to distinguish from Rhea a Greek Mother of the Gods, whose relation to the Phrygian Mother is to be looked upon as that of an extension. It had 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 scanty, its existence as distinct from that of the Mother of the Gods is well attested in Arcadia (Paus. viii. xxxvi. 2), at Olympia (schol. Pind. Ol. v. 10), and at Athens (Paus. i. xviii. 7). To this it has been replied (CGYS iii. 296) that the double title justified the establishment of distinct sanctuaries, and that it was quite possible that the title of Rhea was found in Crete the worship of a great maternal goddess of fertility, bearing the name of Rhea, to transfer her cult to the mainland, using sometimes her original name, and sometimes the title θυτίος θεία, in preferable to explain the name of Zeus, if they enlited 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 Idean Dactyls at Olympia (Paus. v. vii. 6) and the legendary connexion of Athens with Crete. Moreover, the result of recent Cretan discoveries enables us to gauge better the extent of the influence which Crete exercised over the mainland, a feature which has been derived 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 coalescence, seems to be refuted by the remarkable agreement of the traditions relating to the two goddesses. Thus, the birth of Zeus in a cave on Mt. Ida in Crete corresponds to the establishing of the hollows of Trojan Ida (Eur. Or. 1449; Eur. ii. 611 ff.); the stone which Rhea offered to Cronus to the sacred stone of Cybele at Pessinus (Livy, xxix. 11); the noisy rites of the Cretan Curetes to those of the Phrygian Corybantes (Lucian, de Car. 8); and the Idean Dactyls, the attendants of Rhea,
were located both in Phrygia and in Crete (Soph. frag. 237). Since it appears to be established that there was a primitive cult in Crete and Asia Minor, and to a lesser degree in Greece proper, devoted to the goddess Cybele as the Mother of the Gods, or Great Mother, but, on the other hand, the specifically Oriental features attending the ritual of Cybele were regarded as essentially foreign to Greek sentiment and were introduced to the mainland at a comparatively later period, if by mere conjecture, it is inferred that the character of the Asiatic cult had been largely modified by barbary, especially Semitic, influences. The native Hellenic conception of the Mother is best illustrated by an Attic relief (now at Berlin) in which 400 B.C., and in the form of a μακάρα, where the beautiful and benign figure of the goddess is represented enthroned and holding the tympanum, with lions couching at her feet (reproduced by Rapp, p. 1068, and by Parnell [CGS liii. 24]).

The general characteristics of Cybele-worship have been described elsewhere (see artt. ATITIS, CYBELE), and consequently we may limit ourselves to the impression which it made upon Greek civilization. A very early stage is suggested by the youth beloved by Cybele, and the story of their relations is parallel to that of Aphrodite and Adonis. According to the various narrations, none of which is earlier than the Hellenistic age, and according to the latest, Cybele, who loved Adonis, was killed by a boar (Hesiod, ap. Paus. viii. vii. 9), or a hind (Theocr. xx. 40) that mutilated himself under a pine-tree and died from loss of blood (Ov. Fast. iv. 225 f.). At the festival held in his honour a mimus representation of his death, burial, and resurrection took place, in which a pine-log was substituted for the corpse (GP ii. 130 ff.).

The story, which attests the identification of Cybele with a Sarmatian goddess in the 5th and the beginning of the 4th centuries, refers to the lover of Attis (Herod. i. 740 K.), and it is probable that the name is to be recognized in the cry ἀνεστρίσαι mentioned by Demosthenes (xviii. 260) in his famous account of the worship initiation-rites the novice was placed on a chair (ὑμποτρόπος), while the celebrants danced round him, accompanied by the wild notes of stirrers music (Plat. Enul. 277 D, Legg. 790 D). Although, in consequence of the syncretism already explained, we must be satisfied that Cybele was sometimes identified with the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter, the symbolic words of initiation, as recorded by two of our authorities (Clem. Alex. Protrept. i. 13, p. 14 f.; schoel. Plat. Gorg. 487 C), are undoubtedly derived from the Phrygian worship of the Great Mother: 'I have eaten from the tsambu, I have drunk from the cymul, I have borne the sacred vessel; I have entered into the bridal chamber' (J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1907). In another context the last phrase relates to the mysterious communion between the goddess and her lover, which was ritually enacted all over the East, whether in connexion with the name of Cybele and Attis, of Aphrodis and Adonis, of Alat or Astarte (GP ii. 159 ff.). It was common to each of these legends that the lover was put to death and afterwards restored to life, if not always in the same incarnation. The mysterious marriage may have been in its origin a magical precaution to stimulate the reproductive forces of nature, while the subsequent death and resurrection of the priest-king represented the annual decay and revival of vegetation. The name of Attis, which, of course, the transference into myth of a primeval 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 act in its primary intention as the final obligation by means of which the votary seeks to assimilate himself to the essential nature of the goddess (E. Meyer, Gesch. des Alterthums, Stuttgart, 1867-90, ii. 649), or whether the idea of the Autumnavit the Great Mother and the renewal of her crops (GP, pt. iv., Adonis, Attis, Osiris, London, 1907, p. 224 ff.; Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. 681), is not altogether certain, and the two ideas are not necessarily inconsistent with each other. Considerations bearing on the question may be deduced from the fact that the severed genitals were dedicated in the sanctuary of Rhea-Cybele (schoel. Nicand. 12. 8), and from the statement of Lucian that they were stored away in a certain house from which the Gallus received female raiment, and ornaments (de Dea Syr. 51). Anyhow, it is unnecessary to suppose that the custom was introduced into the cult during a period in which anarchy reigned over the East.

The worship of the Mother was distinguished from the indigenous Greek cults chiefly by its emotional, ecstatic, and mystical character. Indeed, whereas the Pythian rites of Delphi, and the Eleusinian mysteries, were characterized by participation in the rites of the Mother was inconstant with the requirements of womanly modesty (Stob. Floril. lxxiv. 61). In the Corintebian initiation-rites the novice was placed on a chair (ὑμποτρόπος), while the celebrants danced round him, accompanied by the wild notes of violin music (Plat. Enul. 277 D, Legg. 790 D). Although, in consequence of the syncretism already explained, we must be satisfied that Cybele was sometimes identified with the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter, the symbolic words of initiation, as recorded by two of our authorities (Clem. Alex. Protrept. i. 13, p. 14 f.; schoel. Plat. Gorg. 487 C), are undoubtedly derived from the Phrygian worship of the Great Mother: 'I have eaten from the tsambu, I have drunk from the cymul, I have borne the sacred vessel; I have entered into the bridal chamber' (J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, Cambridge, 1907). In another context the last phrase relates to the mysterious communion between the goddess and her lover, which was ritually enacted all over the East, whether in connexion with the name of Cybele and Attis, of Aphrodis and Adonis, of Alat or Astarte (GP ii. 159 ff.). It was common to each of these legends that the lover was put to death and afterwards restored to life, if not always in the same incarnation. The mysterious marriage may have been in its origin a magical precaution to stimulate the reproductive forces of nature, while the subsequent death and resurrection of the priest-king represented the annual decay and revival of vegetation. The name of Attis, which, of course, the transference into myth of a primeval 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 act in its primary intention as the final obligation by means of which the votary seeks to assimilate himself to the essential nature of the goddess (E. Meyer, Gesch. des Alterthums, Stuttgart, 1867-90, ii. 649), or whether the idea of the Autumnavit the Great Mother and the renewal of her crops (GP, pt. iv., Adonis, Attis, Osiris, London, 1907, p. 224 ff.; Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. 681), is not altogether certain, and the two ideas are not necessarily inconsistent with each other. Considerations bearing on the question may be deduced from the fact that the severed genitals were dedicated in the sanctuary of Rhea-Cybele (schoel. Nicand. 12. 8), and from the statement of Lucian that they were stored away in a certain house from which the Gallus received female raiment, and ornaments (de Dea Syr. 51). Anyhow, it is unnecessary to suppose that the custom was introduced into the cult during a period in which anarchy reigned over the East.

1 Gruppe, p. 1541, points out that the names χαλκός, κάλκης, and μακάρις, given to sanctuaries of Cybele (schoel. Nicand. 12. 8; Hesych. s. v., and Kudra; Anth. Pal. iv. 340), 4) are to be interpreted in the same way.

2 The notion that the name of Attis and stand for the generative principle and its terrestrial process survives in the Neo-Punic traditions of Sultanah el-baït (W. G. M. Murray, "Four Stages of Greek Religion, New York, 1907, 65). A few examples of this may be conjectured with some probability that the influence of this traffic was considerable, although

3 Some of these may have been eunuchs (Fabricius, cxxvii. 1).
the conception of the frenzied Galli who scourged themselves with whips (Plut. adv. Colb. 33, p. 1127, 1128, 1129). This was a practice which, according to Lucan, (A.D. vi. 94, 5.), cannot be traced to an earlier source than the Alexandrian writers (Cumont, op. cit., lib. vii. 675, and has become known to us chiefly through Latin literature (e.g., Sen. Agam. 723; Luc. 69, 56; 61). In this year 295 B.C., a Sibylene oracle was discovered by the Decennivirs, directing them, as a condition of success in the war, to introduce into Rome the worship of the Great Mother of Pessinus (Livy, xxix. 16). After the arrival of the sacred stone, which was then in the custody of Attalus, king of Pergamus, having been removed from its original home at Pessinus (L. Bloch, in Philol. l. i. (1853) 589 ff.), was brought to Italy in circumstances of great ceremony, and reached its destination in the year 264. Strange happenings marked its arrival. The ship conveying the sacred object grounded on a sandbank in the Tiber. Then Claudius Quintus, a noble patron of speech had provoked censures of tongues to slander, prayed to the goddess that her character might be cleared by the oracle, if she succeeded in drawing off the ship after strong arms had failed. The ship at once began to follow her directions, and Claudius's name 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 Megalensia, on which gifts were presented to the shrine, and a lectisternium and public games were held (Livy, xxix. 15). Ten years later scene performances were given in the first time exhibited at the Megalensia (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 Lucil Megalenses were included for the first time in the State calendar (ib. xxxvi. 36). Somewhat later, if not immediately, they were extended so as to occupy the entire interval between the 4th and 10th of April (CIL i. 314). The performance of the festival the proctor urbanius made a solemn offering to the goddess in her temple (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. ii. 13). The third day was reserved for the performance of stage-plays (Ov. Fast. iv. 377), and that for the first time works of Terence were presented on this occasion. Races (circens) were held on the last day (Marquardt, Rom. Staatsverwaltung, iii. 501), and in the age of Nero and Domitian these had become by far the most popular feature of the whole celebration (Juv. xi. 163). 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 that the imperial hospitality that in 161 a sumptuary law was found necessary to restrain it (Aul. Gell. ii. 24).

In the last two centuries of the Republic the participation of State officials in the cult was limited to the praetor, admirably 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 that the function was continued by the emperors. From the time of Augustus (ib.), the festival was known as the lausvatis, when the symbolic stone and possibly also the knife of the Gallus (Mart. iii. lxvii. 2) were conveyed, by the direction of the Quindecimviri, through the Porta Capena, and washed in the waters of the Almo, which debouches into the River Tiber just outside the city (Ov. Fast. iv. 357; Lucan, i. 368). In all other respects the administration of the cult was vested with the knowledge (Ath. Pal. vi. 94, 5), cannot be traced to an earlier source than the Alexandrian writers (Cumont, op. cit., lib. vii. 675, and has become known to us chiefly through Latin literature (e.g., Sen. Agam. 723; Luc. 69, 56; 61). In this year 295 B.C., a Sibylene oracle was discovered by the Decennivirs, directing them, as a condition of success in the war, to introduce into Rome the worship of the Great Mother of Pessinus (Livy, xxix. 16). After the arrival of the sacred stone, which was then in the custody of Attalus, king of Pergamus, having been removed from its original home at Pessinus (L. Bloch, in Philol. l. i. (1853) 589 ff.), was brought to Italy in circumstances of great ceremony, and reached its destination in the year 264. Strange happenings marked its arrival. The ship conveying the sacred object grounded on a sandbank in the Tiber. Then Claudius Quintus, a noble patron of speech had provoked censures of tongues to slander, prayed to the goddess that her character might be cleared by the oracle, if she succeeded in drawing off the ship after strong arms had failed. The ship at once began to follow her directions, and Claudius's name 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 Megalensia, on which gifts were presented to the shrine, and a lectisternium and public games were held (Livy, xxix. 15). Ten years later scene performances were given in the first time exhibited at the Megalensia (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 Lucil Megalenses were included for the first time in the State calendar (ib. xxxvi. 36). Somewhat later, if not immediately, they were extended so as to occupy the entire interval between the 4th and 10th of April (CIL i. 314). The performance of the festival the proctor urbanius made a solemn offering to the goddess in her temple (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. ii. 19). The third day was reserved for the performance of stage-plays (Ov. Fast. iv. 377), and that for the first time works of Terence were presented on this occasion. Races (circens) were held on the last day (Marquardt, Rom. Staatsverwaltung, iii. 501), and in the age of Nero and Domitian these had become by far the most popular feature of the whole celebration (Juv. xi. 163). 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 that the imperial hospitality that in 161 a sumptuary law was found necessary to restrain it (Aul. Gell. ii. 24).

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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. PEAKE.

MOTHER-RIGHT—1. 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 his mother's relatives and his mother's social group.

Mother-right is a highly complex condition in which a large number of social processes are involved. The following are the chief elements therein involved:

(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 clearly from one another. The social organizations based on the family or kindred are made up of social groups less clearly distinguishable from one another, and, though we may speak of descent in the family without an 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 respect to the father. This condition obtained 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 (ERE vii. 705), and in a typical condition of mother-right these social functions 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 respect to the father. In the larger families 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 any of the father's relatives, but is strictly forbidden with equally near relatives on the mother's side.

(3) Inheritance.—In a condition of typical mother-right children would inherit nothing from the father; their rights to property would be determined solely by relationships through the mother. 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 looking 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. Often it passes to the brother to brother in the female line 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. In mother-right succession usually follows the same rules as inheritance, a chief, priest, or other holder of rank or office being succeeded either by his brother or by his sister's son.

(5) Authority.—Mother-right has often been supposed to imply mother-rule, but in the great majority of the societies which furnish us with examples of mother-right authority is definitely vested in the male—in the father or oldest male as the head of the household, and in the chief as the head of the tribe or corresponding social group. In some societies, however, authority in the household is vested in the mother's brother, giving rise to a form of social organization which has been called the 'avunculiculate,' 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 patrilineal. Very rarely is authority in the household vested in the mother or eldest 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. Yet, there exist in which women are chiefs or monarchs, but, as a rule, this condition is not associated with mother-right. Among peoples over whom women rule the father is usually the head of the household.

(6) Marriage.—Mother-right in its typical form is associated with a mode of marriage, most suitably called 'matrilocal,' in which the husband lives with his wife's people. In its extreme form the husband may be only an occasional visitor to his wife's home, so that the children grow up with little or no social obligation towards their father, and live under the authority of the mother and the mother's brother.

In a state of typical mother-right a person would belong to his mother's social group. He would not recognize the existence of any kind of social duty except towards his mother's relatives, and would ignore the relatives of his father; property, rank, and office would pass solely through women. It is not a necessary factor of the mother-right 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 Khasis of Assam. In many cases which have been regarded as examples of mother-right some of the social processes included under this head depend on the tie with the mother, while others are determined by relationship traced through the father, producing a social pattern which may be the most varied kinds. Thus, while descent is matrilineal, succession may be patrilineal. Kinship is everywhere, so far as we know, recognized through the father as well as through the mother, and authority in the household is often paternal where descent, inheritance, and succession are all matrilineal. Moreover, a mixture of social groupings may be present, one of which may be patri-
especially the one when local organizations accompany different forms of exogamous grouping.

There are cases in which matrilinyal processes shoulder the entire burden of social life. Thus, a people who possess patrilineal institutions in general may yet show the presence of matrilineal practices in connection with slavery. The children of a free father and a slave mother may be slaves even if the father is of high rank, while the children of a free mother and a slave father may be free, and even noble, if the mother belongs to the nobility.

Another condition in accordance with mother-right is that in which marriage between half-brother and sister is allowed when they are the offspring of one father and 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 certain social condition 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 any trouble. The mother's brother may act as the special guardian and instructor of his nephew, he 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, 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 how far the social processes of a people correspond with those of mother-right.

(i) American.—Mother-right exists in America in an especially pure form. Not only are descent, inheritance, and succession purely matrilineal among the majority of its people, but there may be a place in social life which would justify the use of the term 'matriarchy.' A striking example of this condition is found among the Iroquois and Hurons, where women are the heads of the households, elect the chief and form the tribal council. Almost as striking an example occurs among the Pueblo Indians, where, with the exception of the Tekw, descent is matrilineal, the house is the property of the woman, marriage is matrilineal, and the children are regarded as belonging to the mother. Other purely or predominantly matrilineal stocks are the Chadic (Pawnee, Arikara, the Muskogean (Creek, Choctaw, Seminole), the Yuchi, and the Tunica) in any other cases matrilineal and patrilineal tribes are found among one stock. Thus, though the Sianan tribes are mainly patrilineal, the Biloix, 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. Again, though the majority of Algonquians are patrilineal, the Mohegans are matrilineal, succession formerly passed to the sister's son among the Ojibwa, and there is evidence of matrilineal institutions of the mother's brother among the Menomini. Two tribes with both modes of descent is the Athapascan. While the outlying Navaho and Apache in the south are matrilineal, the main body of the people in the north vary. The western tribes, such as the Loucheux, Takulli, Tahltan, and Kuxakhokote, have matrilineal moieties or clans with inheritance and succession in the female line. The eastern tribes, on the other hand, are made up of bands within which social rights pass patrilineally. The tribes of California, broken up into a large number of linguistic stocks, are organized in villages. Marriage is often matrilineal, but inheritance and succession are patrilineal. A totemic clan-organization has been recorded among the Miwok, and the totemic organization of the Yokuts is said to be associated with matrilineal descent.

The Yunnan stock practise patrilineal descent, but have also another form of social grouping which may stand in some relation to mother-right. The local form of organization seems to prevail in the Shoshonean stock, except among the Hapi, who, in this case, Pueblo Indians in general culture though they speak a Shoshonean language. This form of organization is also found in the Salish, beyond whom the Kwakintla form an intermediate link with the matrilineal Heiltuk, Haida, Tsimsihan, and Tingit. The Tsimsihan show traces of a mixture of matrilineal and patrilineal modes; i.e., their man belongs to his mother's clan, he takes the name of his father's totemic crest as part of his personal name. This mixture is still more evident among the Kwakintla, where a man belongs to his father's clan, but takes the totemic crest of his father when he marries, and transmits it to his son, who bears it till his marriage, when, in turn, he takes the crest of his father-in-law.

It is very doubtful whether the E-kimos possess any form of clan-organization. The chief social unit seems to be the family, the social rights of which pass from a father to his children.

Southward of the United States, the Seri Indians possess mother-right in a most complete form. A family may stand in some relation to the members of another family at times putting their decisions into execution themselves, while in other cases their brothers execute their wishes and are consulted by them in cases of difficulty. The husband only visits the wife and takes a very light of the tribals in his household, though he may occupy a leading place in another household in his capacity of mother's brother.

We have little knowledge of the social organization of the peoples of Central America, but the Aztecs appear to have been matrilineal, at any rate so far as succession was concerned, the ruler being followed by his brother or by his sister's son.

Our knowledge of the social organization of S. America is more fragmentary than in any other part of the world, but there are definite records of the presence of mother-right in several regions and facts which suggest its presence elsewhere. One centre of the practice is the Santa Marta peninsula in Colombia, where the Guajiro are...
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 Aruans, who are said to have been the original inhabitants of the penisula, 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 the Siulas, where the Aruans practice matrilineal descent and matrilocal marriage. The neighbouring Warau and Makusi are also said to be matrilineal. If a Makusi woman marries a man of another tribe, the children belong to the Makusi; but, as it is said that these people may marry the daughter of the sister, it is improbable that they have a matrilineal clan-organization. Apparently this region is in an intermediate condition, and the presence of patrilineal succession among the Makusi. The branch of the Aruans, also points in this direction. The Aruans who have wandered into Brazil are matrilineal, and there is another centre of mother-right in this country on the Kulikul branch of the Xingu River. The Bakiri of this region are matrilineal in that the children of the Bakiri woman who marries a man of another tribe belong to the Bakiri, and this is true of other tribes; but, as in British Guiana, we do not know of any definite matrilineal clan-organization. In this region, 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 Caingang and the Tsurorti, there is matrilocal marriage; but we do not know whether this custom is associated with other features of mother-right.

(2) Oceanica.-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 Tokiope, it is definitely matrilineal. The common descent of the clans 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 the mode of succession also looks like 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 Tokiope, the mother and 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.

Mother-right, 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. But, in Yap, the son follows his father, who elsewhere is said to be a stranger to his children. Marriage appears to be largely matrilocal. In many islands all that we are told is that the woman commands absolutely in the house. In the Palaue 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. Doubt is often matrilineal, but follows the father in New Caledonia, and in many islands of the New Hebrides as well as in one part of Santa Cruz. In other places, such as most parts of Fiji and one region of the Solomons, the absence of a clan-organization makes the nature of descent doubtful. Chiefship is always patrilineal where it is hereditary at all, and inheritance is in an intermediate condition. Property passes to the children in some places and to the sisters' children in others, while elsewhere different kinds of property follow different rules of inheritance. In Santo in the New Hebrides, people take the patrimony of the father as part of the personal name, but belong to the mother's clan, and in Vana Levu, in Fiji, 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 Caingang and the Tsurorti, there is matrilocal marriage; but we do not know whether this custom is associated with other features of mother-right.

(3) Australia.-There are at least four forms of social grouping in this continent: the moiety, the matrilocal clan, 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 Ngarabarra (Uralanna) of Central Australia, descent is matrilineal so far as the moiety is concerned.

The peculiarity of descent in the case of the matrilineal class is that it is not matrilocal nor matrilineal, but descent follows rules 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 members. Most marriages do not always follow the ordinary rules, however, and A. R. Brown has used the exceptional marriages of certain eight-class tribes as the means of detecting the true nature of descent.

By means of evidence provided by H. H. Mathews, it shows that among the Arunta the children of the chief form of irregular marriage belong to the class to which they would have belonged if they had been the children of the man by a regular marriage, thus showing that descent among this people is determined by the father. Among the Tjingili, on the other hand, the children of an irregular marriage belong to the group to which they would have belonged if they had been the children of the man by a regular marriage, thus showing that descent among this people is determined by the father. Among the Tjingili, on the other hand, the children of an irregular marriage belong to the group to which they would have belonged if they had been the children of the man by a regular marriage, thus showing that descent among this people is determined by the father.
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 *pintora*, is transmitted from father to son together with special knowledge of legends and rites, while a man takes another kind of totem called *mutha* (the *mutha* 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 totem as well as his *pintora* to his son. Each man also obtains from his mother or her relatives special knowledge of legends, etc., relating to his maternal ancestors.

The communal habits and the poor development of personal property in Australia make the subject of descent of living forms of descent. But so far as it exists it seems to follow the same lines as descent of the moiety or class. Thus, among the Arunta, whose irregular marriages point to patrilineal descent, certain objects, and especially ornaments, are transmitted by a man from a man to his son, or, if he has no son, to his brother and his brother’s son. Among the Tjungilli and other tribes whose irregular marriages show them to have matrilineal descent, property passes in the same way. In the possession of the daughter’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 leech are acquired by special processes of initiation. Perhaps the totem which comes most definitely under this head is the knowledge of native legends and rites, the double character of which among the Dieri has already been considered. Elsewhere this kind of knowledge is closely connected with totemism, and probably follows the laws of transmission of totemism.

(4) New Guinea.—The most definite example of mother-right in this region occurs among the Massim of the south-eastern islands. This people, who speak a Melanesian language, practise mother-right in a purer form than is found anywhere in Melanesia proper. Not only does a man belong to the totemic clan of his mother, but property passes to his sister’s children in some localities, and everywhere a chief is succeeded by his brother or son. Among the Papuan tribes the Papuan descent is probably matrilineal, but succession to the rank of chief is patrilineal. Another locality where mother-right apparently prevails is on the Mamberamo 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, descent sometimes passes in the female line, and among the neighbouring Pokao descent is sometimes matrilineal, and a woman may be chief and be succeeded by her child. Among the Koita, Motu, Roro, and Mekeo peoples the mother’s brother has certain social functions, and these functions are highly developed among the 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 matrilocality in some 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 matrilocality 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 extreme case consisting of persons descended from one woman, 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 his brothers and sisters. A form of organization intermediate between the condition of Minangkabau and father-right occurs in Tiga Loereng, where husband and wife live together, but the father has little power over his children, authority being exercised by his eldest daughter’s children.

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 Ainus in the north and Cambodia in the south. Among the Ainus relationship through the mother is said to be more important than that through the father, and the mother’s brother is the most important member of the family group, but we have no definite information about descent or inheritance. The peoples of Siberia are usually organized in patrilineal clans, but matrilocality is frequently present.

In India there are two centres of mother-right. One of these, represented by the Khesis and Syn-teg of Assam, affords a most definite example of the condition. Descent is matrilineal in the clan, which is traced back to an ancestor 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-in-law are considered as their servants. In cases in which, at some time after marriage, he removes his wife and children to another house. Property is inherited by daughters, the house and its contents going to the youngest daughter, and, in default of daughters, the inheritance passes to a daughter of a mother’s sister. The *aunm*, or chief, is a man, except in Khyrim, but is succeeded by his brother or the son of his eldest sister.

The neighbouring W. people show an intermediate
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 Lyyangam, 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 can possess only that acquired by his own children, 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 the event of his death.1 Among the Kochs of Assam, and the N. Bengals, who are in contact with the Gáros, marriage is matrilocal, and a man is said to obey his wife and her mother.2

The other Indian centre of mother-right is on the Malabar coast, where matrilocal descent, inheritance, and succession are practised by the Náyars, northern Tiyans, and other peoples, including even the Muhammadan Mápilas, or Moplahs, of N. Malabar. This system of law, known as warranakañtayam, is closely connected with the so-called polyandry of this part of India. In the unions of Náyar women with Nambútrí (Nam- bútrí) men, which are habitual in this region, the father has so little to do with his own children that, although they may meet them, he is not their father in any true sense.

Elsewhere in India, descent, inheritance, and succession are patrilineal in the traditional sense, but occasionally occur in the form known as idatam. This custom is especially followed in families in whom a branch or a relative has obtained the property of the daughter at her own home after marriage. Matrilocal marriage also occurs in Ceylon.

Several peoples of the Canaceans show traces of mother-right. Thus, in marriages between slaves and free persons the child follows the station of the mother, and a woman may habitually go to her father's house for the birth of her children.3

The maternal uncle has much authority, and in Georgia takes the leading part in all that concerns blood revenge.4

The earliest record of mother-right comes from Lydia, where, according to Herodotus, the people took the mother's name, and the status of children in marriage between free and slave was determined by the condition of the mother.

Among the Arabs of Yemen succession passes to the sister's son, and many records of the Semites of Arabia and Palestine have been regarded as evidence of an early community of mother-right.5 The marriage between half-brother and sister, of which the story of Abraham affords an example, accompanies mother-right elsewhere, and several passages in the OT, such as Gn 31:18 and Jg 8:2, 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 Bedu (Bedouin) marriage ceremony shows that great importance is attached to motherhood.6

(7) Africa. — The Semites of N. Africa are definitely patrilineal, but in some Arab tribes of the Sudan, including the Fatimí Sudan the wife returns to her own home for the birth of every 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. Among the Digo, Baren, and other allied Hamitic or partially Hamitic peoples the mother's brother takes an important place in social life, though the patrilineal character of their institutions is otherwise very definite. The Nalaus of S. Kordofan form a striking exception to the patrilineal institutions of most of the mixed Hamitic and Negro Nilotic peoples, such as the Shilluks and Dinkas: as boys grow up, they spend more and more time with their mothers' brothers, who are held to be more closely related to them than their fathers. Property is transmitted to the sister's sons, and a man lives for some time with his wife's people.7 The Masai, Nandi, Sok, and other partially Hamitic peoples of the northern part of tropical E. Africa are purely patrilineal.

The Bantu peoples show much variety in the mode of transmission of social rights. About Lake Nyasa and the Kivu River there are a number of definitely patrilineal tribes, such as the Wa-Yao, Achewa, Wa-Makonde, and Wa-Makna. The children take the totem of the mother, a child is succeeded by his sister's son, and the mother's brother is regarded as mother's relative and the natural guardian of his sister's children. The Anyanja, in northern descent, but the patrilineal sections are said to have derived this form of transmission from the Angoni and Ama Zulu. This people, together with the Ama Xosa, Ba-Süto,8 Ba-Thonga,9 and other Bantu peoples of S.E. Africa, are definitely patrilineal, though the mother's brother exercises much authority.

Passing northwards from Lake Nyasa, we find a more or less gradual change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent.9 The Wa-Sagara and Wa-Digo are definitely matrilineal, while among the tribes about Lindi inheritance and succession pass to the sister's children. In other tribes, such as the Wa-Nianwesi and Wa-Jagga, the mode of descent varies according as the bride-price has or has not been paid, the children belonging to the mother's people in the latter case and to that of the father in the former. In general in this region the social institutions tend to become more patrilineal on passing from the coast to the interior.

The Ba-Gando, Ba-Hima, Ba-Nyero, and other Bantu peoples of Uganda are definitely patrilineal.10 The only exceptional feature is that, while the mode of succession is purely patrilineal, the king of Uganda belongs to the totemic clan of his mother, though he also takes certain other totems connected with royalty.

The Bantu of the northern part of the Belgian Congo are mainly patrilineal.11 Among the Bangala children inherit, but the mode of descent is determined by a family council, which usually ordains that a child shall take the totem of its

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1 See Seligmann, J.R.A.S. 35, 609.
3 The writer is indebted to Professor and Mrs. Seligmann for this information.
5 F. Fritsch, Die Einwohneren Süd-Afrikas, Breslau, 1880, 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 Luango and Angola.

Among a group of Bantu peoples in the S.W. Free Congo property and rank are transmitted to the brother or the sister’s son, and among one of these peoples, the Ba-Mbaka, 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 enjoys great e-treme, if not authority. We are not told of any definite social groups with either line of descent, but respect is shown to animals by not eating their flesh, and this ikina bari is transmitted from father to son.

This institution is almost certainly a kind of totemic grouping, so that these people show a condition almost exactly the reverse of that found in Melanesia, descent being patrilineal, while inheritance and succession are mainly matrilineal. If, as seems almost certain, the ikina bari is a form of totem, we have here an example of the connexion of totemism with patrilineal descent, and this association comes out still more strongly among the Barotse of the N. Congo. Of these people possess two distinct forms of social grouping, one matrilineal and the other patrilineal, and the most recent and trustworthy account shows that, while there is no definite association of animals with the totem, the phrase lela corendu, the patrilineal oruza, is definitely totemic.

In Nigeria and the countries west of it, we find an interesting series of transitions between mother- and father-right. The westernmost peoples of whom we have knowledge have knowledge of the Dinka-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast. They have totemic groups with matrilineal descent, property passes to the eldest brother born of the same mother, and, in default of brothers, to the eldest sister’s son. Only if there are no nephews does the son inherit; and, if there is no son, the chief slave inherits. Succession passes to the brother and the sister’s son. In addition to the totemic clans, called abuna, there are also groups, called nuro, which appear to have a totemic character. In these groups descent is in the male line, or, as the people themselves put it, ‘a person takes the fetish of his father and the family of his mother,’ the condition thus having a remarkable resemblance to the two totemic groupings of the Yoruba and the members of the Bantu-speaking peoples. The property and the family of the chief is inherited by 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 Dahomey kinship is counted through females in the lower, and through males in the upper, classes. Among the former property passes to the brother and to the sister’s son, while a chief is succeeded by his son. The Ewe of Togoland are said to count right of succession through the father rather than through the mother, but the mother’s brother is the proper heir. It is noteworthy that the knowledge of the art of circumcision is transmitted from father to son. Among the next people, passing eastwards, the Yoruba we do not know of any definite rule of descent, but the people are said to trace kinship in both lines, and a chief is succeeded by his son. That kinship through the mother is regarded as of great importance is shown by the fact that children of one father by different mothers are scarcely considered as blood-relatives. The property of a man passes to his wife or her daughters. Next to the Yoruba come the Edo, who practise two forms of marriage. In one, the anonuwa marriage, apparently the more regular, the children belong to the clan of the father, while in the other, called izomi, they belong to the mother’s clan, unless they are bought by the father, or unless in later life they elect to stay in their father’s country. In the Sobo country, whence the Edo are said to have come, there is matrilineal marriage.

8. Europe.—There is hardly a European people of antiquity to whom some form of mother-right has not been ascribed. Perhaps the clearest evidence comes from the Basques, among many of whom the father has little authority, whereas women hold property, and may inherit rights to their children, even when they cannot exercise them themselves. According to Strabo, women were the heads of families in Spain, and the PIEs are said to have been matrilineal, the chief line of evidence being that where the fathers of kings are mentioned they are neither kings nor PIEs, but belong to neighbouring tribes. Among the Celts the king and magician are said to have been succeeded by the sister’s son. In Ireland the sister’s son was important, and the frequent mention of this relative in English ballads has led F. B. Gummere to infer the close relation between a man and his mother’s brother which is one of the features of mother-right. The account by Tacitus of the authority of the mother’s brother affords the chief evidence in favour of mother-right among the Teutoons, but the position of a woman at the head of the genealogical tree of the Lombards and passages in the Nibelungenlied and Edda among the Germans, and the inscriptions on tomb and other facts point to the prevalence of some form of mother-right among the Etruscans, and this form of organization has also been claimed for the early inhabitants of Latium. The evidence for matrilineal institutions among different elements of the population of Greece has been much discussed. Perhaps the

1 Oller de Graysville, Voyage a la cote occidentale d’Afrique, Paris, 1895, i. 109.
5 H. Harper, J.A.A.S. 1910, 139.
7 Idem, 192.
12 N. W. Thomas, Edo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria, London, 1910, i. 47.
13 R. Thomas, The Ewe-speaking Peoples of Nigeria, London, 1913, i. 21, 86, 90.
16 P. 156.
19 An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall, Oxford, 1890, p. 153.
20 Germ. 22, Ann. xii. 29.
21 L. von Dargun, Mutterrecht und Vaterrecht.
strongest evidence is that in Athens half-brother and sister were allowed 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 is the only father of the children, who remain with their mother's people if their mother dies and their father, as usual, marries a woman of another clan.

3. Mixture-forms. — The preceding survey has shown not only that descent may follow one mode of transmission, while other social processes, such as inheritance and succession, may follow another, but that there may also be two kinds of descent. This is especially frequent when a local grouping is composed of exogamous clans or moieties, the usual rule being that the local grouping is patrilineal, while the grouping in clan or moiety is matrilineal. Another kind of mixture is that found among the Bori of Australia and the Tshi of Africa, in which there are two forms of totemism with different modes of descent. The condition of the Ova-Herero of S. Africa, where a patrilineal totemic grouping is combined with matrilineal clans which are probably non-totemic, affords an example of the mixture of the two modes of descent. A less definite condition is that in which, combined with one or other definite mode of descent, there are customs which bring a present or ascriptive social relation on the side from which descent is not counted. An interesting example occurs among the widely separated Tamshiyans of N. America and the people of Santo in the New Hebrides. In both of these localities a person belongs to the totemic clan of his mother, but takes the totem of his father as part of his personal name. Another form of totemism which shows mixture of the two modes of transmission is found among the Massim of New Guinea. The people of Vanua Levu in Fiji, where persons belonging to the social group of the mother pay special respect to the totem of the father. A still more eccentric example is that of the Kwakuitl of the N.W. Pacific coast, who belong to the clan of the father, but are indirectly brought into relation with the clan of the mother by receiving from the father the totemic crest which he had adopted from the father of his wife when he married.

4. Mixture conditions. — It is not at present possible to connect mother-right with race. It occurs side by side with father-right and with intermediate forms among many peoples, including the Australian, Melanesian, Indonesian, Bantu, West Siberian, and the people of Vanua Levu in Fiji, where the present time is absent among Caucausian and Mongolian peoples, but it is doubtful if this has always been so. There is more reason to connect mother-right with scale of culture. Most of the peoples who practise it rank low in the scale, but there are definite exceptions to this generalization in the Khias of Assam, the people of the west coast of India, the Minangkabau Malays of Sumatra, and many tribes of N. America.

As already pointed out, mother-right in its purest form can only occur in conjunction with the clan-organization, but it is not connected with any special form of this organization. The dual system, in which the whole community forms two exogamous moieties, is always matrilineal in Melanesia and, where not complicated with a class-system, in Australia, but the dual systems of N. America are sometimes patrilineal. Totemism is still less habitually associated with mother-right. As was said above, one people may even possess two forms of totemism, one associated with matrilineal and the other with patrilineal descent. The special regard for the father's totem which accompanies some cases of matrilineal transmission suggests a peculiar connection of totemism with father-right, and other considerations make it likely that the totemic organization tends to be patrilineal. Social organizations founded on a local basis, especially those 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 patrilineal.

If mother-right is especially connected with the clan-organization, we should expect to find it associated with the classificatory 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 kindred systems exist side by side. Thus, in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan the only people who use the classificatory system are the Nubas, and they are also the only people to practise mother-right. Again, in the series of peoples of W. Africa who show evidence of a transition from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions (see above, p. 560) it is the Tshi, 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 agriculture. In N. America typical clan-systems are found especially in the maize culture, and in Africa mother-right seems to be present especially among peoples who live chiefly by agriculture, while father-right is associated with pastoral life. The association is, however, by no means universal.

5. Survivals of mother-right. — By this expression is meant social customs found in societies organized on a patrilineal basis which are the natural concomitants of mother-right and are, therefore, assumed to be vestiges of the earlier presence of this form of society. A kind of permanent of the customs which have been so regarded is the relation between a man and his mother's brother. Many peoples among whom descent, inheritance, and succession are patrilineal show the existence of such a relation between his sister's child as are prominent among the social practices of mother-right. That they are such survivals is especially probable where they show the authority of the mother's brother, while the authority of the mother's sister's son is also a natural survival of a social condition in which the sister's son is heir to his uncle's good. Advocates of the view that these relations between a man and his mother's brother are survivals of mother-right regard it as psychologically natural that such rights to authority or property would not easily be relinquished, but would persist in one form or another long after the formal laws of the community had ordained a different disposition of authority or property.

The marriage of half-brother and sister when of the same father but different mothers has also been regarded as a survival of mother-right. In a society which attached any great importance to kinship through the father such a marriage would be impossible, while it is natural among people who pay special regard to kinship through the mother. When, therefore, this form of marriage is found among a patrilineal people, it has been held to point to an antecedent condition of mother-right.

Other survivals of mother-right have been seen:

1 H. von Wildecki, Tom wanderden Rigenerede, Hamburg, 1890, p. 66.

2 For Melanesia see Rivers, II. 327.

3 Swanton, Amer. Anth. vii. 671.
in tradition and myth. It is frequently the case among matrilineal peoples that the descent of the 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. Thus, in the mythology of a people is the widely spread mythological theme of unwitting patricide. 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 coutade and the cross-cousin marriage. According to one theory, the coutade 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 should marry 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 shall not marry a brother of her parents. Such a prohibition would put an end to succession by the sister's son.

Etymology has also been called upon for evidence of former mother-right. Thus, the fact that the Chinese word for clan means a 'woman' has been held to point to matrilineal descent in China, and the derivation of the Arabic word for clan has been adduced to support a similar conclusion in the case of early Semitic society.

6. History.—In several parts of the world we have definite evidence that a condition of mother-right has changed either into one of father-right or into a form of social organization in which social rights are recognized with the relatives of both father and mother. Thus there is evidence that some form of mother-right once existed in Europe, while in the Sudán there is historical proof that five hundred years ago the Deja, who are now definitely patrilineal, kept their genealogy and social lines in family groups. Various parts of the world, and many peoples, have thus produced the various forms intermediate between the two kinds of society which are found in so many parts of the world. According to this school, the undoubted changes from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions which are found in certain regions are the result of later movements, the change in Melanesia, e.g., being due to relatively late Polynesian settlements, and that in N. America to European influence.

There is much reason to suppose that Graebner and Schmidt have gone too far in their reaction against the prevailing view, and that the evidence on which they base their opinions is fallacious. But, while it is almost certain that by far the most frequent process is the withdrawal of the women from the group, the reverse change may have occurred. The region which presents the strongest evidence of a change in this direction is N. America. Not only do some of its matrilineal peoples, such as the Iroquois and Pueblo Indians, possess the most advanced cultures of the continent, but, where one people, such as the Déné or northern Athapascan, practise both lines of descent, it is the less cultured who use the patrilineal mode. Moreover, it is said that there is definite evidence that matrilineal institutions have been taken over from other peoples by who were previously patrilineal or were devoid of any form of clan-organization. Several peoples of N. America possess a custom which provides a mechanism for changing one mode of descent into another. Personal names are often definitely connected with a moiety or clan, each social group having names especially reserved for its members. Among some matrilineal peoples of N. America, like the Shawnees, a father gives his own clan-name to his child, thus taking a definite step towards the transference of the child to his own social group. This or some similar mechanism might well have come into play to assist a change in the opposite direction.

One of the cases most often put forward by
MOTIVE

American ethnologists as an example of change from father-to-mother-right is that of the Kwa-
kinti. This people practise patrilineal descent in
the peculiar system by which a man takes the
rest of his wife's father has been ascribed to the
influence of their northern matrilineal neighbours,
the Tsimshian and Haida. Other examples are the
Athapascan tribes bordering on the Tlingit, who
are said to have adopted the patrilineal dual
organization of the people, and the Babine branch
of the Takuli, another Athapascan tribe who are
said to have taken their patrilineal four-clan system
from the Tsimshian.

In other parts of the world there is definite evi-
dence that the change has been from the matrilineal
to the patrilineal mode. There is a large body of
evidence pointing to the change having been in this
direction in Melanesia;7 but even here it is possible
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 pro-
miscuity. The less important is fatherhood in a society, the more will that society be
driven to base its social rights upon the mother.
Another view is that matrilineal descent is a
secondary consequence of matrilineal marriage.
When 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 espe-
cially from her importance in agriculture. As
already seen, there is reason to connect mother-
right with a high development of the art of agri-
culture, especially in N. America, and it is not
worrying that it is in this continent that we have
our clearest evidence of the dominance of the
woman.

LITERATURE.—J. J. Bachofen, Das Mutterrecht, Stuttgart,
1861, 2d ed. (Triebfeder).—G. H. Potter, U. S. Nat. Mus.,
1880, p. 334. 2 Rivers, ii. 90, 319.

2 Rivers, ii. 90, 319.

MOTIVE.—1. Different senses. The term 'motive' is used in philosophy and psychology in
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 prevails over 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
type of action' (Principles of Morals and Legislation,
p. 46). In this sense motive includes what
Reid calls mechanical principles of action, such as
instinct and habit, and also what Bentham calls
'speculative motives,' which influence acts that
rest purely in the psychological.

(2) In a second sense 'motive' is taken with a
more restricted signification, as limited to some end
which we present to ourselves and of which we are
conscious. Bentham has this in view when he defines motive as 'any thing whatsoever,
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.). These are called 'inner motives
by Bentham practical,' and are, he holds, ultimately
redescribable 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. 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 ob-
jective, presented or intellectual element.

(3) A third sense of the word 'motive' occurs in
the writings of Green and his followers. Accord-
ing 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 hunger
of the stomach. (5) The presentation of this satisfaction as, under the circum-
stances, the best means of satisfying the wants. The self distinguishing itself with the
satisfaction of the object; finding in the realisation of the idea,
not the satisfaction of a want merely, but the satisfaction of
self (D'Arcy, Short Study of Ethics, p. 253).

It is only to this last stage (5) that Green and
D'Arcy apply the term 'motive.' Hence the doc-
trines that a conflict of motives is impossible and
that a strong motive an absurdity (Green, Protege-
mena to Ethics, bi. ch. 1).

(4) A fourth sense of the word 'motive' belongs
to Kant. Kant reserves the term Begriffsgang
as the objective ground of the volition, which he
connects with the subjective ground of an Ireland
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
mixture of passion and sensame affection (Werke, ed. Koschmieder and Schubert, viii. 55; Abhott, *Kant's Theory of Ethics*, London, 1909, p. 45). Such objective ends are common to us with all rational beings, and are to be distinguished from subjective ends, to which we are impelled by natural disposit.

In these four senses of the word 'motive' we see a progressive change of motive from a motive re impelling force, not even 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, or may be a motive to the conception of motive as an object which is free from, and even opposed to, all subjective ground of desire. Green's view, though later in point of time, seems not so developed as that of Kant, since in Green the object is still made to be a motive by relation to a want or internal principle of desire, though such want or desire is again conceived as dependent on the object with which the self identifies itself. Kant's distinction of motive and spring and origination of the consciousness and discharge of action got 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 which Green's doctrine gives it (1) may appear as more of a question of the use of language; but, as is the case in most questions of terminology, important issues lie concealed beneath the purely verbal discussion. This extensive use of the word early arose, as a critical view of 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, can never be a motive to determine his will, than it can be an argument to convince his judgment. Nor, I learn that any circumstance arising from habit, or some mechanical instinctive cause, may be a motive, though it never entered into the thought of the agent.

From this reinforcement of motive, of which we are unconscious, every volition may be supplied with a motive, and even a predominant one, when it is wanted' (Reed, *Works*, ed. Huxley, p. 87).

Reid then acutely remarks that 'this addition to his [Crombie's] defensive force takes just as much from his offensive', since it undermines the evidence for the necessary action of motives known or felt. In the same 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 presence and termination of the motive, and Schlueter, and the other, assigns to reason a power of determining action to an end, which is quite independent of, and even opposed to, the pathological feeling. 'Motive' in this sense has passed over entirely from the meaning of an impelling force to that of an object determined and decided upon by reason.

The motives are only bound up with the inquiry regarding the freedom of the will. If our will is possessed of an original power by which it can control the direction in which it utters itself, then the causal action of motives must be distinct from mechanical impulsion; they may induce, or incline, but do not determine, according to irrevocable 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 collision of predestined forces, of which we are the theatre or rather the play itself. If this be the case in which may yield to conscious motives, but is not controlled by them, must be an illusion. The illusion demands explanation. This Münsterberg undertook to furnish in his *Willeshandelung* (1878). In *Men's Place in the Cosmos* (plan 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 Fichten's point of view. The 'action theory of mind' here put forward makes the conscious different classes of action the mere discharge of a rational law. It, therefore, precludes any theory 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 could not even give rise to the illusion of voluntary activity. It was maintained by Hartley (Observations on Man, London, 1810, i. 522) that 'to prove that a man has free will, it is necessary to establish the law, he ought to feel that he can do different things while the motives remain precisely the same,' and that here 'the internal feelings are entirely against free will where the motives are of a sufficient magnitude to be evident,' while he admits 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 attribution to the self of an intrinsic power of strengthening 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 theory. The will is determined by motive, that desire is the one 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 all eternity, and yet the same. The result is practically identical with Hartley's—the eternal ego, since it determines the motive, is consequently, in being determined by the motive, determined by itself. This is only Spinozistic necessity. But, if the action of the eternal ego on the finite ego is not so predetermined, is something which, at the moment of decision, may fall out differently on different occasions, notwithstanding identity of desire and circumstances, then such action is not different from the free will in the ordinary sense, and implies a 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. 89) 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 in the filling of the want.' Stout, too, says (Manual of Psychology), p. 709: 'Motives are not mere impulsi. They come before conscious perception of them as objects or events in that way. They are not independent forces fighting out a battle among themselves for the control of our action, where spectators. On the contrary, the motives are motives only so far as they arise from the nature of the Self, and pre-suppose the conception of the Self's psychical and moral states as factors. From this it follows that the recognized reasons for a decision can never constitute the entire cause of decision. Behind them there always lies the Self as a whole, and motives can never be completely analyzed or stated in the form of definite reasons or special motives.

The great verbal similarity of this to what Green says is evident. But to Green the self-conscious subject, through determination by which a want becomes a motive, is 'a principle of other than natural origin,' is, in fact, an entity of a sort. To Stout the self as a whole, even if what it involves can never be completely analyzed or stated, is not an entitative principle eternal or otherwise, but, rather, the 'thought of the self.' In deliberation, he says, 'the concept of the Self as a whole will not directly tend to reinforce or suppress a desire' (p. 719).

'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 self-history, and on the other hand I contemplate what I shall not do if I decline. I follow out this representation of a hypothetical self in more or less detached perceptions, a passionate process which is called Voluntary Decision emerges' (ib. p. 700).

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 Stout's psychological form, as a conception 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 aesthetic emotion has been emphasized by Burke and Kant. Hegel and Schopenhauer. Molinos. Vénelon. and Madame Guyon have maintained the possibility of a disinterested love of God. It must, therefore, be admitted that, while the adherents of the term 'motive' given under (2) and (3) is in many cases correct and forms a motive analysis, there are other cases where, even it impelled towards the end by some subjective affective element, the self-conscious satisfaction of this impulse need not form 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 wants 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 objects of the term 'motive' given under (1) and 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 compelled to characterize the good as the human, and the human 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 to itself through the medium of desire and inclination, as if purely formal ends existed by themselves. It is the impenetrability of particular desires and inclinations by the categorical law of duty that gives to the individual absolute value in that in which the categorical imperative which is expressed: 'so treat humanity whether in thine own person or that of another always as an end and never as a means.' We have, therefore, in our highest ends, moral, aesthetic, and religious, the singular paradox that in them 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 unsettled state of language, the word motive is employed indiscriminately to denote two kinds of objects, which, for the better understanding of the subject, it is necessary should be distinguished. The first is employed to denote any of those really existing incidents from whence the act in question is supposed to take its rise. The second may be any act or unfigurative sense. On other occasions it is employed to denote a certain fictitious entity, a picture, a creation of motive, an ideal being, which upon the happening of any such incident is considered as operating upon the mind, and prompting it to take that course, towards which it is impelled by the influence of such incident. Motives of this class are Avarice, Indolence, Benevolence, and so forth. . . . This latter may be styled the figurative sense of the term motive (p. 46).

The real incidents—motive in the unfigurative sense—are: 1. The internal perception of any individual lot of pleasure or pain, which has been ably criticized by Sidgwick (Methods of Ethics, bk. i. ch. iv.). They may be reduced to those drawn by Fleming (Manual of Moral Philosophy, ed. London, 1870, p. 176) between the external object, the internal principle, and the state of affection from which the one being addressed to the other. The internal principle may be dismissed as, at any rate for the purposes of this article, a fictitious entity. The distinction, however, between the external object and the resulting state or affection of mind has an important bearing on the foregoing discussion. It might seem plausible to say, as Fleming says, that Kant uses the term to mean, that it should be applied to the terminating state or affection of mind which arises from a principle of human nature having been addressed by an object adapted to it; because it is this state or affection of mind which prompts to action. This is true in the sense where an affection is the spring of action. But there are cases in which the affection does not exist, or the action takes place without, or contrary to, its prompting. In the 'beautiful soul' in Schiller's Lament and Words, affection produces moral results, but, to Kant, true moral action is independent of such affection. In art, however
much feeling may guide, it cannot be considered as the motive. In true art it cannot even be said that there is a conscious (or unconscious) motive which is intended to produce. In art, as Schelling says, the ego is unconscious in regard to its product (System der Transcendentalen Idee), vi. Tübingen, 1800 (Sammtl. Werke, Stuttgart, 1836–61, 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 done intentionally, and with respect to the existence of all the circumstances ascribed, as also with respect to the material of those circumstances, relation, and disposition, and to consequence, and there is no misapprehension with regard to any preventive circumstance, that consequence must also be intentional. In other words, awareness, with respect to the circumstances, if clear from the mis-supposition of any preventive circumstance, extends the intentionality from the act to the consequences’ (p. 16).

The distinction itself is most clearly expressed by Martineau (Types of Ethical Theory, ii. 272):

‘The Intention comprises the whole contemplated operations of the act, both 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 perspectival, dissuasive, and neutral consequences, it is only the first that fall under the heading of ‘motive’ in E. H. Huxley’s book. Utilitarianism, p. 27; Muirhead, Elements of Ethics, 2, 61; Mackenzie, Manual of Ethics, p. 64 ii.

This excludes from intention all motives in sense (1) which are unconscious or involuntary. It includes motives in sense (2) and (3). It is more difficult to say whether it includes motives in sense (4). The particular object or end is certainly included in the intention, but the law which will give to itself, while controlling and determining the intention, and will, for the sake of it, act, even if done for the sake of the law, has not the law in its universality as its end. To make Martineau’s statement true we must understand ‘perspectives’ in an affective sense.

2. Classification of motives. — The various classifications reflect the difficulties which have attended the foregoing discussions. Our impulses or active principles are classified by Reid into mechanical, animal, and rational; but only to the last two does he apply the term ‘motive’. He has classified the animal principles on the grounds that ‘mechanical’ cannot be applied to instincts and habits (which is done by Reid), nor to any of our active principles. It is capricious to call our appetites animal principles and to say that reason and the discerning instinct of the animal are analogous 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, and 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 exercise, pity, 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, and not judgment. Rational principles of action require not only intention or will, but judgment or reason.

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Stewart's own classification falls under five heads: (1) appetites, (2) desires, (3) affections, (4) self-love, (5) moral faculty. This classification has been ably criticized by Martineau (ii. 134).

MacNish gives the following classification of the motive or motive powers, or, as he prefers to say, of the motive and moral powers:

1. The native appetites of the mind leading to emotions, likes, dislikes:
   (a) the inclination to exercise every native power voluntarily or involuntarily; (b) the desire to receive pleasure and avoid pain; (c) the appetites which tend to seek for knowledge, exercise, society, power, property; (d) an inward principle that inspires seeking for the highest. (2) The moral or rational motive power (a) in the mind as a prompting energy; (b) as moral motives prompting to action in relation to other beings, e.g. sympathy.

2. The will not as furnishing inclinations, inducements, or motives, but as acted upon these, sanctioning, retracting, and deciding among them.

3. The conscience in compelling certain beliefs and judgments (Intuitions of the Mind, p. 242 ff.).

More important than any of these classifications is that of Martineau (i. 129–175). He begins by distinguishing between two sets of impelling principles in man: (1) those which urxe him, in the way of unreflecting instinct, to appropriate objects or natural expression, and (2) those which suprave upon self-knowledge and experience, and in which the preconception is present of an end 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 original 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, compassion; these operate as attractions towards other persons; (4) sentiments: wonder, admiration, reverence, of a relative and ideal relations, objects of apprehension or thought that are above us, yet potentially ours.

Under the secondary principles which are characterized by their interested nature or inanimate objects, we find: (1) secondary propensions: love of pleasure, money, power; (2) secondary passions: malice, vindictiveness, negligence, sensuality; (3) secondary affections: sentimentality; (4) secondary sentiments: self-love, vanity, selfishness.

The secondary series is the self-conscious counterpart of the primary series. These principles give rise to ulterior combinations, such as love of praise, emulation, fellow-feeling. In addition to these, Stuart remarks, that the self-consciousness which we associate with the primary principle, according to Martineau, a positive principle, so as to range in the series of impulses. Each exercises a judicial function — prudence among the secondary principles, conscience over the whole.

If we examine these various classifications, we shall find much to confirm the wide view of motives which we have taken. Martineau’s distinction of primary and secondary springs of action directly contradicts the narrow view of motives taken by Green, which separates primary from secondary motives; or, as he expressed it, ‘the notion of the self-realised instinct, and the idea of a motive being identified with an affective element. In Martineau’s theory the moral element consists in relative position in a scale of excellence intuitively discerned. Other moralists might seek to analyze further in what this excellence consists, and this analysis might be dangerous to the intuitive scale, might show that the position of a spring varies with circumstances; but the insight that the moral element is not an affective spring of action, in either the primary or secondary form, remains.

In the third place, it remains the necessity of recognizing 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 in certain imperative acts of action, or from a recognition of superiority or authority in inward springs or outward courses of conduct, demands a unique position for itself in the classification of those forces which impel the human will to action.

MOUNTAINS, MOUNTAIN-GODS.—

There are few peoples who have not looked upon mountains with awe and reverence, or who have not placed worship to them in the form of 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 through them, 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 a veneration of respect. 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 natural dangers encountered by the traveller on a mountain-wander, as well as the mystery of the gorge, precipice, or cove, 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. Their summits, being near the atmosphere, as it were, and being the objects of 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.

Sporadically we find cults of mountain-gods, but that is generally where no cult of nature exists, or, of course, where no mountains exist. Where they are feared, it is generally because of the dangers supposed to infest them as because of their own suggestion of danger. The horror of mountains found in writers from Walter to the time of Scott, Byron, and Wordsworth was perhaps a literary affectation as much as genuine lack of appreciation. Wordsworth's voice of the mountains has generally made a strong appeal to men and given a great impulse 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 as possessing a personality behind their massive forms, and, finally, to their personification in a greater or less degree. The next stage was that the mountain-god—the personified mountain which receives word of the mountain to 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 where a god of the mountain is worshipped, the mountain itself still looms vast and, as it were, personal. In this section we shall examine instances where the mountain seems to be worshipped for itself alone or to be regarded as sacred and to some extent providential.

The Choiseul-Gouffier regarded one particular hill as god of all the mountains, and on it burned a perpetual fire.1 To the Hopi Indians every mountain peak is a deity, and hills as well as lakes, rain, etc., are tribal gods of the Thompson Indians.2 The Mexicans had gods of mountains (Tlaloc), and mountains surrounded their cities.3 Mount Shasta in California is the abode of one of the gods of the Sierran Indians.4 In Korea mountains are personified, and the idea of guardianship, e.g., of towns, is associated with them (cf. § 5). Yet there is evidence that in many instances, the term kami, applied to deities, is likewise applied to mountains, which are supposed to possess great power.5 Similarly in China, where spirits of mountains have always been worshipped, mountains themselves are included among the shrines, or, if bereft of shrines, are the home of deities. There are ten principal Deities of Tapai, or earth-gods—the five goh, of which the greatest is T'ai Shan in Shantung,10 and, J. McConnell, Intuitions of the Mind, London, 1893; J. D. Morell, Introduction to Mental Philosophy, ed. 1842; J. S. Mackenzie, Manual of Ethics, Edinburgh, 1866; H. Sidgwick, Methods of Ethics, ed. 1897; G. F. Stout, "Aston, Manual of Psychology," ed. 1913.

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5. Ibid. 11. [1579] 25.
9. Crooke, Pl. IV, B. 10, 62; Murir, Orig. Schr. Texts, L. [1727]
10. Milinda-pantha, iv. vili. 16.
14. NF II. 121.
15. Kervran, IV. 41.
Mountains, Mountain-gods

Mountains worship a god of hills, and among the Kel the great deities are 'Great Mountain,' or 'Great Mountain-top.'1 The term-god, Masi-p, being a conspicuous peak in Ohta Napur which is either the god himself or his dwelling-place. Before the time of rain children take place of the mountain on the place for rain and a fruitful season.2 Mt. Shasta is thought by American Indian tradition that the soul of snow and ice by the Great Spirit from the sky, after which he stepped down upon it and hovered it out as a vignernach whom it might live on his visits to earth.3 American Indians the mountain in Arcadia.4 Malagasy thought that Thales, god of rain, dwelt on the highest mountain-tops where the feet of his great gods, his lieutenants, bearing his name, dwelt in hills and were worshiped as gods of water and of mountains. The cult of Thales was of great importance, and was continued with the first rain.5 In Central India the sun-god is supposed to dwell on hills, and isolated wooded hills are hence called 'sun-casts.'6 Several outstanding mountains are the seat of gods—Kalasas of Siva and Kubera—and a title of Siva is the 'mountain-god.' Other mountain chains or peaks are associated with divinities—e.g., the Vindhyas ranges with Maharajah Vindhyeshwar, the goddess of the range. In earlier times Raudra was believed to dwell among the mountains, or on their tops, and Durbah was called 'the dweller in Mandura.'7 Mann is said to have descended on a slope of the Himalayas called 'Mann's Descent,' and to have tied his ship to a peak after the flood.8 As has been seen, there is a constant confusion between the mountains personified and the mountains where those personified dwell. In Greece, 9 the gods were closely associated with mountains. The habitual cult of Zeus on mountain-tops, like that on certain Mexican Thales-peaks, shows a connection with rain, thunder, and lightning sent down from the heights, and he probably had been identified with them. In later times similar earlier gods there worshipped, e.g., at Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia (Zeus Lykaion). In several other instances the mountain where the cult took place gave a title of a god. Thus the Lykaion (mountain where no cult no deity was there), Zeus Laphtyos (Bacchus); on Mt. Pelion he was worshipped as Zeus Pelion. Clouds resting on peaks when Zeus was there was worshipped as a sign of rain.9 Hermes had a temple on the summit of Mt. Cyllene, and Apollo on the hill of Dicte.10 Arcturus was also worshipped on high places in Arcadia. The Cretan Mother-goddess, like the Parian Orphee (p.), was represented on standing hill (cf. art. Moct.). She was the mother of the Minotaur and was loved by the mountain and its recesses, called by her name. The cult of her divinity associated with mountains was Pan, who was born on Mt. Lykaion and had one of his sanctuaries there. Several mountains—e.g., Mt. Manala, Mt. Lampsal—the Himalayas dwelt there. There he loved to hunt, and there he might be heard piping.11 The personalized nymphs were also of the mountains, and were worshipped there. They had caves on Mt. Cithern, and gave oracles from them. Certain nymphs, called 'Opephes or 'Opeides, presided over mountains, and were companions of Arcturus.12 Mt. Olympus was supposed to be the seat of the gods, with the palace of Zeus on its summit. In Cappadocia, according to Strabo,13 a mountain was called after a god Omans. Some Babylonian gods were called 'ruler of the mountains,' and Enil is described as the 'great Earth-Mountain' a reference to Babylonian conception that he was god of all the foreboden life. For his worship, and later that of all the gods, an artificial mountain was erected on the plain. The 'world-mountain' was the seat of the gods. Among the Celts gods were associated with hills, where some cult was offered to them, or with mounds. Words believed to have related to the coming of Christianity, and there they live as fairies.14

For Berbers see ERE ii. 596.

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 goes with them.15 Such a belief is not found. It is doubtless connected with the fact that mountains are lofty and touch the clouds or are swallowed at times in mists. They are near the sky-land which is so often associated with the dead. They are lofty and mysterious, and, as they are the dwelling-place of gods and spirits, it was natural enough to regard them as also the habitation of ghosts.

Burial on hills is only one of many methods of disposing of the dead, and is by no means universal. It is found among the Comanches, Arawak, and other N. American tribes, the tribes of central Africa, the Malagasy of Madagascar, in Arabia, and among the Perses where no deads exist (the body is surrounded by stones, not buried). Hill-burial was also favoured by the Norsemen.16 In Melanesia the idea that ghosts dwell on mountains is frequently found.17 In British New Guinea it is said that of earth (Kolda): a blasphemous Elysium (Arcadia) as a light or a founus (Rrove-speaking tribes), and among the Kal of German New Guinea (ghosts an animals bringing wild grains). In the D'Entrecasteaux it is the spirit-mountain Bubwebos, the spirit-hill which the gods reach by a slope-bridge over a chasm. No mortal dare climb it or speak above a whisper when passing it.18 In Tahiti the heaven of the dead, Tamahani, is on a mountain on the north-west side of Raikiau, In the D'Entrecasteaux is a lonely spot on a crest of a hill.5 Various African tribes have similar beliefs.

The Ambaia think that ghosts dwell on hills, and the volcanic veins are their paths. Sacrifice is made to them there, and they fear to approach the hill among the woods of which the ghosts dwell.19 Among the Ragonese in the Philippines there are no mountains. The Bondel god, Iluiga, is a mountain, and some other, still more sinister, does not appear to be heard upon it. Death is the penalty for trespassing on it.20 The Anyanga hear the ghosts talking on their spirit-hill, or drum beating. To hear these is dangerous to the health. Malagasy ghosts and animal spirits reside in a great mountain in the north.21 In Lama the Spoon Indians thought that ghosts dwelt in caves and rocks, the echo being heard as the voice of other tribes it is said that souls of the dead go to Wokondah, who dwells in the Rocky Mountains of America, and there live in bliss.22 Tho-""
In Mexican belief the soul of one dying a peaceful death had
to pass between two mountains which threatened to meet and
crash, whereupon the mountain of Danann, the dwelling-place of
deities, is seen to be between the mountains and the
Mountains of Heaven, which are on the other side of the
West, through which lay the road to the region of the dead,
while the mountain of Danann believe in the Phoe de naevus or
eternal mountain, from the mountains, where Ra also sits. At the tomb of the
cobra was set on a small sandhill, representing the mountain.

1 Many folk-tales and myths tell of a deliverer, sometimes
the hero, sometimes the witch, like Arthur, who
is one day to return as the saviour of his people. 2
In some of these he is in fairyland or heaven, but
the cruder and more archaic belief is that he is
elected by men or the earth to save them. 3
Sometimes he is seen by those who have been able to
penetrate into these places. Such tales are told of Arthur, Merlin,
Fionn, and many another hero, and there are
innumerable Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavic
instances. 4 The story is also found in Korea.

5. Sacred Mountains.—Wherever mountains are
personified or associated with gods or are the seat
of a cult, their sacredness is obvious to their
adherents, and mountains have a peculiar sanctity.
Legend clusters thickly round them, and they are places
of pilgrimage or sources of merit.

In Ancient India the peak of a hill was considered a
habitation of demons, and the hill-top was
endowed with a cult, so that the
mountains were shrines or gods, and the
hill-tops, among other places, are
named from them. They send disease, and are much
feared. Some of these peaks are the shrines of the dead—of
headmen or their wives. They also have a dangerous aspect—sending
sickness or tricks at children—and are pacified by offerings. 5

The Yanass and other tribes of the Andes believe in spirits
manifesting themselves in parts of nature—oases, mountains. Spirits
of this kind are called tut, and are malevolent; hence people
are careful not to offend them. The most dangerous are found on the
most rugged summits, which the natives will hardly
approach. Among the Lushai Kuki clans tut is being
drawn or turned into a mountain, or a hill, or
a tree, and the spirits that live in people, hills, streams, etc.,
and cause much trouble. 6 In Chitral had spirits, with feet turned
backward, crops, and in Youth, it is supposed
that in the orchards every mountain and natural feature is haunted
by demons, and this is true of every part of
India. 7 

The mountain of Danann is the sacred mountain of Ireland.
It is reconned to be the dwelling place of
deities, its caves of witches and fetishes. Other hills
are equally haunted and consequently feared. As early as
the Vedos times such beliefs are found, and in the Mahabharata
witches are said to live in mountains. 8 In Korea the spirits
of mountains are duly worshipped by sacrifices, and on every pass
is a shrine where prayer is made to them or an offering laid.
They control tigers and give the hunter power to catch them.
In China mountain spirit, called Tao, is
worshiped. 9 In Nepal, also, the sacred
mountains, their power being proportionate to the size of
these. Only on certain days should mountains be crossed, and
the gods of mountains are more friendly and have a regular cult (q.v.).
In Indo-China the
mountains are treated as gods, and the ancient Annam
worshipped the mountains, power being imputed to the
mountains. 10 In Annam female spirits or babies called chiu of dwell in forests and mountains,
and for each hill there is an annual sacrifice. Among the
Bantu of S.E. Africa demons haunting mountains are much feared. 11 On the other hand, the Aborigines believe in guardians
spirits attached to hills, etc., who send rain and fertility. 12 For
similar beliefs see ERE II. 13 In New Guinea the
token belief that evil spirits dwell on mountains, and the
people are driven from the mountains. Demavend is the house of genii and demons, 14 and wizards assemble there. It is a general Mohammd form belief that the
mountains of Qi, supposed to be sacred, are the
earth, the chief abode of jinn and firds. 15 European folklore
makes hills and mountains one of the dwelling-places of
evils, fairies, dwarfs, and similar beings, 16 and the devil (demon)
of Armenian folk-belief live in mountains. 17 While
mountains are often within a hollow hill (see ART. FAITH, c. 41). So the Serbs call
the Serbs riles 12 and the Nereids of modern Greece haunt
the mountains. Certain mountains are trysting-places of spirits,
demons, and witches—e.g., the Horselsch, the Brecken, the
Fy de Dune, and innumerable others in every part of Europe, these gatherings probably being remnants of sacrificial rites
in pagan times on the same spots. 18

In Mexico and India, the belief that the mountains are
the abode of spirits, besides being the seat of gods, mountains are also
peopleed, like other parts of nature, by spirits, or are
haunted by demons.
6. Fabulous mountains. — As the preceding section has shown, actual mountains are often regarded in a mythical light. As an Egyptian author, G. Alizar in Zoroastrian belief, Hiinav in Hindu, Kwan-lun in Taoist. Some mythologies, however, have invented mythicid mountains, mainly in connexion with cosmogony.

Among such is the 'mountain of the world' (§ 96). In Hindu and, more particularly, Buddhist mythology Merg or Sumeru, the abode of the gods, occupies a prominent place. It was the primal and the chief of the three mountain-worlds, and was regarded as God's holy mountain, the 'mountain of the Lord's house.' In ancient times Mt. Atlas in Morocco was held in great reverence. In later times, the most famous mountain in the earth was, the 'mountain of the men who are good,' the Libyans say, is regarded as a temple and a god, the object by which they adore, and a sanctuary.

Inscriptions have a curious importance, especially the two groups of tablets already referred to and other sacred mountains are mentioned in the form of the names of gods, every mountain, temple, field, etc., should be so situated that the benedictory influences of the universe may be freely exercised upon mankind. It is, therefore, in the configuration of the earth. Hence hills intercept excessive influences—e.g., bad winds—or they send far and wide the beneficial influences of the universe. This is the reason why in the earth various mountains are high. In thousands, however, it is said that a student who has completed his term in Mount Athos, the first mountain, in 15 years, after their substance was molded in the earth during 1000 years. High mountains, being near heaven, are apt to become seats of heavenly beings. At the top of one Ahura revealed the law and mountains are said by the Spirit of Wisdom to be molotors of wind, wanderers, rest-places, and supports of rain-clouds, emitters of Ahura and the thunder and lightning, and victors of the creations of Ahura Mazda. Of him who goes to the lofty mountains' their glory is said to 'bless him and be friendly to him.'

The sacred mountain, moreover, is the summit supports the Chinava bridge, will never longer exist. Perhaps also this conception accounts for the tabs in the Sardar against women after child-birth, looking at a hill. J. H. Mouton regards this idea, so contrary to Farsi and Aryan notions of the sacredness of mountains, as one of the beliefs borrowed by the Magian adherents, other Aryan or Semitic, and superimposed upon Zoroastrianism. A similar idea is seen in the description of the Buddhist paradise, Sukhavati, which will be the abode of the blessed. In the Sukhavati the cliffs are marked in the OT, as natural where so many of them were sacred, and Zoro in particular is the seat of the gods' house. The hill of the holy mountains, and may be symbolic of the sun. The heaven is thus connected with the sun, moon, and planets revolve. In Tibet the Lamas offer to the Buddhas daily the universe in effigy: Meru is represented by a disc of rice in the middle. In Muhammadan belief the mountains of Qaf are believed to encompass the earth and its surrounding ocean like a ring, as Alarib was held to be in Zoroastrian belief. They are of green chrysoprase, and are the chief abode of the jinn. Our earth is one of seven successive earths, rising above each other, and supported by a rock, communicating with Qaf by veins or roots, the origin of earthly mountains. In Malay belief Qaf (which may = the Cosmos) is being pierced through by people called Yaqi and Muloq, and when they succeed, the world will come to an end. The Malays believe in the existence of a central mountain Mahameru—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 doubt, monuments were selected for 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 Naids, after harvest the people of each geographical division hold a feast on the top of a hill, and in drought people look to Timbrel or Christoper hill every morning and say, 'May sun, do the rain, Timbrel.' The savages of the goldfields, looking at the mountain-spirits on the summits, make a wish, addressing the spirit, and then part of the tree, and these are the three times, if not successful; should a third visit fail, another mountain is visited. Among the American Indian tribes Lacordair says that a direct worship of hills was usual, and in offering up to them. The Mexican worshippers mountains and mountain-gods, and when no hills were available for temples, made artificial mounds, or toconuli, for worship. Effigies of the mountains were made of dough and eaten in connexion with human sacrifices to the gods of the mountains, and not even the gods were sacrificed on high mountains. In China from ancient times mountains and rivers were things of the same reverence of the自主山, the sacred peaks, and historical notices in the sacred books of this or that emperor or king worshipping towards the hills, and it was the custom to take favouring personages, and sacrificing the appropriate sacrifices to them, usually to the five mountains (§ 1), or to the spirits of the hills. This was done on festivals, and the successful conclusion of war. This way rest was given to the spirits of the hills, the oblation to sacrifice to any of these spirits was an act of reverence, and the ruler was deprived of part of his territory. At Peking the great altar of 'Empress Earth,' and held at the summer solstice, when sacrifices to heaven are made, the emperor sacrifices to earth’s chief components—mountains, rivers, and seas. Similar sacrifices are offered to the ten mountains on other State occasions, as well as to the ranges dominating the site of the imperial palaces. 17

In India from early times a cult has been paid to or on moun-
tains (§ 8). The Institution of Vigna say that mountains are excel-
lent places for performing sacred rituals, and of an oblation of butter or milk on a mountain to east or north. The worship of sacred peaks, on which shrines or temples are commonly built, has already been referred to. Aboriginal tribes attach a high importance to this cult, and many sacri-
fices are offered to the peaks of mountains (Sambal, Kowara, Kol, etc.). In Korea people go once a year to wor-
ship the Pusan sacred mountains for merit, and carry a pebble, which is placed on the heap at the top dedicated to this god. In ancient Persia there are frequent records of books to worship and sacrifice being offer-
ted to mountains 'glorious with sanctity,' or 'brilliant with holiness.' The mountains which give understand-
ing in the slightest slight of libations, are part of the Burgess service (Tir A). The Sarmize worship of Sasan (Haoma or Haoma), or the height of high Harata (Nand Herodotus speaks of the custom of ascending the highest peaks and offering sacrifice to Zeus, calling the whole vault of the sky Zeus, probably some Zoroastrian sky-cowering the primitive Indo-European god of the sky.

In Greece numerous moun-
tains were crowned by temples dedicated to some particular god, but no deity was so much worshipped on mountain-tops as Zeus, who from his heights was supposed to rule the world. The Greek cults on high places of ancient date, and perhaps concerned gods supposed to dwell in heavens, rather than gods of the heights. In modern Greece mountain-churches often stand on the site of these ancient mountain-shrines.

Pausanias describes the cult of Zeus on Mt. Lycaon. There was a sacred rock face of the peak, with two pillars facing the rising sun. Here also and on Mt. Timolos the priest performed certain rites for the production of rain. In ancient Asia the peaks of mountains were com-
bated on the tops of Ida and Berezjceus, where she was sup-
poused to reside, and where the trees were sacred to her and never cut down. Among the Samnites on a certain mountain-top there was a mount which was the god they considered to be the god of thunder and tempest. Among the Scythes hills or high places were favourite places of worship, and are frequently referred to in connexion with the worship of pagan tribes and with people and with Israel. It was common worship on high places, and was supposed to dwell there, according to an older strain of thought, while Israel also offered sacrifice and incense on them to the local gods—the Bull of Amon—or other gods from time to time (cf. Hose 4:3, Jer 22:28 257, Ezek 39:17, 17 16 179). For the Canaanite cults see Dt 33, Num 332, Moab, Num 22:35-36. The words to worship of Jehovah on high places, whether natural or arti-
ficial, are frequent (e.g., 1 Kings 11, 12 17 57, 2 Kings 12 24 27, Joshua 21:40)

Archeological research has discovered remnants 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 on the peaks of some of the mountains the peaks the summits. Aaron has a shrine on Mt. Hor, and is supposed to visit it twice a week. Muhammadan saints have also shrines on hill-
tops, where no hills were available for worship. Some of these mountains were of great size. On them sacred buildings were erected, and the higher these could be placed the more sacred they seemed. Teocalli were also erected on high mountains. The mounds are found in the bottom lands, though occasionally on mountain grounds.

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 on the summits of cultic. The added stone may be an offering (in Ladakh the mountain-spirit is said to be offended if no stone is given), or many carry off weariness (it is often alleged that weariness leaves the traveller when he offers it), or the contemplation of evil, or it may drive away evil spirits, or it may be a materialization of the prayer made at the moment. See LANDMARKS, vol. vii. p. 794 f.; G.1., pt. vi., The Scope, London, 1913, p. 11 ff. In all religions which have encouraged ascetic

isim 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 Himavat has always been the resort of saints and

ascetics. Buddhist monasteries in Tibet are often on inaccessible heights, like those in Eastern Christian regions. Taoist hermits have been fond of mountains, as also have Christian ascetics.

8. Symbolism.—Mountains are everywhere sym-

bolic of strength and everlastingness (cf. the frequent phrase in OT 'the everlasting hills,' though compared with Jehovah they are as nothing). To the Hebrews they symbolized the seat of righteousness. His kindness, His guardianship, in the 'Th King a mountain is a symbol of resolute-

ness.' The Bab, Bel is called 'the great mountain,' or 'the great Earth-Mountain.' The Zulus speak of their king as being 'high as the mountain,' or address him as 'Yon mountain,' and elsewhere 'mountain' is a title of honour. Buddha is said to be composed and firm as Sumerus, or he is called 'the golden mountain,' and he is illustrious among men as Sumeru among mountains. The name montagne was given to the extreme French Revolu-
tionists, who occupied the higher part of the wall where the Assembly met.

9. Mountains in cosmogony.—(a) The creation of mountains is referred to in some cosmogonies.

In an American Indian myth they were made by the crow and the hawk and mud brought up by a duck. In Australia one myth tells how they were formed from a heap of roots which a man kicked in all directions. A Maori myth describes how the mountains and valleys of New Zealand were carved out by the knives of Maui's brothers, and an Australian myth of the god Bunjal and his knife is like this. Scandi-

navian, Cehua-Chinese, and Orphic the mountains were made from the bones of a giant or of Zeus. An Indian myth regards certain mountains as off-shoots from the Himalayas, brought (for Brahmans) in the days of some mountain-god, and the highest is a mountain of fire (see also §§ 5, 6).

(b) As to the ordinary observer the sky seems near 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.


c 3 PB. 60.

d 4 De Groot, Rel. in China, pp. 139, 130.

4 Fl. 209 1305; cf. Fl. 58 f. gross-

e 5 App. ii. sect. i, b. iv. (SBE xvi. 271).

f 6 Fl. 15, 191, 191, 191.

7 Fl. 15, 191, 191, 191.

8 Fl. 15, 191, 191, 191.

9 Fl. 15, 255, 255.

10 Fl. 209 1305; cf. Fl. 58 f. ground.

11 Fl. 15, 191, 191, 191.

12 W. B. Burton. Studien zur semitischen Religionsges.


13 Fl. 209 1305; cf. Fl. 58 f. ground.

14 Fl. 209 1305; cf. Fl. 58 f. ground.


16 H. Spencer, Principles of Sociology, London, 1873, i. 367.

17 Theo-bodah-ti-le, king, L. iv, xiv. 199; cf. Fl. vi. 190.

18 N. Ill, 239.

19 I. Fl. xxi. 541.


21 Grimm, p. 270, 370.

Mt. Atlas was formerly known as "the Pillar of Heaven." In Bab. cosmogony 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 cosmogony the various heavens are arranged on and above the mythical Mt. Meru in an ascending series (see Commonly [Hinduists], [Hindus]). Fragments of Celtic myth suggest that with the Celts also a mountain supported the sky, e.g., a mountain near the sources of the Rhone 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.

(c) In Hebrew story the ark rested on Mt. Ararat after the Flood (Ga 6:4). So in Bab. with the "mountain of the land of Nimrod" held the ship, but Nimrod did not let it slip, and on its top the Babylonians offered sacrifice and incense to the gods. The Hindu flood-myth tells how the fish rode the seven potsbind the ship to the highest peak of Himalayas. Man descended from it on Hanuman; hence the northern mountain is called Manu's descent (c, De Rigo).


J. A. MacCulloch.

MOUNTAIN-MOTHER. The Mountain-Mother is the only Greek divinity certainly Kourotes 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 certainly know of the Father, but only 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—also the Father—characteristic of the two strata that go to the making of Greek religion—the southern (Aegean or Anatolian) stratum has the dominant Mother-god, the northern (Indo-European) the dominant Father-god, the head of a patriarchal family, who is, ostensibly at least, the monogamous husband of a subordinate wife. The northern religion necessarily reflects patriarcal, the southern matrilinear, social conditions. A further distinction is of importance here—the Homeric Olympian is the outcome of an "heretic" 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 groups of demonic personages—Kourotes, Korybantes, Telchines, Dactyls, Satyrs, and the like.

A further characteristic of this southern matrilinear group-worship of the Mother is that it is mystical and orgiastic. The mysteries all centre not on Zeus the Father, but on the subordinate son—Demeter in Greece, whose daughter, Kore, is but her younger form, and Rhea or some other form of the great Mother; the Dionysos of the mysteries is son of the Earth-Mother. The reason is simple; mysteries are now known to be simply magical ceremonies, dramatic representations of birth, marriage, and death, enacted with a view to promoting fertility. Mysteries, in fact, spell magic, and the mysteries of the Mother stand again in marked contrast to the rational worship of the Olympian 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 anthropomorphic, not magical, not mysterious, not orgiastic. The mysteries of the Mother are based, like all other mysteries, on initiation-ceremonies, which have for their object to prepare the boy for adult life and especially for marriage (see INITIATION [Greek] and Kourotes and Korybantes). Each young man, each member of the band of Kourotes, or grown youths, became by initiation not only the son but the prince-consort of the Mother; he went through a mystical and magical training (γήμα). This explains at once the expression used by Euripides (Πηγήθος, 120, άθανάτωμα Καρνήμα), also elucidates the confession made by the Orphic initiate, δεκατοιον ἐν ὑπὸ τοῦ κάλλους των ὁμοιώματος. Marriage is the mystery περιτελεία, in the matrilinear worship of the Mother the series of consorts was perennial. In Crete the sanctifying of the Mother was mimetic and dramatic; in some Asia Minor cults it was attended by the horrors of castration. In the Cretans of Crete (frag. 472, Nauck) the mystic "held aloft the torches of the Mountain-Mother" (μυστήριον χερσεύον εἴς ἄνω τοὺς, the blazing torch being a familiar purifier and purifier of fields and crops. To the Olympos of Homer—a product of the Achaean hero-worship—new gods were admitted; even Demeter had there only a precarious footing. But in post-Homeric days, when north and south were freed, a place was found for her in a more chaotic pantheon as Mother of the Gods.

1 A. B. Cook, Zeus I., Cambridge, 1913, p. 600.
2 J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 608.
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She lent many of her sacred animals, attributes, and traits to the women-goddesses of Greece—to Hera her λέπις θυατείς, and sometimes her lion, to Artemis her huntress wild boar, to Aphrodite her dove, to Athene and the Erinyes her snakes, to Demeter her mysteries. How few these several goddesses were indigenous forms of the Mother, how far they were directly immigrant from Crete, cannot certainly be stated, but undoubtedly the dominant Mother with the male attendants—e.g., Attis and Atonis—half son, half lover, is echoed in Hellenic mythology in the figures of the great patroness-goddesses with the heroes whom they protect. In, i.e., in Hera Athene and Persas. The Mother has many names—Rhea, Cybele, Dindymene, Ma—but her functions remain the same; her characteristic attributes and sacred animals—lion, bull, and goat—vary with the culture and local surroundings of her worshippers. Cf., further, art. MOTHER OF THE GODS (Greek and Roman).


J. E. HARRISON.

MOURNING.—See DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

MOUSE.—See ANIMALS.

MOUTH.—In many ways the mouth is of importance from a religious point of view. It is that by which man speaks to the gods in prayer, or utters or sings their praises; many wind instruments used in sacred rites are blown by its means (see MUSIC); sacred things and persons are kissed with the lips, and the kiss has an important part to play not only in sexual but in social and religious life, while it has also a large folklore of its own. Silence is sometimes even more important than speech with the lips in religion and magic as well as in social affairs. Laughter is also a function of the mouth, and plays a large part in life, while it has likewise a ritual and folkloric aspect. The Bhagavat-Gītā regards the body as ‘the city of nine portals,’ of which the mouth is one. Voice and sound are a large part of the mouth, and all the immortal parts of the body, according to the Satapatha Brahmana, and it calls Indra the breath and Sarasvatī the tongue. On the lips sit the seven yāsī (the senses), and the tongue is an eighth which communicates with Brahmā. In the account of the creation of the different classes in the Rigveda, priests are said to be from the mouth of the primeval man. In the Egyptian Book of the Dead the god Amēnis has charge of the lips, as other gods have of other parts of the body.

Hell is often conceived in Christian literature and art as a monster with a vast mouth into which souls fall and are swallowed, as already stated (p. 115; cf. Xen. 125B). In Scandinavian mythology Hel has also a gaping mouth. Mythology often makes night a monster which devours the light or the sun. Cf. Skr. rajataḥsūla, ‘the mouth of night,’ evening.

Arts and mouth and the soul.—Whether the soul is regarded as a breath, a mannikin, or a tiny


2 Diels, p. 1102; cf. pp. 149, Ja. 249, 65, and Carlyle’s frequent praise of silence.


4 v. 13.

5 v. 1-4, xx. ix. 1, 4 (cf. v. x. 1, 13, v. 2, 4).

6 Bhaddarajkini Upanisada, ii. 2. 3.

7 Rigveda, x. x. 12; cf. also J. M. Neur, Orig. S. Texts, i. 2 (1897).


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 lips’ illustrate this. It is also seen that in the Hindu religion 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 reentering 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 Mahābhārata (iii. 257) Yama opens the mouth of Sātyavan while he sleeps and draws out his soul, which is afterwards given to his wife, who replaces it in his mouth. Ovid tells how Hylonome applied her lips to those of the dying Cyllarus to prevent his breath leaving him. Homer says that life cannot return once it has passed from the lips. On the frescoes of the Campo Santo, Pisa, the soul is depicted as a sexless child 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, prayers are sometimes to prevent its egress from the mouth. The mouth and other orifices are forcibly closed or stopped up, as the S. Australians, Itomans and Caymans (S. Americ), Mahays, New Caledonians, and Marquesse 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. De Groot holds that the placing of a coin in 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 found among the Phœnicians (small pieces of gold in mouth, etc., or melted butter allowed to trickle down [Hindus]; coin, etc., placed with dead [non-Aryan tribes]), and among the Litu-Slavics and Tentonics. This practice has 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 communion of such a gift. The Chinese practice, however,
throws new light on the subject, and points to a possible origin for the same practice elsewhere, though it came to be regarded otherwise.

To the same origin may be ascribed the practice of having the deceased with or without the corpse laid in food before burial. This, often regarded as a sacrificial feeding of the dead, may have been intended as a means of recalling the dead, though such instances 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 earthy 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. 3

It is found among the Tho of Tongking (ERE iv. 418), among Papuan and Polynesian tribes, and the Baduays (de Groot, i. 537). In the Panjabs leaves of the /unci plant and Gangen water are placed in the month as offerings to Yama, that he may be merciful to the dead (PR ii. 69). In S. India the /kuma fills the corpse's month (Lewin, Wild Races of S. E. India, London, 1876, p. 220). At the funeral feast of the father among the Kaka food is placed beside him and his pipe is put in his mouth, and he is hidden to keep because he is going on a long journey (ib. p. 253). The ankh-shaped /sold, which produces immortality, or some pomegranate seeds into the mouth of the dying (ERE iv. 529). This was not only the practice of placing the Host in the mouth of the dead, which was abolished at the 3rd Council of Carthage and at other councils.

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 mouth and may be lowered down through it. Where head-hunting is practised, the heads or, rather, the spirits connected with them are often fed by having food placed in the mouth. The Egyptian ceremonies of the mouth and eyes were performed that the deceased might see and eat the food offerings and utter the right words in the right manner.

As a preparatory rite the mouth and eyes of the unamn or status representing the deceased were rubbed with part of the food to excite the appetite. Then the /som 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 /soma-instrument with which the mouths of the gods were opened.' Mouth and eyes were touched with this instrument, and were opened by the mouth of the deceased as he had opened that of Osiris. With another instrument the lips were touched so that right words might be spoken. Then the mouth is fed with bread and other things. The lips are fed with food and the eyes to the lips, and touched again so that the jaw-bones might be established; and, finally, food was then placed in the mouth.

The act of feeding the jaw-bones primarily refers to an old custom of dismemberment. Various texts speak of restoring the jaw-bones and the mouth in the reconstituted body. The lists of the members of Osiris include lips, mouth, and jaw-bones, and there 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 Uganda the king's jaw-bone is cut out and preserved in a special place, where it is revered as an oracle, as the spirit is supposed to attach itself to it. 8 Where among the tribes of

6 T. H. Cobbold, The Egyptian Necrology, i. 357, ii. 49.

the flood peninsula carry the husband's jaw-bone. 1 The temples of German New Guinea extirpate the corpse after some months and with great ceremony remove and wash the bones. Similar customs are observed by other tribes of this region. 2 Again, the Sia (Solomons) preserve 3 a hollow wooden image of a fish in or in the public canoe-house. 4 In New Britain the jaw-bone is worn by a relative as a means of obtaining his own body. 5 These customs are perhaps akin to that of making trophies of the jaw-bones or lips of enemies, as in Ashanti, Ibohoun, Tabbi, etc. (see II. 102). 6 If the purpose is to secure power over the dead man's ghost.

The Egyptian custom should be compared with the 'way of purifying the three dead'—body, mouth, and heart—as practised on the Nile by the Shingon set in Japan. 7 Among the Basoga the lips of the dead are smeared with oil. 8

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 "batlas" are thought to enter by the mouth, and in Egypt in common opinion all kinds of evil spirits try to do the same. Various customs are more or less clearly connected with this belief, and have for their object the warding off of such noxions influences. Eating in private is one of these; uttering a charm or performing some ritual act after yawning is another; scraping teeth-cleaning, as with the Hinals, is a third; veiling the face is a fourth; 9 perhaps also against the escape of the soul. This custom is found among the Eskimos, Haidas, and other North American tribes, and very commonly in S. America (the most extravagant use of it being among the Boto-odeus), as well as among many African tribes. 10

3. The mouth and the breath.—As the soul or life is so often connected with the breath—whether breath in general, or, as has been suggested, the last breath—which may be with the lips to yawn, and which leaves the body finally at death, 11 certain rites in connexion with the mouth have arisen. In some instances a relative receives the last breath into his own mouth, by application of his lips to the dying man's. 12 For the Alfoors, 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. 13 The breath, again, may have life-giving properties. Hence the Eskimo anjokal will breathe on a sick man to cure him or give him a new soul; 13 or, as among the Bribri Indians, the medicine-man purifies a woman after

1 R. K. Giese, JAI xxvii. (1889) 211.
5 JEBE iv. 499.
7 See P. R. F. 291, II. 22, 47, and references.
11 See instances in JEBE iv. 412 (Nias), 495.
childbirth by breathing on her first. Breathing by breathing or by blowing upon a patient is also found again in Indian, Zend-Avesta, and in the sacred books of 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 to the dead.

In Times the common people, in addressing the Raja, place the hand before the mouth, lest they profane him by their breath. Among the Parsees this worship is performed in the presence of the priest as he enters the church; it is believed that if it is not done in a proper manner, the worshiper will be affected by the breath of the priest. Hence priests have also to veil their mouths when cooking the sacred food, and also when they cook the Mikado's kitchen. Saxo Grammaticus tells of a shrine at Rogen so sacred that the priest might not breathe in it, but had to go to the door for that purpose. On the other hand, a Mo-rist 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, connected by breath.

The ancient custom of a scorning 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 could enter and contaminate the breath and thereby the mouth, is at once a tabu thing and a source of danger and magic influences and also a safeguard — e.g., against witchcraft — as well as of unwholesome rites (see Saliva). See also DEATH.

LITERATURE — This is given throughout the article.

MOUGGLETONIANS. — See BHAGAM SAMA.

MOUGGLETONIANS. — The followers of the London prophets, John Reeve (1608-38) and his cousin Lodowicky Muggleton (1609-38), were designated Muggletonians. Both Reeve and Muggleton were Puritan and Quaker, but Reeve became a Ranter and Muggleton dropped all public worship, being attracted by Boehme's writings and by the prophecies of John Robinson and Thomas Tany. In 1601 Muggleton had inward revolutions interpreting the Scriptures; Reeve had the same experience next year, and on 3rd-5th Feb. 1652 Reeve announced an audible commission urging him to rebuke Robins and Tany and constituting him the last messenger of the third and final dispensation, to prove that the end was near. He witnessed of Rev. 11, to announce a new body of doctrine and to declare the eternal destiny of individuals. By 27th July 1652 their Transcendent Spiritual Treatises was complete for publication. They declared that all succession had ceased for 1300 years, and, when challenged to prove their new commission, their latest resort was to curse their opponents; a great accidents or deaths from fear established their credence. Being imprisoned for blasphemy in 1653, they issued two more pamphlets. Demands for new truth were met by Reeve laying down six principles, published 15th Aug. 1656, as to the person of God, person of angels, person of devils, condition of Adam at his creation and how he lost his estate, heaven and glory, hell and death. The same year a full exposition appeared in The Divine Looking Glass, or the Third and Last Testimony, printed in this year. The leading doctrines run thus. Matter is eternal and independent of God; this earth is the centre of the universe, sun and moon being fixed in the firmament about as big as we see them. God is one and eternal, with the material body rather larger than human, clear as crystal. The One God came to earth as Jesus, entrusting the temporary charge of the universe to Elisha. Angels have spiritual bodies and rational natures; Adam's body was natural, and his life-influence, everlast, important person; one angel and one only fell; he tempted her, entered bodily into her, and then dissolved, whence was born Cain. Eve tempted Adam to carnal intercourse, and thence arose Abel and Seth. Thus in the world of darkness cursed and cursed. The soul is mortal, generated with the body, and returning to dust, whence it shall rise with the body. At the resurrection each person shall be re-created where he died, the wicked lying immoveable in wrath, and the righteous in glory.

Reeve died in 1658, and Lawrence Clarkson aspired to fill his place, publishing three works. At the Restoration Muggleton was abandoned by many, but he regained his influence, as did Clarke. He added the new doctrine that God has ceased intervening in the world, so that prayer is useless. For the next few years he was at war with the Friends, till William Penn, in 1672, published his New Witnessk, Provided no second secession took place in 1670 in consequence of his Nine Assertions, but Alexander Delamina and John Sadlington vigorously supported him. In 1670 G. Sheldon found some followers near Ashton. Next year he was again indicted for blasphemy, pilloried, imprisoned, and fined. He then wrote his autobiography, and, though no new revelation came, he was highly respected during the rest of his life for practical counsel. An anonymous attack by Bishop J. Wilkins in 1684 was promptly repelled by Thomas Tomkinson, who, in 1689, published his correspondence and autobiography, under the title Acts of the Witnesses.

Though one early revelation was quite explicit, the doctrine in 1670 was imprinted and persisted. Many works were reprinted in 1756, after Swedemborg announced a kindred system, and others were written. Then James Birch led a reform movement back to the views of Reeve; but in 1778, he claimed direct inspiration, so that a secession took place, known especially in Pembroke and Bristol, as well as in London till 1871. A revival occurred about 1820-31, resulting in a fine edition of the primary works in three quarto volumes; and The Looking Glass was reprinted even in 1816. Prayer and preaching not being practised, public worship was confined to reading the standard books aloud, and singing the Divine Songs; the chief reading-room was in New Street, off Bishopsgate Street. Since 1870 worship seems to have ceased, though annual meetings were held at Denby in Derbyshire within living memory.

LITERATURE — Sources are cited in the article; for bibliography see Joseph Smith, Bibliotheca Antiquaquechristiana, London, 1773. Modern studies are: Alexander Gordon, The Origin of the Muggletonians, Liverpool, 1893, Ancient and Modern Muggletonians, London, 1894. See also of the Authors, London, 1858. W. T. WHITELEY.

MUHAMMAD. — I. Historical sources. — Muhammad († 7th June A.D. 632) called also Ahmad, and by poets Malikbud Abul-Qasim, sometimes
localized as Al-Thānī (‘of the Thamah’ [Muttalib, ed. F. Diez-Cirici, 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, 500, or even 1000 (see the collection in Qasmi, Lail, Cairo, 1275, ii. 133-179), was the founder of the religions and political system called in Europe after him, but named by him Islām or Ḥanīfīn. The event in his life which furnishes his followers with an era, viz. his migration (Hijrah) from Mecca to Medina, is fixed by synchronization with the Jewish Day of Atonement for 20th 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 [†255 A.H.], Kōmil, Cairo, 1308, i. 325), whereas the calendar on which it is based uses a lunar year of 354 days, introduced by the Prophet near the end of his life. Since both the calendars and the eras previously employed in Central Arabia are only vaguely known, and the story of ‘Omar implies that he had not before heard of an era (which perhaps is confirmed by the fact that the word used for ‘era’ signifies ‘month-making’), accurate dating of the prophet’s life is impossible. This era is, however, an allusion in the Qur’ān (xxx. 1) to the victory of Chosroes in the Near East, which took place A.D. 616, and this agrees with the tradition that Muhammad preached for ten years in Mecca before his migration. Probably the earliest written account of him is that in the Armenian Chronicle of Sebōs (Armen, text, Petrograd, 1879, pp. 104-106; Russ. tr. by K. Patkanian, do. 1882, pp. 116-118), of the 7th century, in which he is called an Ishaqī but the statement that he 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. Ishaq (c. 150 A.H.), who composed his work, if any, in the year 190 A.H., Mansūr (136-158 A.H.) = A.D. 754-775, at least a century and a quarter after the death of his subject. This work does not appear to exist in its entirety, though probably the bulk is preserved in that of Ibn Abī Jahl, which he claims (†288 A.H.) to be the Chronicle of Tabari (†310 A.H.). Its author was in communication with eminent members of the Prophet’s family, but is said to have been a man of indifferent morals, besides being a Shi’ite and a Qudari (believer in the freedom of the will); he employed versifiers to compose poems to be put into the mouths of the personages who figure in his narrative; and his credibility was otherwise impeached.¹ Contemporary with Ibn Ishaq was Ma‘ṣūr (†250 A.H.), who composed his work, the KauqFUNd of Hence the chronicle was studied in Cairo as late as the 15th cent., but of which hitherto only some fragments have been discovered (ed. E. Sachau, SBAlW, 1994), and those of little value. Shāfi‘i (†204), who appears to have made accurate search in Arabia, could find nothing in writing referable to the Prophet except the Qur’ān and one apocryphal documen1t, of which he knew only by hearsay. Contemporary treaties, produced in ancient and modern times, have been shown to be forgeries by the anachronisms which they contain (see Yaqūt, i. 248). The Qur’ān and Isbra‘i1le to be the most part authentic, but those who collected it avoided chronological arrangement as much as possible, combining in the same sūrat, or chapters, matter belonging to widely different periods. In order to put it for historical purposes the reader has to interpret it by Ibn Ishaq’s biography; but there are many cases in which that biography appears to be conjectural interpretation of the Qur’ān. It is true that the commentaries on the latter, of which one on an entire of QulLās is by the historian Tabari in the middle of the 3rd Islāmī cent., profess to locate most or all of the texts; but, unfortunately, they give a variety of locations, 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.


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 main text’s historical value. In the main, then, our knowledge of the Prophet’s career comes from the work of Ibn Isra’i1il.

There is reason for thinking that shortly after Muhammad’s death some sketch of his life, comparable to the Christian apocrypha, was communicated orally to those who embraced Islam, enabling them to understand allusions in the Qur’ān; but this is likely to have been brief, and statements in early-law books indicate that considerable uncertainty prevailed with regard to events of primary importance in the Prophet’s biography. It is of interest that the Khalifah ‘Abd al-Malik (65-86 A.H.) wrote to Uwrab b. Zalair (born 22) for an account of the battle of Badr, and his letter in reply is preserved by Tabari (†1284) - 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 Qur’ān. Another letter of this jurist in reply to a question about the Prophet’s life is impossible. There is, however, an allusion in the Qur’ān (xxx. 1) to the victory of Chosroes in the Near East, which took place A.D. 616, and this agrees with the tradition that Muhammad preached for ten years in Mecca before his migration. Probably the earliest written account of him is that in the Armenian Chronicle of Sebōs (Armen, text, Petrograd, 1879, pp. 104-106; Russ. tr. by K. Patkanian, do. 1882, pp. 116-118), of the 7th century, in which he is called an Ishaqī but the statement that he 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. Ishaq (c. 150 A.H.), who composed his work, if any, in the year 190 A.H., Mansūr (136-158 A.H.) = A.D. 754-775, at least a century and a quarter after the death of his subject. This work does not appear to exist in its entirety, though probably the bulk is preserved in that of Ibn Abī Jahl, which he claims (†288 A.H.) to be the Chronicle of Tabari (†310 A.H.). Its author was in communication with eminent members of the Prophet’s family, but is said to have been a man of indifferent morals, besides being a Shi’ite and a Qudari (believer in the freedom of the will); he employed versifiers to compose poems to be put into the mouths of the personages who figure in his narrative; and his credibility was otherwise impeached.¹ Contemporary with Ibn Ishaq was Ma‘ṣūr (†250 A.H.), who composed his work, the KauqFUNd of Hence the chronicle was studied in Cairo as late as the 15th cent., but of which hitherto only some fragments have been discovered (ed. E. Sachau, SBAlW, 1994), and those of little value. Shāfi‘i (†204), who appears to have made accurate search in Arabia, could find nothing in writing referable to the Prophet except the Qur’ān and one apocryphal documen1t, of which he knew only by hearsay. Contemporary treaties, produced in ancient and modern times, have been shown to be forgeries by the anachronisms which they contain (see Yaqūt, i. 248). The Qur’ān and Isbra‘i1le to be the most part authentic, but those who collected it avoided chronological arrangement as much as possible, combining in the same sūrat, or chapters, matter belonging to widely different periods. In order to put it for historical purposes the reader has to interpret it by Ibn Ishaq’s biography; but there are many cases in which that biography appears to be conjectural interpretation of the Qur’ān. It is true that the commentaries on the latter, of which one on an entire of QulLās is by the historian Tabari in the middle of the 3rd Islāmī cent., profess to locate most or all of the texts; but, unfortunately, they give a variety of locations, 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.

those battles, since each was followed by some
successions. (2) The biography rarely has recourse
to supernatural, and even when this element is
introduced, it does not appear to affect the causa-
tion; where, e.g., angels or the devil take part in
battles, they do not really contribute to the result.
(3) The character which the narrator ascribes to
his ancestors cannot have greatly impressed him;
To this may be added the fact that, although Ibn
Ishāq wrote for an 'Abbasid patron, he takes very
little trouble to glorify his ancestor 'Abbas, where-
as he paints a pleasing picture of Abū Tālib, the
uncle of the Prophet, which can be found. Surly
was the history of a family which also claimed to succeed
the Prophet. Hence it is clear that this biographer
has not as a rule yielded to the temptations which
lead astray men in his position.

2. Life.—For the present purpose the briefest
sketch of the Prophet's career, as Ibn Ishāq
narrates it, will suffice.

It is not possible to throw any serious doubt on the
location of Muhammad as a member of a numerous
Arab family, though the name of his father excites suspicion, since
'AbdAllah (the equivalent of 'some one') is used at a later
period as a substitute for an unknown name; perhaps it is in
this case a substitute for a name of which the second element
was a qālin. Few have accepted the suggestion of
Spranger that the name 'Mohammed' itself was adapted
by the Prophet when he entered on his prophetic career; for
the name is found in ancient inscriptions, and its connexion
with the prophesy Hag 2, 'and the desire (bēnēkha) of all
nations shall be for him,' seems to have been an afterthought;
therefore no reason for supposing that this name or its variants
had Messianic associations. According to the biography,
the life of Muhammad may be divided into four periods. (1)
For forty years, he lived as a pagan at Mecca (which comes into history with his
exile and migration) or formed innocuously. At the age
of twenty-five he married a woman much older than himself,
who bore him one or more sons (who died in infancy) and
dauras. In his forty-fourth year he became the recipient of
revelations, wherein the office of prophet was conferred upon
him. (2) For three years he carried on private propaganda,
whereby he converted his own and his principal
friends, and among the humbler classes in the town. (3)
For ten years he carried on his mission publicly in Mecca,
for the greater part of the time under the protection of his uncle
Abū Tālib, who was not a unbeliever; after his death the mission had
for a time to be transferred to Medina, until another protector
could be found among the Meccan magnates. Meanwhile a
temporary refuge had been obtained for the Prophet's perse-
cuted followers in Christian Abyssinia. Towards the end of
this period the consternation of war at Yathrib (Medina)
suggested to some of the inhabitants the desirability of inviting
a prophet to settle their disputes. Muhammad was invited to
undertake this task; and accepted; but he wisely sent his
followers to Medina where he waited for them. As soon
as he arrived, he himself escaped with difficulty from Mecca,
where danger was anticipated from this move. (4) Once in
Medina, he proceeded to organize his followers as an army,
rutlessly suppressed internal opposition, secured the alliance
of the Abu Sufyan tribe, of whom he took a number,
and started raiding the Yathrib caravans. Involved in war with his former fellow-citizens, he
instructed on a series of defeats, culminating in the capture
of Medina and the destruction of the Arab nation of his migration. By the era
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
history presents at least one case. The Tālibid,
Fātimid, Buwailid, Seljūq, and Ottoman dynasties
all arose in this way; and in most 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 which they professed
but to the skill by which they were associated, but
to their skill as organizers and
military leaders. In Muhammad's case, owing
to the amount of information which we possess
about him, it is easier to analyze the qualities
which rendered his the doctrines which
were associated, and which skill of the
choice of subordinates he seems to have made
mistakes. In the second place, he was thoroughly
familiar with the foibles of the Arabs, and utilized
them to the utmost advantage. The stories of his
successes as told by the Sungilid biographer
are depicted as a series of moral japes—Mr.
has correctly recorded, and no events of great
importance in his early life occurred, his military
career began when he was over fifty; this seems
astonishingly late, yet analogies, if not parallels,
can be found in the Bible. But it is also excited by the case
with which the Arabs abandoned their gods and
goddesses, readily accepting the logic of the stricken
field; for, though new prophets arose after Muhammad's
death, there appears to have been no re-
crudescence of paganism. Yet to this, too, some
analogies can be discovered. The fact of primary
importance in the rise of Islam is that the move-
ment became considerable only when its originator
was able to draw the sword and handle it success-
fully, that he was summoned to Yathrib was
without 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 this advocate of monothelism;
that he was able to reach the fullness of prophetic
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 fellows, or that such a gift
should occur for the development of special talents.

According to the Qur'an (xiii. 30), he was not a
'great man' in his city, and, if the words of xvii.
are to be taken literally, he lost his parents at
an early age, and at some period was poor
and burdened with a family. The question whether
he could read and write has been much discussed,
and it is unfortunate that we do not know certainly
whether those accomplishments formed the basis
of education in Mecca when he was a lad; there
is, however, some slight reason for supposing that
they did. The evidence indicates that he could
do both of them, but not well. Thus, when he
records the charge made against him of copying
the ancient history (xxv. 5 f.), he does not refute
it by the assertion that he could not write. The
tradition makes him a tradesman, and can even
name his partner and the goods in which he dealt.
Some have tried to find evidence of the language
of the Qur'an, which undoubtedly takes
metaphors from sale and barter, profit and loss;
but whether it does so to a greater extent than
other books may be doubted. Some stories say
that he was employed by his first wife Khadijih
in the conduct of a caravan; and others tell of
him following this occupation early in life.

It is, on the whole, probable that he travelled
in his youth, for, though the geography of the Qur'an
is vague, the description of 'Abbad is
it seems to be based on personal experiences.
Moreover, the charge of ignorance which is repeatedly
made against the people of Mecca is more likely
to have been brought by one who had some acquaintance
with a higher civilization.

3. Origins and development of system.—The
tradition does, indeed, name precursors of Mu-
hammad at Mecca, among them a relative of his
wife who had either copied or translated a
portion of a gospel; but the progress
and S. Arabia, it is not unlikely
whether that missionaries had found their way
to Central Arabia, or that travellers thence had
had their curiosity aroused and made inquiries into
the system. The phenomena of the Qur'an on the
whole render it improbable that any part of it is based on book learning; for, though in one place the Psalms are quoted with fair accuracy (xxxi. 165 — 166), with which the writer is familiar, in another (xxvii. 15) the procedure is explicable only as the reproduction of hearsay. Thus it is said (lxxvi. 37 f., lxxvii. 19) 'The Scroll of Moses and Abraham' for maxims that are analogous to those occurring in the Prophecies or the NT, though not quite identical with them; and the mode of quotation implies that the writer had a vague notion of the book cited, such as actual perusal would have corrected. Further, the form assumed by the proper names and the religious terminology insinuates 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., 'Talbot for Soul,' '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 on their hearer a decidedly vague impression, in spite of the fact that they interested him keenly, because he was no mere literary man and his works contribute to the matter of the Qur'an, 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 from Mecca to Medina, Jews, he may have been able to utilize the Biblical learning of one or other among his converts. But it seems probable that what was reproduced during the Meccan period had been heard from travelling converts in Mecca and Christians whom he had met in foreign parts.

Prior to his call Muhammad is said to have practised ascetic retirement on Mts. Ithir and for this an old technicality, tahimmah, is preserved, which is said to mean 'to acquire merit,' and certainly has nothing to do with the Heb. thimnath, 'supplications.' The call itself evidently took the form of a command to read, which the Prophet reluctantly obeyed. The communications emanating from the Qur'an in the tradition, made to the Prophet and uttered by him in trance; he would wrap himself in a blanket and perspire copiously at the time. A certain number of these stories may be inference from sūrah xxvii. Lxxii. 20. The Prophet is addressed as 'Thou that art wrapped up,' combined with sūrah xxi. (supposed to be the first revelation), where he is hidden '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 rhyme, whereas more usually rhyme only, and this of a somewhat loose character, is observed. The relation of this Qur'anic style to the verse and rhymed prose of classical Arabic is an enigma which cannot 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, since only those who are accustomed to read and write think of their words as agglomerations of letters; to the illiterate the word, if not the sentence, is the unit. Indeed, in what is supposed to be the earliest revelation the deity is said to be present in the form of a scroll, or written document. The early existence of poetry before the Qur'an is attested by a sūrah which is directed against them (xxvi.) and a text in which the deity states that He had not taught Muhammad poetry (xxvi. 69). If the poetry which existed before the Qur'an was analogous to the classical poetry, the people of Mecca cannot have been in the state of naivé ignorance 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 rhymed prose, probably we have nothing in this style that is certainly genuine and older than the 2nd cent. of Islam. It is, however, a much easier performance than verse, though no less dependent on writing. Oracles are supposed to have been delivered in it by pre-Islamic wazirs.

Now the respect of ignorance for knowledge is a well-attested phenomenon, displayed in the desire 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 wazirs who preceded Muhammad presented a higher stage of education; hence, according to natural sequence, the style of the Qur'an would seem to come between such poetic types as may have equipped for versification in Arabic and the highly artificial products with which we meet in the Umayyad period. It would follow that all the pre-Islamic poetry as well 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 distinguished philologists of the early Abbasid period, to whose labours we owe there where we lack written documents of early poetry, were unscrupulous forgers.

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'an. Many cases noticeable in his lifetime his book resembled a newspaper in having a fluid rather than a stationary existence; it was as a whole 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, then as a single copy. The complete development of this theory was not possible before the collection of the Qur'an; 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 'warner,' 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's notions of 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 doubtful how far these are to be regarded as real occurrences or accidents 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, legis-
labor, ruler, and judge. Yet we never hear of his health breaking down under the strain. The ‘fits’ seem to have been experienced only when they were required for the delivery of the revelations, and in no case to have interfered with his activities.

A message must have matter as well as form, and, when Muhammad became head of a State, his Qur’an served as government organ, containing scripts 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 reproduces narratives from the Christian Bible, which ez hypostasis could not have been known to Muhammad from Scripture, but a name, used mysteriously, was invested with 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 laws.

It is not easy to say whether Muhammad had any desire to incalculable any particular doctrine, for there appears to be none which he was not prepared to abandon under political pressure, and the doctrines of Islam are for the most part rather attached than himself to the dogmas. The main doctrines of the early teaching are the future life, the unity of God, and the folly of idolatry. Since he was a merchant, and the growth of the ritualistic Black stone (cf. ERE vii. 743), it is difficult to treat the campaign against idolatry as quite serious. 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 martyrs in his cause enter paradise at once, and his enemies enter hell immediately after death—a belief not easily reconciled with the former. According to Tabari, during the Meccan period he made a single profession of faith, with stress, issued a revelation admitting the Meccan goddesses 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 (III. 19-22, xxii. 51; see ERE vii. 150). He even consented at one time to erase his title 'Apostle of God' from a document, when it stood in the way of the ratification of a treaty. Even the formula with which the surahs and meditations begin, '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 indeclinable, must be attributed to the development of the present use of the formula and 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 doubtless accommodated to Meccan prejudices.

The tradition does not conceal the fact that the 'restoration of the religion of Abraham,' one of Muhammad's precessors, Zaid b. 'Amr, is represented as traveling with the intent of discovering the religion of this patriarch, from whom the tribes of N. Arabia, according to Genesis, are descended. It is not probable that his name was known in Mecca before Muhammad introduced it, or that, in doing so he was treading on safe ground, since the 'people of learning,' i.e. Jews and Christians, were agreed about the relationships. 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 'Anap, 'beneath,' by their Christian neighbours, and possibly this is the solution of the puzzling name 'Hanif' applied in the Qur'an to the religion of Abraham, and synonymous with 'Muslim,' which, according to the same book (vi. 163), was a title invented by the patriarch. The Qur'an's 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 messinian, i.e. polytheists. When the Prophet decided to make the Meccan pilgrimage part of his system, he ascribed the building of the Ka'bah to Abraham and Ishmael (II. 127), 1 in order to bring the prayer-ceremonial into connexion with the former. It is probable, though not certain, that both that ceremonial and the fasting month are Harranian.

There is reason for thinking that, besides the prohibition of idolatry, the earliest form of Islam enjoined certain daily ceremonies which were afterwards developed and regulated until they became stereotyped as the code of the faith: 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 some of the technicalities are found in Sabean inscriptions. Of the actual acts of which nothing is known; the prayer which corresponds with the Paternoster, and is called the Fatiha ('Opener') because it is prefixed to the Qur'an, contains polenical references to Jews and Christians ('those who have incurred anger and those who go astray'), which point to a late period in the Prophet's career: for his hostilities with the Jews did not commence until after the migration, and those with Christians were some years later. Moreover, the prayer-ceremonies were connected with political drills, 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' (zakat or salagation)—belong to the Medina period, though they cannot be precisely dated. The establishment of the first indicates the Prophet's resolve to conciliate so far as possible the pagans of Mecca, and to abandon Judaism, which on his arrival he was compelled to adopt; it belongs to the same policy as that which dictated his making the Meccan temple the direction of prayer instead of Jerusalem (li. 139 f.). The fasting month, whatever its origin, is evidently a military exercise; on the other hand, it may have been brought by the fighting men to endure privation, and, on the other, they train them to turn night into day. The alms or income-tax of 2½ 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 tabn on intoxicants (lii. 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. F. Browne that this tabn is definitely anti-Christian in intent.

It is probable, then, that the positive parts of Islamic teaching belong to the period after the migration, and that they were largely suggested by the Judaism which the Prophet had to know there. 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 let only shifted the day from Saturday to Friday, but reduced the time when business might not be transacted to the period occupied by the mid-day religious service (xlii. 9 f.). Instead of the elaborate system of

1 Central and Eastern Arabia, London, 1906, i. 128.
food tabus which occupies so prominent a place in the Mosaic Code, he adopted the minimum retained by the Council of Jerusalem, recorded in Acts 15, which is precisely the same as the tenets which were originally to be found in those regulations (ii. 185, v. 4, xvi. 116). He held that each of the communities (Jewish and Muslim) might eat the food of the other, and, indeed, went on his way to record in the Quran what he supposed to be the Jewish rules on the subject (vi. 147).

From Christianity he appears to have taken very little in the way of either doctrine or practice. His first relations with Christians seem to have been friendly, and, as has been seen, during the Meccan period he is said to have found a refuge for persecuted followers at Christian Axum; at a later period he used enlogistic language of Christian monks whom the Quran had affected to tears (v. 85 f.). He supported (v. 110) the Christians in worship three deities, Allah, the Virgin Mariam, and 'Isa, whom he identified with the spirit of God, but also called a Word (iv. 169). When he became acquainted with the division of Christians on the subject of the nature of Christ, he conceived that it was his mission to settle the dispute; it is noticeable that he fully accepted the Virgin-birth and the Ascension, though not the Resurrection, as he denied that Christ had been crucified. He rejected the doctrine of the divinity of Christ (xix. 17 f., iii. 40 f., iv. 156). Spranger fancies that he horrified his Christian visitors by his harangues as much as he shocked his Jewish subjects by his ignorance of the O.T.; but it is certain that the embassy from Christian Najran which waited on him in Medina, when his power was making progress in Arabia, ultimately espoused religious discussion and resigned themselves to the payment of tribute.

4. Relation of systems of thought. In comparison between Muhammad's system and that of those which it displaced in non-Christian Arabia is difficult owing to the fragmentary nature of our information about the latter. The name applied to the heathen Arabs in the Quran, mushrikin, if it really means 'those who assign associates to Allah,' would imply that these pagans were to some extent monotheists, i.e., recognized one Supreme Power; but it is curious that the sub独角兽 are called 'true' and their worshippers 'false' idolaters (vi. 138). It is likely that the communities had their tribal and local cults, the abolition of which was regarded as a preliminary for the political union of Arabia. In order to employ monologue for a political and, indeed, imperialistic object the deity had to be treated as a tribal god, favouring one community and hostile to all others. The men whose accession to Islam after the migration led to its great military successes, especially Khalid b. al-Walid and 'Amr b. al-Asw, appear to have had little or no religious conviction, but to have been moved by admiration for the Prophet's military and diplomatic skill, and anxious to serve under so able a chief. So far as religion entered into their consideration, they probably thought of the god of the community as leading it in war, and found the deity of the Muslim society able to defeat the others. More devout members of that society regarded the Prophet as able to call in the divine aid whenever he was in need of it. As the political programme increased, doctrine diminished in importance; and the institution of practices seems to have been based on the desire to give the new system the equivalent of what other systems possessed, in order that those others might have no rival attractions.

5. The Prophet's sincerity. The question of Muhammad's sincerity in his claim to be the spokes-
man of God has often been discussed, and various views have been held on the subject; as examples we may quote the divergent opinions of the traditions which regard Muhammad's assertions on this subject as a case of epileptic mendacity, while L. Caetani finds no contradiction between his supposed elaboration of the revelations and his ascription of them to direct communication from the deity. The former view, as has already been seen, is scarcely tenable; nor does the latter correspond with the facts, for the revelations furnish little indication of elaborate preparation, and, when once delivered, they appear to have been neglected; there are, indeed, traditions of collections of revelations having been made by some of his followers, but it seems certain that Muhammad himself kept no such collection. 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, while the angels whom he declared to have warned his battles were partly pious, partly poetical personifications of the heroism of his followers, he was fully conscious of the value of attributing his victories to these supernatural auxiliaries; to be defeated by them was no disgrace, and he might even pay any fee. He was also quite conscious of the value attaching to the right to dictate the moral law.

6. Moral reforms. As a moral reformer Muhammad had his task of the condition of infantilism in which, if we may trust the Quran (vi. 61 f., lxxxi. 81 f.), was commonly practised in Arabia in the case of female infants. On the other hand, serious evil was caused by his institution (v. 91) of compensation for murder, i.e., the payment of blood-money. The rate might be fixed at the pleasure of the person who had sworn if, if he performed some sort of penance. While the Quran scarcely formulates any general principles of morals, it draws the line between murder and manslaughter, and probably aimed at no considerable departure from current notions on these matters. Hence it tolerates polygamy and unlimited concubinage, and assumes the institution of slavery. In the matter of the blood-feud Muhammad did not go further than his predecessors; i.e., if a man endeavoured to mitigate its consequences and favoured mild reprimands (ii. 173-175). With the institution of private property and the acquisition of wealth he found no fault, and he deprecated extravagance as unbecoming an officer of God. The quality of personal courage he rated very high, and, though he often inspired it by the promise of paradise, it is clear that his followers were largely persons who required no such stimulus to make them brave. The ascetic morality afterwards taught by Sufi preachers and, if the tradition is to be believed, approved by some of Muhammad's early adherents finds little support in any interpretation of the Quran that is reasonably literal, and clearly receives no countenance from the Prophet's own career, if any credibility attaches to his biography. Like other sovereigns, he claimed a large share of the booty won in his raids as his perquisite, and appropriated territory as his dominion.

It is not clear, then, that Muhammad can be credited with any considerable reform except in the matter of infantilism, whereas in the subordination of the family tie to the religious brotherhood he appears to have weakened and, without introducing any other equally strong way of compensation. The history of this sub-

1. v. 37 f.
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ounishment can be traced in the Qur'an rather more continuously than most institutions.

When the chief Christian doctrine is said in the Qur'an (xxii. 92) to be so blasphemous as to be calculated to produce a general conviction of nature, this toleration, though praiseworthy, is clearly illogical; for we can scarcely conceive a conversion of a society and the payment of a modern poll-tax.

8. Legislation. — As a legislator Muhammad probably perpetuated current practice rather than introduced a fresh system, and the Qur'an is on many grounds regarded as the basis of jurisprudence. It is imperfect, self-contradictory, and destitute of order. So far as any principle can be traced in its arrangement, the collector seems to have been anxious to avoid any semblance of chronological order, whenever, in the case of conflicting enactments, it has to be supplemented by tradition. Where there is anything like systematic treatment of any topic — e.g., the laws of inheritance in sûras lv. — 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 Muham-

mad desired to frame a code for the guidance of the community; but to those who supposed that they had in the Qur'an the actual word of God this utterance was not unnaturally seen as delirious. The State, however, suffered very seriously for the want of guidance in the matter of appointing successors to the sovereign; and until the introduction of European codes it was never able to get rid of the doctrine that all law was to be got from the Qur'an or the Prophet's equally inspired conduct, and so lacked the power to legislate on a sound basis.

9. Philosophy. — Though it is not probable that Muhammad had any liking for metaphysical speculation, the role which he had assumed as the necessary supplement to any sort of belief in a future life, and the tradition Muhammad was the fountainhead of, they have frequently been Muslim communities, and, indeed, families claiming descent from the Prophet himself.

7. Toleration. — 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 Mazdeans in a context which implies that the prophet whose religion is less satisfactory (xxvii. 17). At times no form even of controversy is permitted except rivalry in kindness; elsewhere the Muslims are told to fight with other communities relentlessly until they accept Islam or pay kharaj, which they are then allowed to keep as long as they remain in it. 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 proposition granted the Muslims that they did not cease to consider 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 such a book, which promised to follow a revealed book, but to disarm 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. 92) to be so blasphemous as to be calculated to produce a general conviction of nature, this toleration, though praiseworthy, is clearly illogical; for we can scarcely conceive a conversion of a society and the payment of a modern poll-tax.

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to the utmost from the cruelty of the Meccans, hekinsed it with the Meite. He organized assassinations and wholesale massacres. His career as tyrant of Medina is that of a robber-chief, whose political economy consists in securing and dividing plunder, the distribution of the latter being decided by principles which a prince might adopt to satisfy his followers' ideas of justice. He is himself an unbridled libertine and encourages the same passion in his followers. For whatever, he does is prepared to plead the express authorization of the deity. His object is, therefore, 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 pleaded that it is a picture drawn by an enemy; and, though Ibn Ishaq's name was for some reason held in low esteem by the classical traditionalists of the 3rd Islamic cent., they make no attempt to discredit those portions of the biography which bear hardest on the character of their Prophet. The theory that this person's conduct was a model for his followers has in consequence done serious mischief.

Apologies for Muhammad were started in the 18th cent. by H. de Bouhainville,1 who was favoured by Gibbon because this apology provided some instruments against Christianity. More important was the attempt of Carlyle on "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 apostate who acquired some popularity was Bosworth Smith,2 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 apostate for Muhammad seems to have possessed any knowledge of the Qura'a' or the later traditions. Only after the definite assertion of European superiority over the world of Islam, which may be dated from the Napoleon invasion of Egypt, and the acquisition of European nationality or its equivalent by the author, was the necessity for apologies made itself felt in Muslim communities. The most prominent writer on this side—Syed Ameer Ali,3 but there are many others. These apologists endeavour to discredit the biography of Ibn Ishaq where it shocks the European reader; and, where this cannot easily be done, they suggest honourable motives or suppose the course followed by the Prophet to have been the least objectionable of those 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 so great that the result is unconvincing.

But, while Muslim dogma, by assuming that whatever the Prophet did must necessarily have been right, must under menacing country, from the earliest times there has been much calling fiction in which the Prophet is shown to have practised all the virtues which mankind agree in admiring. The lines on which the historical character

1 Le Vie de Mahomet, London, 1729.
3 Life and Teachings of Muhammad, London, 1891.
system of jurisprudence began to be established by the labour of jurists of Medina. The impartial criticism of these traditions seems to lead to a purely negative result; the practice of inventing
sciences in which the Prophét delivered some judgment
or of fathering sayings upon him was so
common from the very beginning of the Islamic
empire that any genuine sayings of his are in-
extricably mixed up with doubtful or apocryphal.
The native criticism of this tradition consisted in
ascertaining if possible the credibility of the per-
sons who had handed it down. This was by no
means easy, and various motives prevented those
who was elevated from exercising their judgment freely; hence the chains which are
technically regarded as strong appear to the
Muslim critic fatally weak. The Prophét's merits
as a legislator must, therefore, be judged ex-
clusively by the Qur'an, for, though the rest of the 'sacred code' is ascribed to him, there is little
reason for thinking it to be his.
(3) The Prophét is supposed to have expressed
several as well as all sorts of figures, e.g., medicine
—and writers of essays usually start by quoting
these dicta. Those which have to do with the
commendation of various virtues or the condam-
nation of vices were collected on a considerable
scale. The Prophét of the Religious Sciences (Cairo, 1282 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
fabrications.

11. The Prophét's Companions.—No account of
Muhammad, however brief, could omit all notice of
his Companions, the persons by whose instrumen-
tality he accomplished so much. Many of those
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12. His domestic affairs.—The women of the
Prophét's family enter into the story of his career
somewhat as they enter into the sub-sequence of
the history; the tradition makes the first wife, Khadijah,
a woman of wealth, whose acceptance of his
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
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Central Asia (A. Vanden Eynde), p. 885.

China (M. Hartmann), p. 892.

MUHAMMADANISM

in Central Africa.—Muhammadan is said to have reached Central Africa from three sources: Egypt by the Nile and its adjacent countries; Tripoli via Ghadhames to Timbuktu; and Algeria via Warga. Certain details of the dates of its introduction into various communities were collected by the traveller, Barth; about A.D. 1000 it found its way into Songhai, near the end of the 11th cent. into Kanem, about 1500 into Bagirmi, and not much later into Katlama. It was introduced into Logon about the beginning of the 19th century. In 1897 it was computed that the number of indigenous Muslims in British Central Africa was 50,000 as compared with 950,000 fetishists. Its introduction in certain places is connected with the names of historical personages; the chief missionary for Central Negera was one Muhammad b. Abd al-Karim b. Maghali, 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 no, or few, monuments of it have not yet come to light. In Recue du monde musulman, xii. [1910] 197, Ismael Hamet gives a summary of the Kitab al-Tairiyy by Muhammad b. al-Mukhtar of the Kunta tribe of Azawad; this personage probably wrote 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 Recue du monde musulman, xiv. [1911] 275, Hamet gives extracts from the works of a somewhat earlier writer Sidi Muhammad al-Yadili († 1752), a poet by whom in praise of the Prophet was published by L. Massignan (ib. vii. [1909] 199). Some contemporary poems (safires) by one Bakai were published by Barth: There appears to be nothing in these specimens that is distinctly African. In the same magazine (viii. 409) Massignan published the catalogue of a library belonging to a Central African chieftain Sheikh Sidi; the editor notices the absence of books bearing on philosophy, alchemy, and music; but otherwise it does not differ in character from other Islamic 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. Grimm, Mohammed und die Muslime (Munich, 1911); D. S. Margoliouth, Mohammed and the Rise of Islam, London, 1909.

Descriptive biographies, numerous works deal with either the heroic or the prophetic character of Muhammad or certain aspects of his work. One of the most popular of the former sort is the Shifs fi Hamq al-Mu'tazil (of European Re-prints), as there is a vast literature, described by Hajji Khalilah, iv. 56-61; the ed. of Constantinople, 1315, in 4 vols. with the commentary of Qarafi (1600 A.D.) also called Zindeliyya of Qutslani (1523 A.D.) with the commentary of Zayfang, 8 vols., Cairo, 1578. Of European works mention may be made of Q. Pantz, Mocnacca Lehr von der Offenbarung, Leipzig, 1898; J. Prokesch, Uber die Einnahmen und Moglichkeiten der Islamischen Welt (Munich, 1899); A. F. Novak, Mohammed und die Heile des Welt (Munich, 1911); H. Lammons, Mocnacca, fust-i cüdeer, Paris, 1914. The ninth volume of V. Chauvin's Bibliothequeleine, issued in 1908, contains a list of all European works on the subject from 1530 to 1908.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MUHAMMADANISM

in N. Africa. — 1. History. — The introduction of Islam into N. Africa commenced shortly after the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr b. 'Abd, as early as A.D. 641 penetrated as far as Barca, and in the fourth century by 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 invader, Abdallah b. Ali Shir, who had advanced through the interior, defeated the forces collected by Gregory in the battle of Akuba, where Gregory himself perished, took and pillaged Sbeitla, and proceeded to devastate the country southwards as far as Gafsa and Jerid and northwards as far as Marmarajama. 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 'Uthman delayed the activities of the Muslims in this region for a time, but in 655 the first Umayyad Khalifah, Marwah, dispatched an expedition thither, which overcame the troops sent by the Byzantine emperor, and in 660 established a province Irifiyya, with 'Uqlah b. Nafi' for its first governor, who for the first time employed Berber troops 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 Uqlah 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 Cauta in the extreme west of Africa, whence he turned south and saw the Atlantic before starting homeward; but he did not again reach Kairawan, as his army was attacked by superior forces and annihilated at Tehuila, N.E. of Biscra. His defeat and death (683) were followed by a general revolt of the Africans from Arab rule, and an independent Berber state, with Kairawan for capital, was able to maintain itself for five years. In 690 this city was re-taken by the Arabs, who, however, evacuated the province, which lapsed into anarchy. An end was put to this by Musa b. Nusayr, who in 705 to Kairawen as governor of Irifiyya, who traversed as far as Cauta the country previously invaded by 'Uqlah, penetrated as far south as the Oasis of Tijijina, took Tangier, and installed

India (T. W. Arnold), p. 805.
Persia (W. A. Shedid), p. 587.
Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia (T. H. Weir), p. 888.

Turkey (F. Giese), p. 905.
2. Sects and orders.—It will have been seen from this sketch that during the first four centuries of Islam both Kharijite and Shi'ite opinions held sway in different parts of N. Africa; these former are still represented by certain isolated communities (see art. KHAIRIAT); 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 Fatimid monarchs, the former asserted the legitimacy of the 'Abbasid Khalifah and proclaimed the orthodoxy of the Maliki system, upon which the Almoravids also insisted. The founder of the Almohad dynasty was a follower of the 'Ash'ari theology, and himself propagated it in Africa, displacing that of the Zumiyids (Qaisibarri). The Sharifs at first different parts of Morocco and Fez, and sometimes Meknes; their first dynasty, that of the Sa'dians, lasted from 1620 until 1654, when it was ousted by that of the 'Assasins, which became prominent in 1939. The Sharifs and the Turks succeeded in ousting the Christian invaders from the places which they had occupied, but in 1830 Algiers was occupied by the French, whose empire has ever since been extending in N. Africa. The connexion of the Turkish settlements in N. Africa with the government of Constantinople grew constantly looser from the time of their establishment, and the pasha of Algiers had difficulty in maintaining his authority over the territories which lay to the west of that province.

The population forming the Islamic communities has remained Berber in the main, but, besides the influx of Arabs at the time of the original invasion, the introduction of the Arab tribes Hilal and Sulaym in the 11th century, has been of great importance for the political development of the country. These tribes, which had been located in Egypt, were, it is said, sent westwards by the Fatimid Khalifah Mustansir, by way of avenging himself on the Zipri Mutiz, whose sycophancy to the sultan of the 'Abbasid Khalifah, destroyed the Isma'ili college at Kairawan, where the Shi'ite doctrine was taught, and burned in public all that was indicative of Shi'ism. The Arabs advanced victoriously, and retaken the lands of the Zipri Mutiz, in their flight, and the government as a military force.

Far from attaching themselves to the Seljuk as the al-Mohads had hoped, these tribes continued to live in the nomad state and to annoy the government by their turbaned 'Omar II., 'Les Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkous,' in Archives africaines, iv. (1905) 59. Indeed, their risings form a chapter in the history of N. Africa. Towards the end of the 17th century, the Hassand Sharif Ismail purchased or procured a great number of Negroes, of whom he formed agricultural colonies, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Morocco, enjoying various privileges, but bound to place all male children from the age of ten at the disposal of the sovereign, to be trained for his guard, while various employments were also found for the females. By the end of his reign, in 1728, 180,000 negroes were registered in his lists; they were placed under the patronage of Bukhári, the author of the chief collection of traditions, whose sanctity in certain parts of the Islamic world approaches even excess, and the Prophet. The purpose of this scheme was to provide the Sultan with a guard unconnected with the native population, on whose fidelity he could rely. A Turkish and a Levantine element, neither very considerable in magnitude, were introduced into the eastern provinces by the Ottoman conquests.

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rejected the claim of the founder of his dynasty to this title, asserting that the only Mahdi was Jesus the Son of Mary, and that the ascription of it to Ibn Tamart was a fable. Numerous claimants to it have risen since that time (see art. MAHDI).

Of an obscure or unknown date, it was located on the right bank of the Sebou, an account is given by G. Salmon in Archives marocaines, ii. (1903) 358-363. A branch of these called ‘the sect of Yusef’ is mentioned as having arisen in the 10th century (ib. vi. 214). Apparently they base their system on the Qur'an, but differ from other Muslims in points of ritual.

The general dominance of the Malikite code, of which the most familiar compendium is that of Sidi Khalil (Abu Diya), was not affected by the dynastic changes, except in those provinces governed by Turks the official system of the Ottomans, that of Abu Hanifa, was introduced without displacing the other; in these regions there were two qadis. In the cities of N. Africa there were theological schools which produced orthodox writers and teachers of eminence, and such were to be found as far south as Timbuktu, which was made subject to Morocco in 1580: one of the prisoners of a Moslem expedition then taken to the holy road of Badr, died on the journey, and Musulmans of the Algerie, Paris, (1846) various popular beliefs about this personage are collected.

It is, however, a fact that the Moslem of Morocco, by whatever name he is known, is the man who has survived and continued his career in the plural. He was defeated in the neighbourhood of Tangiers by a force sent by the Spanish Unayar al-Qarsh in the year 927, and his head was sent to Cordova.

In the year 1228 another prophet arose among the Gharumar, called Muhammad b. Abi 'Tawalih, who performed miracles and instituted a code: he was, however, cursed by the saint and ascetic Abi al-Salam b. Mashis, in consequence of which most of his Berber followers withdrew from him. The prophet in retaliation caused the saint to be assassinated, but was himself shortly afterwards defeated by the garrison of Ceuta, and killed by a Berber; his descendants are still among the inhabitants of the Moulay Wardas, where, however, they are under a sort of ban, and forbidden access to the Jabal Alum, where the saint Ibn Tawalih dwelt, of whose cult hatred for the Bani Tawalih forms a part (Archives marocaines, ii. (1838)). Ibn Khalidin gives no details of the system which this prophet tried to establish (History, ed. Cairo, 1244, vi. 222). The title ‘Mahdi’ is said to have been taken by the first of these prophets, and, being adopted by others, the title ‘Prophecy’, it has been assumed by many pretenders in Africa—e.g., the founders of the Fatimids and Almohads dynasties, a contemporary of the former, ‘a young man at the commencement of the year 1329’ (Archives marocaines, i. (1826)). It is noticeable that the Almohads Ma'mun, at his triumphal entry into Morocco in 1239, definitely

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MUHAMMADANISM (in Arabia)

The people are fanatic, rather than believers, haters of the non-Muslim rather than religious; the member of an order shares the superstitions of the ignorant, but is more bigoted and more stupid. For no one can make the ascent to the Gates of Heaven, unless he walks in the straight path, and he who is thus not fortunate, is convinced and becomes a heathen. Convinced of his insufficiency, he shuts himself up in a strict formalism, acropolizes and publishes the rites which take up his time and save him the trouble of reflecting (p. 4).

It is asserted that religion occupies a much larger share of Berber than of Arab life, and the names of the dynasties, Almoravids, Almohads, bear this out. In the 16th. century the devotees (called marabouts) or mediators endeavored to play a political role of great importance; their zawiyyahs, or hermitages, which at times were like towns in magnitude, are regularly employed as refuges; they themselves in times of peace (so far as there were any) enjoyed divers privileges.—e.g., under Turkish rule, the marabouts of the Amokran family in the neighborhood of Djjeli had the right to direct the provision of timber for shipbuilding, and others had a share in the proceeds of the piracy; they were employed as mediators and, at times, as regents. Most frequently we hear of them as heading insurrections. The dynasty of the S'djian Sharifs is said to have commenced by the inhabitants of Sus at the time of the fall of Carthage in the year 426 of the Gregorian calendar, under the title of marabout, which they implored to place himself at their head and march against the Christian invaders; he referred them to the Sharif Ab'l-Abdallah al-Qaim, then residing at Tdjan, who, with others, met him under the title of the S'djian Sharifs. In 1612 the S'djian Sharif al-Mahmud, who, in order to regain his throne, had handed over Al-Arais to the Spaniards, was assassinated by the marabouts, and the maraboutic order, which belonged to the Rahmani order, and even proclaimed himself Mahdi. This personage was able to take Morocco, where he established himself as sovereign until defeated by another marabout Yalija, who espoused the cause of the S'djian Zaidan, and was then, not without difficulty, persuaded to return to his monastery. In 1619 an insurrection in the province Habi was headed by a marabout al-Hassan b. Raisan, also in favor of a maraboutic order, to restore orthodox practice; and early in the 17th. century, the marabouts of Della, Sale, and Sijilmassa headed political parties in different parts of the S'djian empire. In 1639 a Turkish force dispatched from Algiers was invited to enter the country by the intervention of a marabout, who obtained reasonable terms from the natives for it. In 1641 the Algerian pasha Yusuf, starting an expedition for the suppression of anarchy in the province of Constantine, obtained the good offices of the marabout Ibn Sasi of Bone. In 1686 one named Sidi Hannad obtained a passage for the Algerian troops marching to the relief of Djjeli, which had been occupied by the French. In 1686 the maraboutic order of Della received assistance from the French against Sharif Rashid, who defeated them and stormed their zawiyyah, which had grown into a populous and sumptuous town. His brother and successor, Inam, had to face an insurrection headed by one of the survivors from this monastery, named Ahmd b. Abdallah, who was defeated in the neighborhood of Tella. Their activity was no less marked in the 18th. century. In 1757 a marabout raised the standard of revolt against the Hassanian Sharif Muhannad Sharif, b. Abdallah in the country of the Gharb. In 1777 an insurrection was started at Tlemcen by a fanatical of the Dlkawi order, named Muhammad b. Abdallah, whose followers were generally thought of as descendants of the Sahabas of the Prophet, and the latter of the Dlkawi and Kafar orders. The revolt of 1759, which followed the death of the last Sa'di of Morocco, was conducted by the Sahabas and some other groups, and was called the 'Abdallah war, in which the marabouts of the province gave further trouble, and many more recent instances of their activity are recorded.

In general the ostensible aim of these devotees has been to free the soil of Africa from Christian occupation; but this has not invariably been the case, as there are instances of the marabouts compromising with the Christians or even invoking their assistance against rivals (Archives marocaines, ii. 36).

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 places figure in the histories of the country as places of refuge. The tomb of Ibn Mashiach (see above, p. 887) is visited in the month Shiban, and comprises a visit to the tombs of his ancestors and descendants (Archives marocaines, ii. 24). A list of the tombs visited in the Ghari is given in Archives marocaines, xx. [1913] 246-276; of the saints thus venerated the most popular is Sidi Qasim b. Balluiss († A.D. 1666). What is certain is that he has two sanctuaries, one on the left and one on the right bank of the Sou (p. 261), and that he has several festivals in the year, one of which lasts three days. A list for the province of Habi is given in Archives marocaines, xvii. [1911] 481 ff. These saints have functions corresponding closely with those of the patron saints of Christianity.

The zawiyyah Sharqiya of B'di al-Jalid is not only a religious centre, but likewise a centre of preparation for the sacred war, and the greater number of the horsemen and shoots of the Ghari are placed under the patronage of Sidi B'di al-Jalid. In this region one frequently finds the name B'di, which is considered to be of good omen for horsemen. Parents often give their children the name of a marabout under whose patronage some military exercise is placed (ib. xx. 23).

An account is given (ib. p. 276 ff.) of various Maraboutic 'tribes,' i.e., groups of villages attached to some saintly cult, and not, like the zawiyyahs, isolated villages.


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MUHAMMADANISM (in Arabia).—One of the results of the taking of Mocen by Muhammad was a determination on his part no longer to tolerate paganism in Arabia, and the destruction of the ancient cults took place through the intercession of the Qur'anic texts, and the so-called 'pre-Islamic poetry' must, if genuine, have undergone wholesale expurgation. Even the revolts in Arabia which followed the death of the Prophet were designed to exhibit any recurrence 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 confined to parties hostile at re-entrenching Muhammad's part, not by priests or other representatives of the fallen idols. The liberation of Arabia from paganism is speedily followed by the penalizing therein of all non-Islamic cults, even the Jews and Christians, whose rights had been respected by the Prophet, being either banished or forcibly converted in the time of the second Khalifah.

The murder of the third of these rulers in the year 53 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, Kofa, and Damascus. These cities became the capitals of the countries in question, and were not thereafter 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 asserted their independence within the peninsula have been meagre in both their magnitudes and in importance. Sneed talent as Arabia produced has been attracted to the political centre, whereas the persons attracted to it from outside have been mainly devotees. There has been a continual pining away in the area 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 Baghdad, but to have abandoned the idea as impracticable. This place has not only served to perpetuate the traditions which Islam took on from older times, but has also served as a rallying-ground for the sects; and only occasionally has its stability been questioned when Mecca is also the place where the Islamic world as a whole can be most easily addressed, and to this day revivalist movements, which are usually reactionary, have a terminus at Mecca.

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 widows, several of whom survived him for many decades, and the theatre of his most eventful years, the science of tradition came into existence, and this speedily became the most important source of law, though not first in the list. In the 1st cent. of Islam Medina produced a school of jurists who, through their keen minds in writing, by their labours prepared the way for the codes whose publication followed shortly after the foundation of Baghdad. In the middle of the 2nd cent. it was the home of the jurist Malik, where he received as pupil Shafi'i; Shafi'i in later life went to Baghdad, where alone conspicuous 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 Medinese) law that which has been preserved in the other, as a result of the civil and criminal portions have given way to the Code Napoleonic.

The development of the other Islamic sciences has taken place with Arabia, which in these matters has lagged behind the other countries. The earlier battles of the sects, too, have been fought outside Arabia; they could not, however, cut quite adrift from the rooted territory, where they did not, as a rule, win many enthusiastic adherents. There has, however, been always a smouldering desire to recover that hegemony which was lost after the murder of Othman, but which was generally disfavour towards the ruling power. Perhaps the most serious attempt made at recovering the lost hegemony was when in the early 'Abbasid period Abdallah, son of Zubair, was able to maintain the two knives for a time against the Umayyad 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 Muqaddasi (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1877, p. 96). The three great political sects, the Sunnite, Shi'ite, and Kharijite, were represented in different parts of the peninsula. One sect which has since disappeared, the Qari'a', was dominant in Hijaz. The Sunnite schools were also not the majority; in them the systems of Abu Hanifah and Malik, those of Dawud al-Zahirf, Suyfyn al-Thauri, and Ibn al-Mundhir had adherents. The Shi'ite sects in parts of the country were also distinguished as Mu'tazilites. Of the rise of the Kharijite power in Oman an account has been given in the art. Idris. Of a Kharijite who maintained himself in Yemen from 531 to 569 A.H. a notice is given by Ibn Khaldun (tr. H. C. Kay, Omari's History of Yemen, London, 1891, pp. 161-165). Another brief notice of the sect which has maintained itself permanently in S. Arabia is the Zaidi (q.v.). It is called after a descendant of Ali, Zaid, who perished in an abortive rising of the year 122 A.H. For its history, references may be given to the work of H. C. Kay (pp. 184-190), and Kinnan's History of the Rashid Dynasty of Yemen (tr. J. W. Redhouse, London, 1907). An account of the Qari'a's sect in Yemen by Janidi is also translated in the work of Kay (pp. 190-212). Other sects were either at one time represented in Arabia or are still held there; of a Shi'ite sect called Saiyyah representatives are to be found in a Yemenite community called Yamin (Abd al-Rahid, History of Yemen and San'a' [Turkish], Constantinople, 1891 A.H., ii. 871, which is also represented in the Mashriq), and appear to be similar to those of Azazb' (Ya'qub, 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 Wahhab (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. Nolke.

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 centres, and have themselves been incapable of producing original works of any consequence. One of the few specimens as yet accessible of purely Arabian theology, Al-Ilbun al-Shuristib, by Sahl b. Mahdi of Yemen (1108 A.H.), in which an endeavour is made to find a common ground for the sects by going behind Islam, though the 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 learn from it that the Sufi orders and practices, which originated in Baghdad and Basra, were in the author's time
well represented in S. Arabia. Against these the Wahabhi 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 condition, it appears that the social and political organization of the people are, in theory at any rate, fiercely Muhammadan, but that the observation of the practices which the system enjoins is much more regular in the towns than in the desert. There is, here, within the limits of any given territory, a distinct 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. 1 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 Wahabhi States the tendency seems to have been in the direction of intolerance; yet on this matter most contemporary accounts are inconsistent, and it would appear that the demeanour of the traveller has largely determined the conduct of his entertainers; even a missionary who went to Had el with the avowed object of elucidating missionary innovations, was conducted ostensiibly in the interest of the Muslim chieftains of S. Arabia has for its proprietor and editor a Christian with the untranslatable name 'Abd al-Misli, 'Slave of Christ.'

LITERATURE. This is sufficiently quoted throughout the article.

D. S. MARGOLIS.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Central Asia).—In sketching the peculiarities of Islam in Central Asia, it is necessary to begin with the fact that the difference between the religions life in western and middle Asia must make upon any one who has occasion to study these wide-spread portions of the Muhammadan world. From Constantinople east and gradually increasing faith that the Central Asian Muslim in his daily life, his social intercourse, his trade, and his attitude towards his government, one is tempted to believe oneself not in the 14th, but in the 2nd cent. of the Hijrah, and probably even then the jorunments which is conducted ostensibly in the interest of the Muslim chieftains of S. Arabia has for its proprietor and editor a Christian with the untranslatable name 'Abd al-Misli, 'Slave of Christ.'

1 Description de l’Arabie, Amsterdam, 1774, p. ix.

wanderings as a devilish 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 implacability, are the main characteristics of the national religion of Persia; and, whereas in Turkey a good deal of the hierarchy and upper order is a Turk of the hands of the Sultan, in Persia we find the clergy the supreme arbiters of the spiritual life, unchecked by the secular government, and very frequently its rival. During the more than 100 years’ rule of the present Persian shahs have striven in vain to curtail the influence of the priests; the Imam Jama’ of Isfahan and Karbala were and are their equals if not their 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 Sunniite character and common Hanifite rite. For it is only in E. Turkestan that adherents of the Shi’ite rite are to be met with. There we find a distinctly different religion, the manifestations of which do not resemble those of W. Asia. There everything bears the special stamp of extravagant fanaticism, of an exalted conception of the value of ritual trivialities, 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 oneself not in the 14th, but in the 2nd cent. of the Hijrah, and probably even then the jorunments which is conducted ostensibly in the interest of the Muslim chieftains of S. Arabia has for its proprietor and editor a Christian with the untranslatable name 'Abd al-Misli, 'Slave of Christ.'
of **dervish** *followers*; and Bābur and his followers transported this vice to the court of the Mughals. This, however, could not be said of the masses. In the present writer's time (1862-64) they were rigorously abstemious, and it is only since the annexation of 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'ān and Sunnah the Muḥammadan in Turkestan surpasses all his co-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'a* (bowings), and has spent three to six minutes at *mindī* (contemplation). The religions man in Central Asia must go far beyond this, for he has to add a few *nāfā'a* (additional *rak'a*); he remains for ten to fifteen minutes in contemplation, and, after having performed this extra prayer, he has to read in the forenoon either the sārah *Fā Sin* (xxxvi.) or *Fārūq ul-Habīb* (xlvi.), and in the afternoon he has to recite a portion of the *Muhājirun* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rāmī (*q.v*.) or chant a few *hīzq* (hymns). This form of devotion is obligatory on every educated and respectable man, whereas the performance of the five prayers is indispensable for every Muslim irrespective of sex, age, or profession; and with this, or remains ignorant of the elementary teachings of Islam, cannot escape every kind of vexation and reproach on the part of the authorities. For this purpose a special functionary called *risā'ī* (chaplains) attached to his town, has to traverse the bazars and the public places with the *dirrāh*, a whip made of twisted thongs, in his hand, and, whenever he notices anyone who does not go to the mosque on the first sound of the *mu'ahab*āh (the public crier who assembles the people to prayer), he is entitled to beat the lingerer with the whip, or to put him in prison. The *rizā'ī* plays, besides, the part of a public examiner: he stops at random any one in the street who looks as if he neglects the main prescriptions of Islam, and the individual unable to answer is sent at once to school without consideration of age or profession. Full-grown and even grey-bearded men are sent to school by this officer to explain to him his obligations before being allowed to go. The *rizā'ī*, whose office is a survival from the early Khilāfate, 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 *muḥāfāth* (police inspector) was for all Islam in former times; but at present, when modern European institutions are growing up, the old system of the Khilāfate, Persia as well as in Turkey. Further, not only are the precepts of the Qur'ān more rigorously kept; they are also differently expanded. In Turkey, e.g., the cutting or shaving of the beard has been practised at all times, whereas in Central Asia it is 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 considered a constant affair. One must apply *isti'āj* (cleaning with a lint or with a cloth), *isti'āj* (washing with water), and *isti'āb* (drying). For this purpose he conceals a few cloths in the fold of his turban.

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 religious orders which dominate the situation, and have ever been the main moving power of the spiritual life. During many years' intimate acquaintance with the Muḥammadan lands 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, as in Turkestan. In the Ottoman empire and this is particularly the case with the genuine Turks—the Mālāvī, the Baqṭāshī, the Rīfā', and the Qādiri orders have many votaries among the lower classes, and the respective dervishes are looked upon as saints.

The better classes, i.e., the Efendi and the higher dignitaries, very rarely manifest the same degree of attachment. They visit the convents on Friday afternoons, they attend the sacred ceremonies, they take advice sometimes on both worldly and spiritual matters; but they have long ago ceased to use the instruments in the hand of the Shaikhs, and particularly of the Baqṭāshīs, who, having acted as revolutionary factors against the innovations in the time of Sultan Mahmūd II., are officially interdicted and ordered to retire. Somewhat singular is the case in Persia, where the conflicts between Shi'ites and Sunnites engage too much attention to leave room for the orders, although the Shaikhs and Ali Ĥāfīdī and followers among the lower classes. The least in towns and villages are either vagabonds, living upon the credulity and superstition of the people, or harmless idlers who conceal their laziness under the khīyqi (mantle) of religious exaltation.

In the settled parts of Central Asia, and even among the nomads, the orders play a very different and a far more important part. There they have taken hold of the entire population; they have passed aside the secular clergy, i.e., the *ullāmā* or priests educated in the madrasahs, and appointed as such by the government. These, of course, are continually at war with the members of the orders, among whom the Naqšbandīs, founded by Bābā al-Dīn, best known as the author of the *Pecurān* and other *khawās* in which the present writer found among them various sub-divisions, the lesson by heart. They, partly in outward appearance, partly in the way in which they fulfill their obligations. They begin as *mutabā* (disciples), and as such they must forswear all worldly purposes and, clad in the khīyqi and khunbī (conical hat), holding in one hand the *risā* (staff) and in the other the kashkālī (bowl made of a half coco-nut), have to wander about singing hymns or taking part in the *dhikh* (mentioning the name of God) and *tawâf* (acknowledgment of the superhuman) as the majority of the dervishes are iliterate. They learn a certain number of hymns by heart and recite them in chorus, accompanying the monotonous melody with frantie gesticulations and wild exclamations.

Public places are usually selected for such performances, in order to attract attention and to collect contributions; for the dervishes, although forbidden to accept money, often betray the greatest greed, and their obtrusiveness has become proverbial. The present writer tried to join such a howling company, but he could barely stand the fatigue for more than an hour, whereas these adepts wander about for days without becoming exhausted. What struck him most was the endurance manifested during *dhikh*, and he remembers having seen one dervish crying
tor two nights without interruption the Yā Ḥe, Yā Ḥāqiq (He is the true and the right) and the
and the neighbouring countries than in the West. This refers particularly to the saints (ndiyān)
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A fine description of Takiyah, or Kāhghān, and of the khanīn themselves. It is a kind of lodging-house in
In this state of excitement and hallucination; their eyes turn wildly, their mouths foam, they
in all kinds of iniquities. Strange to say, the spiritual leader, who presides over the exercise, always remains
quiet and motionless, unaffected by the eccentricities of his disciples, and expressing his satisfaction only by
young women, children, greybeards, and particularly alluring people, press around; they spasmodically seize
the dervishes by their arms, head, or shoulders; they cling round their necks and embrace them, crying and sobbing; and some of them actually surpass the dervishes in their ecstasies. In
Turkey this excitement, bordering on madness, is seldom or never seen, nor is there a similar participation on the part of the public.

In the case of Yezidi, the Islam of Central Asia stands alone. Everything in it bears the stamp of extravagance, unbridled passion, and weirdness of aspect. The believer is expected to follow blindly the tenets of the Qurān; no discussion or controversy is admitted in the effort to attract. Hence we see that, whereas in Western Islam the callān (call to prayer) is given from the top of a minaret in a sweet melodious song, the masjādāhūs in Turkestan summons the faithful in rough and half-articulated sounds from the flat roof of the mosque. The performance of religious duty, they say, does not require any ablution. Anusterity and dronetic rigour, too, prevail with regard to food and drink. In particular, the present writer states a Muslim convoluted the use of alcoholic drinks was sentenced to death by being hurled from a tower, and a woman caught in adultery had to undergo the penalty of ḥiyya (life) in a very rare event. For the Central Asians are themselves fully alive to the exception position which they occupy in Islam; they are even prouder of it, asserting that they are the most
execrable 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 as in the time of the Prophet, they call ṣarq-i-ṣalbāt (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 (ndiyān), religious teachers (khawwād), and chiefs of orders (pura), and not to attain the rank of khanif, a kind of
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viction that most of them are cunning men with a lust for adventure, ready to exploit the plain people, and willing to mutilate the sometimes rigorous monastic regulations of the orders to which they belong, or dismissing the individuality of their islam, or spiritual chief. It was chiefly in the villages and in the tents of the nomads that he met with these religious vagabonds; there they are highly revered. The mu'ulés, on the other hand, abuse them of ignorance, and of breaking the precept of Islam—La yubhīkin fi'l-islām. There are no monks in Islam. The majority of them are dervises, but the present writer has met with divānāhā who were versed in religious lore, had studied in madrassah, and had been moved simply by wandering propensities to renounce the regular and sedentary life of a priest. Among these dervishes there is also a certain Türk-dīvānāh, a Turk by origin, as the name indicates (date unknown), who is very often spoken of by the nomads as a saint, and who interceded with Allah for sinful humanity. He asked Him to deliver mankind from hell, to which Allah replied that He would when peace, justice, charity, etc., reigned supreme in the world. Further, among the latter dervishes there are many of local celebrity, though others coming from distant quarters. Their existence has to be reckoned with, but rather in the tyrannic rule of the governing classes, who, lay and ecclesiastic, are everywhere hated. These unofficial servants of God, then, discredited and despised by the mu'ulés, are regarded by the lower classes as efficient helpers for the quiet of the wandering dervish. The Ottoman 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 Harūn al-Rashid and al-Mamān. Such, however, was not always the case. As long as the Iranian element was predominant among the Ouxas, worldly science found many votaries, and during the reign of the Samanids and later Central Asia was the birthplace of literary celebrities of high standing. But with the increase of the Turkish population and under the rule of warlike Turkish chieftains, 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 notable decline in the number of students, but the students, flocking from all parts of Central Asia and India, have turned their attention to purely religious questions, neglecting even such subjects as philosophy, law, and philosophy, 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 even then to the seat of fanaticism. Jalāl al-Dīn Rāmī, the author of the Mathnāwi, was right in saying:

'Thou wilt to Bakhārā? O fool for thy pains! Thither thou goest, to be perished.'

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 disdained to criticize and laughed at the superstitious rites 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 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 Shī'ite Persia had not produced its great chief in the general Muslim body, extending from W. China to the shores of the Caspian, the opportunities for the penetration of Central Asia might have been limited to the hitherto insecure and barbarous mountaineers of Afghanistan. When we hear of a murderous attack by some Pathān or Khaibari on an unoffending British officer, we have always to think of one of these fanatics, who, anxious to become a ghūzi, a warrior for the faith, is ready to sacrifice his life for the title of martyr, and for the prospect of a place in Paradise. The existence of such ghāzīs was formerly reported among the adherents of Shaikh Shami in the fierce struggle begun in the time of Harūn al-Rashid in the N.W. Caucasus, but nowhere else in Islam. It is, therefore, to the wild influence of the Islam of Central Asia that their appearance in the north of India must be ascribed.

A. VANDERVE.

MUHAMMADANISM (in China).—1. Historical. China, regarded as a portion of the Muhammadan world, may be divided into (1) China proper (the 'Eighteen Provinces'), and (2) the external provinces (Turkestan, Tibet, and Mongolia). Of the external provinces only Turkestan need concern us here, for the Muhammadans resident in Tibet and Mongolia have never been more than an insignificant fraction. According to H. d'Ollone, Recueil du maconage oriental, v. (1888) 94, they are to be found all along the highway from India through Tibet; thus, e.g., there is a mosque at Tatsienlu 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 Lāmās 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 peace with each other in order to ward off the invasions of China. Nevertheless, there is no prospect of any considerable expansion of Islam in Tibet (cf. RMM v. 458). Hitherto, at all events, the commercial relations between Muhammadans and Tibetans
MUHAMMADANISM (in China)

have brought about no conversions to Islam, though the commercial bond is far from being insignificant. In particular, the Muslims of Sung-pan-ting in Sinkinga contribute to the emperor of China, together with an invitation to embrace Islam, and who then proceeded to Hai-an-in. Other reports say that the earliest message was brought by Suld Ibn Abi Waqqas, whose tomb may be seen in Canton. The tradition 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. 755). The emperor permitted them to settle in this rich province, and, when 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 Arab historians. China and Islam, as a matter of fact, were brought into contact with each other as a result of the conditions prevailing in either sphere. About 620 a new power in Near Asia emerged, and another in China, each characterized by a ruthless expansion for its own gain. The former was the Caliphate, the latter the empire of the Sung dynasty. Among the chief cities of the Chinese empire, they took Chinese wives and became the progenitors of the numerous and important Muslim communities in China.

In China proper there existed no considerable groups of Muslims before the Mongolian period, and the reports of an earlier immigration are altogether legendary. Chinese tradition says that Islam found its way into the country by land and sea. It tells of a maternal uncle of the Prophet, Wahh Abi Kabihah, who landed at Canton in A.D. 628 or 629, bearing the name of Abul-Abi Murtada. He was received by the empress dowager, who invited him to the emperor of China, together with an invitation to embrace Islam, and who then proceeded to Hai-an-in. Other reports say that the earliest message was brought by Said Ibn Abi Waqqas, whose tomb may be seen in Canton. The tradition 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. 755). The emperor permitted them to settle in this rich province, and, when they took Chinese wives and became the progenitors of the numerous and important Muslim communities in China.

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Even at a later time, however, as the records conclusively show, the adherence of princes and people alike to the new faith was half-hearted, and the ideas and usages of Lamism (q.v.) were quite the common around them. The blind superstition of the people facilitated the usurping tactics of the philosophically gifted descendants of Makhdim Azam, who at first ruled as the spiritual advisers of the dispossessed house of T'ang, and, after the fall of the house of T'ang, as the leaders of the Sung dynasty, the work of Christian missionaries, of whose bold advance into China the Nestorian style of Khian-in (dating from 781) affords telling evidence. Against these influences, however, must be placed the influence of intercourse arising from the tendency of both empires to rest content with their gains, and so to limit their frontiers. The emperor T'ai T'ang showed caution in rejecting the appeal of Yanzagir in; for assistance (as may be inferred from T'abari, I. 360 f.), though the report of the ambassador is a fabrication; cf. i. 2976). The Muslims became more aggressive after their able general Qutabib Ibn Muslim had subjugated Parthia, but his expedition against Kashgar in 715 was unsuccessful. A campaign of the second empire of T'ang (T'abari, i. 1275-1279) shows that Kashgar remained unconquered. The sending of ambassadors to the emperor of China (Hisian Tsung, 712-756), however, was probably historical. These missions, which were made at the request of the T'ang, were probably historical. These missions, which were made at the request of the T'ang, were probably historical. They were, in the traditional form, it is garnished with all the conventional features,2 under the Umayyads the Muslims had, indirectly, a good deal to do with China, since the Khagan of the T'urkhi, and also the jilgha,3 were vassals of the emperor. A time-honoured tale is that of the scene between Naizak and the jilgha on the one side, and the shadd (the shadd of the Orophian records) and the nubul (probably to be identified with the zibell of the Théophanes of Byzantium) on the other side. A description of the K'ang-huang (T'abari, ii. 1224, year 91 [A.D. 710]). The jilgha1 Notwithstanding the supposed connexion of the Orophians with the Byzantine empire under Justinian, the silk merchandise of China was largely imported into Near Asia. It was conveyed overland by the ancient "Silk Road" and overland through the Persian Gulf, on the north shore of which Al-Shabab (T'abari, ed. Leyden, 1577-1891, I. 398 f.), and afterwards Sarit (references in G. Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphs, Calcutta, 1891, p. 258 f.), was the port for such products. 2 Nothing is said, however, of an embasement from the west side. At an earlier date, in the reign of Ch'ou-dze Anubharin there were Chinese at the Sasanian court (T'abari, i. 899; cf. T. Schloeder, Gesch. der Perser und Araber bis zur Zeit der Sassaniden, Leyden, 1879, p. 167).
was sent to Damaascus, and was probably the first Chinese, or Chinese Turk, that the Syrians had ever seen. It may be regarded as certain that it was Chinese statecraft that checked the opposition of the Turk in the hqagin and that of the smaller nationalities in Transoxania dependent upon him or upon China itself, so that the Muslims had to incorporate them. The object, and the probable location of the Timurid, were already fixed, and Som-Pek, in short, was the result of the Chinese expansion having somewhat relaxed, and the central authority was busy with the maintenance and organization of what had been won, and when contemporaneously the central power of China under the Tang emperors showed symptoms of decline, the interjacent territory was soon occupied by strong buffer States—first of all by the Uighurs, and then by the Hephkids (see above). Islam was then placed in a very unfavourable position for making an advance into China. Weak as were the dynasties that followed the Tang emperors, the people held firmly to the maxims, "Nothing foreign religion in China." Buddhism, it is true, had made a successful entry in the face of vigorous opposition, but this is explained by the facts that (1) Buddhism was to some extent in harmony with the cult of reason (li), which, if hardly to be called a religion, was more widely diffused than any other; and (2) it assimilated certain elements of the ruling race. In a word, it adapted itself to the prevailing sentiment (see art. China [Buddhism in]). Islam, which with its rigid doctrine of uniformity does not on principle express itself in creeds, and tends to rebel by the dehant and independence of the subject, was confronted with a political religion, with nothing to fear from the formation of any powerful alliance against him. He found his auxiliaries—part from his own countrymen—in the various Muslim tribes of the West, a race renowned for their courage. Among these the Turk took precedence, alike in numbers, in importance, in capacity for bearing arms, and in discipline. We shall hardly err in adding Afghan mercenaries—for the Afghans—the Pathans of India—were always willing to serve for pay; and bands of warriors may also have flocked to him from the mountains of Persia—the fastnesses of the Kurds—though not the Persians in the narrow sense, the inhabitants of the plain, who had small reputation for bravery. Yet we can hardly look for definite information regarding the composition of his army, or those of his successors, for the great Mongol rulers were not the people to depend themselves to the statistician, thereby being more interested in being secret, not in keeping of trim muster-rolls. We may venture to assume, however, that the largest hordes of their followers were supplied by the countries lying nearest the scene of their conquests, viz., besides the land of the Turkic between the Great Wall and the mountain barrier of the Tien Shan (Chine-est Turkestan). Trotsky explains also the curious phenomenon that from that day till the present, Persia has been regarded by the Muslims of China as the language of polite education, and that the vernacular Chinese written in these languages is mixed with scraps of Persian. In elucidation of this it has been supposed that at some time or other Persian immigrants had settled in the country, losing their mother tongue, but retaining vestiges of it in these numerous fragments. This, however, is not true, for the interspersions of Persian in the Muslim idiom of Chinese is due rather to the superstitions regard for the Persian language entertained by the baronial and semi-barbarian hordes of Nevaro who swarmed to the camp of the Mongolian Khans. Moreover, as soon as Kublai Khan had 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 Arabian traveller Ibn Battutah supply full information regarding these foreigners in 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 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 the question. In A.D. 1268, a young Muslim warrior, a 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, in the once the outstanding ability of the youth, and, attaching him to his bodyguard, soon began to employ him on commissions of a special kind. His successor, Kublai Khan, entrusted this Sayyid (who appears as Sayyid: Aljaf, in the work of Rashid-al-Din, and as Sai-tien-tele in the Chinese sources) with the task of subjugating the province of Yuen-nan, and for six years the affairs of that province were administered by this talented Muslim. He died in office, and his two tombs—the first in Yuen-nan, the other near Hi-i—were discovered by the French explorers. The official employment of this Muslim from Bukhara, who, of course, did not come single-handed, but was attended by a company of armed men, is of special interest, because his instructions were sent on service to the Yuen-nan and Turkestan, for himself he was installed as viceroy of that province. We may accordingly infer that the influx of Islam into Yuen-nan began at that time, for that it reached

1 An excellent specimen of this idiom is found in the short Chinese Miss (35 Sin. Hartmann of the Royal Library, Berlin ed. A. Forke, which contains a Chinese text in Arabic script (Toungpao, viii. 1907) nos. 8). From the nature of the language Forke inferred wrongly, as the present writer thinks—The Persian origin of the Romans.

2 It is no argument against the theory, however, to say that it would involve a wider diffusion of Shisian than we actually find, for the introduction of Shisian as the national religion of Persia and the dissemination of the Shite principle among the people did not take place till a later period. There is a tendency to regard all Persian writings as Shisian than an utterly mistaken idea, as the widely-read work, Maw'rj-al-Afnoun, "Life of the Prophet," by Miru al-Din al-Misiri (A.D. 1268), is Somani in character.

3 One of these officials made himself very obnoxious—Abdishah (Abdulali the Babi); whose story is to be found in the Chinese sources (cf. J. A. M. de M. de Maailo., Hist. generale de la Chine, Paris, 1777-85, iv. 412. cf. of Tory in Ron-Kon-Bau Mond), which might naturally be expected to contain the information, but also in a straightforward account by Marco Polo (cf. H. Yule, The Book of Ser Marco Polo, 1896 ed., p. 210), who brought the facts into a graphic and ingenious sketch (RMM iv. 1907) 220 ff.)

4 For reports of these discoveries, see P. Berthelot, "Note sur les inscriptions arabes, persanes et chinoises du Ch'ou-I, du Hu-nan, et du Chao-teng," Camb. iv. 1904, 189, which gives a map of the province of Yuen-nan, which was the principal object of this work. It is said to be situated in the north of the province of Yuen-nan, and is the southernmost province of the Kansu.
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 as derived from the names which are recorded in Chinese records, and as estimated from the registers of the religious festivals, the whole of China is represented as possessing 70,000,000 Muslims. This is probably a very low estimate. It is a matter of opinion whether the number of the Chinese population, as estimated, is correct, or whether the number of Muslims is correct, or whether both are correct. The question is of great importance. It is a question which has been the subject of great controversy, and has been the subject of great speculation. The question is one of great importance, and it is one which has been the subject of great controversy. The question is one of great importance, and it is one which has been the subject of great speculation.

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MUHAMMADANISM (in China)

(Mongols) and the aborigines of the south (Lotos, Miao-ze)—into Chinese and Muslims holds good throughout. The name Dungan is applied to a large section of the Chinese Muslims, who, however, as was said above, term themselves simply Hui-hui or Hui-tzo, and repudiate the appellation Dungan; but they would never think of calling themselves Han ('Chinese'), nor are they ever designated so. They form, in fact, a distinct racial aggregate, co-ordinate with the Chinese and the Manchus. The name Dungan is sometimes erroneously extended also to the Turki of Turkestan, but in reality there exists a marked contrast between them and the Dungan who speak Turkish—they are by no means few—acquire a peculiar dialect of that language; and, as regards the Chinese spoken by the Dungan, it should further be noted that the document of Dungan origin in the Berlin Royal Library (see above, p. 890) is composed in a very corrupt Chinese.

In Forke's opinion, however, its 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 are of alien origin. As a recent illustration of the intercourse between the Chinese Muslims and the 'Turki, cf. the story of Hidjayat-Allah (Apq Khojam) of Kishghar, who came to Hsi-nings-fu, in MS Hartmann 1 (Forke, 1880)

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 Muslims and many other non-Chinese in 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 disown the alliances of native women with foreigners, while Muslim women cannot legally be given in marriage to non-Muslims. The resultant diffusion of Chinese blood among the Muslims is of vast importance, and we cannot but admire the tenacity with which the latter have kept themselves from complete absorption by the Chinese. In spite of a considerable degree of assimilation in external matters, the two peoples look at things from a fundamentally different point of view. Chinese (Hsi-ning-fu) (di) is supreme; for the Muslims tradition is all. Notable, too, is the contrast in certain traits of character. The Chinese is patient to a degree, and will put up with a great deal; the Dungan has an intense self-esteem, and is a dangerous man to offend. The difference reveals itself also in the outward bearing. The Chinese not seldom gives one the impression of being a dejected and downtrodden man; the Muslim carries himself proudly, and faces the world with a (Turkish) self-complacency. The relative physical debility of the Chinese may be due in part to the opium habit. Among the Muslims this is but rarely found; tobacco smoking is prohibited, and the drinking of wine and other intoxicants, which the stringent interdict of the law does not prevent in Western Islam, is quite inconsiderable among the Muslims of China. All this testifies to a very real cleavage between the Chinese and the Muslims, and is a constant reminder that the latter are not Han-yen, but something else.

What, then, are the Muslims of China, ethnologically considered? To this question there is no answer, whether or not we postulate a connexion between the name Hui-tzo and the Tu-tso (or Tso) of surfing the pass, with all its various transcriptions in the Chinese language (Chavannes, pp. 87-94). From the time of the earliest considerable invasions 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 consideration the Muslim policy of incorporating people of other faiths, notably purchased children (cf. the present writer's note in Der Islamische Orient, i. [Leipzig, 1905]; more recently d'Ollone, in MM 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 the resultant of those factors which can only be vehemently opposed, since in point of fact many who are not Muslims at all are no more Chinese than the Muslims themselves.

A distinct ethnological group is formed by the Salars, who live in Hsin-hau-t'ing (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-fu and Houchou. They show a racial character markedly 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, 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 degenerate Turkish. Their style of dress is Chinese, but they are marked as a separate race, as they shave the head completely and wear a polygonal cap (tibie) of white colour. In religion they are strict Hanlrites, and show the utmost respect to their spiritual guides (okhona), 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 E'min), who preached to the Salars c. 1750, laying great stress on the practice of praying aloud (see below, p. 894), which led to serious disturbances. The Salars are daring brigands, and trample under the rudder of the upper Hoang-ho, with whom they also share a fierce hatred of the Chinese.1

(b) Marriage, family, kinship. — The sexual aspects of the religious law among the Muslims of China are regulated by the shari'ah—in the scholastic form developed in the Hanlithe 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.2

1 Our authority for these particulars is Grenard, Mission, ii. 457. A somewhat different account is given by d'Ollone (R.M.M iv, 558 ff.), who says that the Salars are confined to twelve villages in the district of Hsin-hau, but are found both in the Hoang-ho, but that the bulk of their traffic is with the left bank, especially the town of Hsi-ning, in which, however, there reside only five Salar families: they wear a broad turban, but do not keep it perfectly, but retain the pigtail; they wear, not the polygonal cap, but the turban-like head-dress which they have taken part in various risings; and they assert that their original home was Samarghand.

2 With reference to the well-known canon allowing the Muslim to marry as many as four wives, and to have slaves as concubines, D'Ohny (Stud. ii, n. 4) writes: 'In China the Muslims are forced to submit to the law of the land and to pay the tax. This is undoubtedly a mistake in so far as it applies that
The like is true of the position of women in general. According to d'Ollone, the so-called law of veiling is not observed by Muslim women in China, who, with few exceptions, are free from it. Grenard indicated the fact, but noted an exception in the case of the wealthier classes. In Hope, 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 Ma-huang; further, they go on the street on horseback instead of in carriages. As regards foot-binding, d'Ollone notices no difference between Muslim women and Chinese women; he says they are not principally addicted, especially as the practice is very common. That a Muslim should take in marriage one of alien faith is not objected to; it is rather deemed a meritorious act thus to bring an unbeliever to the true religion. The Muslim woman, on the other hand, must not be given in marriage to a non-Muslim; such a union is regarded as the most heinous of sins.

In this matter, however, compromises are sometimes made, e.g., a marriage of a Turki prince of the City of Peking to a Chinese woman was referred to; and, when the present writer passed through Minjol (a day's journey west of Kashgar) in 1902, a Chinese with a Turki wife (in concubine) was presented to him. Illicit intercourse is not permitted in the home, and such entrance into the Muslim countries, with the strict legal penalty (forty whippings, or stoning), but it must not be supposed that any unusual laxity of morals prevails, and the unnatural vices common among the Chinese (see an instructive chapter in J. D. Maunoury, Superstition, crime et misère en Chine, Lyons, 1902, p. 185) are less prevalent among the Muslims. No special attention is devoted to the education of children (for the schools see below (d)). Two very prevalent features of family life are filial piety and ancestor-worship. The former is extolled in the narrative given in the Chinese-Arabic MS. edited by Forsk; the latter finds expression in the liturgical prayers for parents and ancestors, while the use is also made of pictures of ancestors after the Chinese manner. Social distinctions are in evitably fixed by descent, except in the case of the Prophet's descendants. The mischief wrought in other Muslim countries by surreptitious enrolment in the religious, political, and commercial movements among the Muslims of China. Nor does the generation of Swaydis appear to have assumed any unusual forms on Chinese soil, apart at least from the turbulence of entrance into the Muslim countries, which claimed to be a Swaydt, but who failed to win such prestige as the notorious sons and grandsons of Makhum Aqan (see above, p. 890). The relative indifference to Swaydis (Shariats) in China is explained by the popular belief that they are the most part converts to Islam or the descendants of converts (Dungans).

(c) Industries.—The industries in which the Chinese Muslims are engaged are (1) agriculture, (2) commerce (including handicraft and trade in goods), and (3) transit-trade. The Muslims do not take naturally to agriculture, but here the environment has asserted itself, inasmuch as the Chinese are pre-eminent an agricultural people, while the Muslims are largely engaged in the alien population with their own habits. Accordingly, the Chinese Muslim is everywhere one of the most industrious tillers of the soil, so that it was recently reported that those employed in the like is true of the position of women in general. According to d'Ollone, the so-called law of veiling is not observed by Muslim women in China, who, with few exceptions, are free from it. Grenard indicated the fact, but noted an exception in the case of the wealthier classes. In Hope, 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 Ma-huang; further, they go on the street on horseback instead of in carriages. As regards foot-binding, d'Ollone notices no difference between Muslim women and Chinese women; he says they are not principally addicted, especially as the practice is very common. That a Muslim should take in marriage one of alien faith is not objected to; it is rather deemed a meritorious act thus to bring an unbeliever to the true religion. The Muslim woman, on the other hand, must not be given in marriage to a non-Muslim; such a union is regarded as the most heinous of sins. In this matter, however, compromises are sometimes made, e.g., a marriage of a Turki prince of the City of Peking to a Chinese woman was referred to; and, when the present writer passed through Minjol (a day's journey west of Kashgar) in 1902, a Chinese with a Turki wife (in concubine) was presented to him. Illicit intercourse is not permitted in the home, and such entrance into the Muslim countries, with the strict legal penalty (forty whippings, or stoning), but it must not be supposed that any unusual laxity of morals prevails, and the unnatural vices common among the Chinese (see an instructive chapter in J. D. Maunoury, Superstition, crime et misère en Chine, Lyons, 1902, p. 185) are less prevalent among the Muslims. No special attention is devoted to the education of children (for the schools see below (d)). Two very prevalent features of family life are filial piety and ancestor-worship. The former is extolled in the narrative given in the Chinese-Arabic MS. edited by Forsk; the latter finds expression in the liturgical prayers for parents and ancestors, while the use is also made of pictures of ancestors after the Chinese manner. Social distinctions are inevitably fixed by descent, except in the case of the Prophet's descendants. The mischief wrought in other Muslim countries by surreptitious enrolment in the religious, political, and commercial movements among the Muslims of China. Nor does the generation of Swaydis appear to have assumed any unusual forms on Chinese soil, apart at least from the turbulence of entrance into the Muslim countries, which claimed to be a Swaydt, but who failed to win such prestige as the notorious sons and grandsons of Makhum Aqan (see above, p. 890). The relative indifference to Swaydis (Shariats) in China is explained by the popular belief that they are the most part converts to Islam or the descendants of converts (Dungans).

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and were quite unaware of his real relation to Islam. Having been ostensibly punished by 'dami-hunt' to K'ansu, he lived there like a 'hidden man' (i.e., without his proper name). On his death in February 1908, all his titles, of which he had been deprived at the instance of the European Powers, were restored, and his remains were buried with the highest honours at K'ou-yuen, his birth-place (R.M.I. vi. 560 ff.). Apart from adventurers of this stamp, whose exploits are recorded in contemporary histories of Muslims with 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 ascendency of the latter as a heavy infraction, and from time to time the strain has found expression in open revolt. The most notable and most serious of these outbreaks were those in the north (K'ansu and Shensi) in 1851-74, and of the south (Yiin-nan) in 1856-72. It would be a mistake, however, to attribute these ruinous insurrections to religious motives alone, for racial animosity, and the hard conditions of life may have been the real causes. The antagonism between different social classes was certainly no less potent for the Mosques resemble pagodas, the mahab and minbar alone proclaiming their Muslim origin. We sometimes find two fortified castles near K'ang-hsi, and had a bodyguard of 500 veterans, who were the tenants of the surrounding estates which he had taken from Muslims. The local councils of K'ang-hsi and Lin-chou could not lift a finger without his approval. After his death in 1908, all his titles, of which he had been deprived at the instance of the European Powers, were restored, and his remains were buried with the highest honours at K'ou-yuen, his birth-place (R.M.I. vi. 560 ff.). Apart from adventurers of this stamp, whose exploits are recorded in contemporary histories of Muslims with 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 ascendency of the latter as a heavy infraction, and from time to time the strain has found expression in open revolt. The most notable and most serious of these outbreaks were those in the north (K'ansu and Shensi) in 1851-74, and of the south (Yiin-nan) in 1856-72. It would be a mistake, however, to attribute these ruinous insurrections to religious motives alone, for racial animosity, and the hard conditions of life may have been the real causes. The antagonism between different social classes was certainly no less potent for the Mosques resemble pagodas, the mahab and minbar alone proclaiming their Muslim origin. We sometimes find two fortified castles near K'ang-hsi, and had a bodyguard of 500 veterans, who were the tenants of the surrounding estates which he had taken from Muslims. The local councils of K'ang-hsi and Lin-chou could not lift a finger without his approval. After his death in 1908, all his titles, of which he had been deprived at the instance of the European Powers, were restored, and his remains were buried with the highest honours at K'ou-yuen, his birth-place (R.M.I. vi. 560 ff.). Apart from adventurers of this stamp, whose exploits are recorded in contemporary histories of Muslims with 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 ascendency of the latter as a heavy infraction, and from time to time the strain has found expression in open revolt. The most notable and most serious of these outbreaks were those in the north (K'ansu and Shensi) in 1851-74, and of the south (Yiin-nan) in 1856-72. It would be a mistake, however, to attribute these ruinous insurrections to religious motives alone, for racial animosity, and the hard conditions of life may have been the real causes. The antagonism between different social classes was certainly no less potent factors.

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Thus, e.g., within a mile to the north of Sung-p'ant-ting is to be seen the tomb of an akhun from Medina, who came to Sung-p'ant-ting in 668, lived for a time in Shen-si, and by his prayers saved the land from drought. He died there in 686, and his tomb is guarded by an akhun. Another tomb, somewhat smaller, is found within the mausoleum. The orthodox muliss inveigh strongly against this practice (RMM v. 439). D'Ollone thinks that the veneration accorded to the monument of the Hsin chiao sect (RMM ix. 553 ff.) is but this cannot be admitted, and, indeed, it conflicts with other statements of the same writer. As a matter of fact, the tendency to idealize is characteristic of the sect. As regards the religious position of the ethnocentrically distinct Salars see above, p. 892.

The idea of a khotfisht as a single individual invested with authority over Islam as a whole is much more ancient. Among the Sabuktagin, who occupied this part of the Gobi desert at the time of 'Abd-al-'Aziz it also prevailed. The tomb of 'Abd-al-'Aziz was a life-size statue (RMM ix. 561 ff.). Yet the efforts directed from Sambool 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 Muslim king of Yunnan, appealed to him, as khotfisht—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 of the creed, which are 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 Chinese method of writing and is being formed as in the native calligraphy (especially in epitaphs). The Muslims also erect orately 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. Boclet mistook an r for a y (RMM v. 291).

(e) Political relations.—In China proper the Muslims have never secured an independent political organization, while in Persia in their period of highest prosperity (c. 1750) they succeeded in establishing only the short-lived Muslim government of Ya'qub Beg (see above, p. 889). The object of the Muslim rising in Kan-su and Shen-si (1663-74), which was annexed to the vast empire of China, Ya'qub Beg's success, was likewise conditional; but the movement proved abortive, and, in fact, no other issue was to be expected. The necessary 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 intermixed among the Han (Chinese), form, not a national, but merely a religious, aggregate, and all

1 The present writer possesses a copy of such a bilingual catechism.

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MUHAMMADANISM (in India).—Islam was introduced into India by the Arab invaders who entered Sind under Muhammad ibn Qasim in A.D. 712 and founded a Muhammadan State which was eventually absorbed in the Mughal empire; but this early Arab occupation was not the last. When the Mughal emperor Akbar died in 1605, the Sultans of Delhi and the Mughal conquerors of the rest of India did not begin until nearly three centuries later, with the raids of Sabuktigin and Mahmud of Gazana; but, however, in 1660, the provinces of Lahore and Sind were the only part of Indian territory that he beleaguered to his successor. The permanent extension of Muslim rule in India dates from the latter part of the 12th cent., when the Muslim conquerors of the north of India were able to found an establishment of a Muhammadan dynasty in Delhi, 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 is taken of the political and social developments that may 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 ruthless persecution. The invaders 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 Arabs in Sind were, however, left in undisturbed possession of their religion and in the enjoyment of their old rights and privileges, and the late conquerors who founded kingdoms in N. India and the Deccan were generally too much occupied with the military consolidation of their empires and 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 Mughal, dynastic and financial considerations dictated their policy rather than consideration of the interests of Islam. On the other hand, the reign of several

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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 Gujarāt Sultan Muhāmmed II of Khūtba begān his reign (1269-1287) with the fervent issue of his enactments against them. In Kashmir Sultan Sīkandar (1393-1417) acquired the designation Butshikan ('idol-smasher') by his ruthless destruction of Hindu idols and temples, and in Bengal Dālāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad Shāh (1414-31) made himself notorious by his persecution of unbelievers. Aurangzīb (1659-1707) attempted to carry out a policy of unification led to several acts of repression, and tradition attributes to him the destruction of temples. Shāh Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Bābur's conquests of Hindus in various districts throughout the whole extent of the Muḥāghal empire. The latest example of such fanaticism on the part of a Muḥāghal ruler was that of Tiṉal Sultan (1782-90), whose barbarities outside anything recorded of previous monarchs after the first conquerors. Apart from such outbursts of fanaticism, the rule of the Muḥāghals has generally been characterized by an attitude of toleration towards their Hindu subjects, and the adherers of the religion have often been closely drawn together by a spirit of unity and mutual respect.

The fact that the Muḥāghal dynasties in India were almost entirely founded by foreign invaders led to the current inquiry into the history of Islam; they brought with them a large number of foreign troops, and attracted to their courts military adventurers, poets, scholars, and others, who ultimately settled in the country. The foreign invaders, their descendants, Persians, Turks, Mughals, and Pathans—formed an important element in the total Muḥāghal population, and exercised a preponderating influence in the administration, the social organization, and the religious life. They received grants of land from the Muḥāghal 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 missionaried efforts the conversion of whole tribes is attributed, and the saints, whose tombs are still venerated throughout all parts of Muslim India, were for the most part of foreign extraction. The sufi saints, the centres of religious influence and attract thousands of pilgrims every year; among the most famous are those of Kīwārā Kān, Muḥāmmed al-Dīn Chishti, Farīd al-Dīn Shāh Shāh Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Shāh, and Nūr al-Dīn Awhīyā (1235) near Dīlī, and Shāh ʿĀlām (1475) near Ahmadābād. The great family of Bakhārī Sayyids, who settled in ʿUsh in the 13th cent, may be taken as a typical example of the wide-spread influence exercised by some of these foreign immigrants. The effect of the stream of foreign immigration has been to keep India in close contact with the main currents of theological thought and speculation in Islam, and the religious beliefs and practices of the educated section at least of the Muslim population, whether Sunni or Shīʿah, have tended to conform to those in other parts of the Muslim world. A large part of the religious literature has been written in Arabic, and still more in Persian—both languages foreign to India. Many of the study of the languages and the religious theologies acquainted with the writings of 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 and the lower classes of Hindu origin, especially in the country districts remote from the centres of Muslim culture, many survivals of older cults are to be found, and there his Muḥāghal differs little but in name from his Hindu neighbour. He continues to worship the gods of his ancestors—particularly the village gods— whose rites for the cultivation of the soil, and the deities of disease, especially Sitā, the dreaded goddess of smallpox—and to take part in the Hindu festivals connected with the changes of the season, such as Ḥolk, the festival of the spring equinox, and Dānśā, 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 Muhammad Bābur, the father of the second decade of the 19th cent, began to disseminate in India the doctrines of the Wadhōhī reforming movement. The writings of a later religious reformer, Maulārī Raiṭhānī, ʿAlī (1874), were especially influential in combating the observance of Hindu rites and ceremonies by Muḥāghals. In more recent years, the greater facilities of communication between one part of the country and another, the spread of education and the consequent growth in the number of theological text-books have increased the tendency towards an orthodox uniformity, but the low level of education among the masses of the Indian Muḥāghals still keeps a large proportion of them ignorant of the tenets of their religion.

The abiding influence of Hindu institutions on the converts to Islam is still further shown by their rejection of the ʿshārīʿah in favour of their tribal ordinances in regard to marriage and inheritance. As is well known, Islam is not merely a system of religious dogma but also a system of legislation, but the Muḥāghalized Rājputs and Jats in the Panjāb and the Māphīlas 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 Muslims themselves, but may be observed in sections of the population that stand outside the Muslim community. There can be little doubt that the Hindu reform movements of the 15th and 16th centuries, especially those connected with the names of Kaṅbhīr and Naṅā, owed much to Muslim influences. Many low-caste Hindus, especially the Dāns, the ancestors of modern Hindus, especially the Dāns, the ancestors of modern Indians, were represented by 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 Muḥāghal habits and observances such 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 the few, and Hindu and Muslim ascetics have often found that they have much in common, and both have often received the veneration of pious adherents of the rival creed. But the stern Puritanism of Islam has left the most indelible marks on the characteristics of Hindu conduct which are set forth in the Āvīśaṇaṇa 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, and lends to their outward bearing an aspect of dignity and self-respect such as is depicted by a constant recognition of moral
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obligation; at the same time it regulates women to the seclusion of the zenana, depriving social intercourse of the charm of their society, and depresses annuities that other countries find harmless, that the authority of the majority of moral favour is capable of producing such types as that of the judge who ent himself off from all human associations lest his judgment might be influenced by consideration for a friend, the hard-worked administrative officer who gave away the whole of his official salary in charity, and the scholar who repented in bitter tears because he had made a profit out of the sale of a work on religion. The moral sanction is sought in religion, and moral principles are that the Qur'an, the traditions, and the works of authoritative theologians; maxims of conduct are also frequently quoted from the poets and Sufi writers. Treatises on ethics, such as Akhlaq-i-Nasir, Akhlaq-i-Mishri, etc., are read by the learned, and similar works — e.g., Akhlaq-i-Jahangiri — were compiled in India, and acquaintance with them has been too restricted for them to have exercised much influence on the general moral conduct of the Persians. This legal and didactic view of ethics may at times degenerate into formalism, and a low level of moral achievement may subsist side by side with fervid professions of piety; but the tendency of modern Muslim society is towards a more distinctive ethical basis for conduct and less dependence upon religious authority.

Within the narrow limits of this article it has not been possible to do more than briefly indicate something of the characteristics of Islam in India. See, further, MUSLIMS (Muhammadan), Sects (Muhammadan), LITERATURE. — No comprehensive work has yet been written on the religion and ethics of the Indian Muhammadans. The reader will find a number of articles in the following periodicals as JASE (Calcutta, 1852 ff.); Calcutta Review (Calcutta, 1841 ff.); Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society (Calcutta, 1805 ff.); Revue du monde musulman (Paris, 1900 ff.); EI (Leyden, 1868 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. Elliot by John Dowson, London, 1867-77. A vast amount of material is to be found scattered throughout the official publications of the Government of India; for bibliography see F. Campbell, Indore Catalogue of Indian Official Publications in the Library of the British Museum, 2nd ed. (1900). Among separate works may be mentioned: J. H. García de Tassy, Memoire sur les particules grammaticaux de la langue arabe (Paris, 1806); Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, Observations on the Muhammadans of India, London, 1825; W. W. Hunter, The Indian Muhammadans, 1st ed. (1841), 2nd ed. (1874); J. J. D. de la Cour, Histoire des Musulmans de l'Inde, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1838); M. M. M., Essais sur les Musulmans de l'Inde, 1st ed. (1819). A more detailed bibliography will be found in the present writer's article, 'India' in EI.

T. W. ARNOLD.

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. 750 in the region south of the Caspian. The conquest of Islam to Persia was a slow process, and the disappearance of Zoroastrianism was gradual. The intellectual life of Islam was very soon enriched by Persian scholars. It is significant that after the Arab conquest Nestorian influences were successively proscribed among Iranians described as pagans.1 Still, Islam was identified with a foreign invasion — a fact that influenced subsequent history.

The cause of the retained adherents in Persia from the first, perhaps because资讯 married a Sassanian princess. In the Umayyad period revolts were frequent, many of them Khiarjite in origin. The


3 W. Brown, Literary History of Persia, I, 229.

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Even among the Sunnites (especially the Kurds) religion centres much in the cult of the Shiakhis, who are connected with ulama and mullahs. 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 imamia. While every community numbers its hujjas, the great shrine for pilgrimage of the living and burial of the dead is Karbala, which, moreover, is the place of religious authority, the seat of the chief mujtahids, and the centre of theological education and learning. In every city there is a moharras (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 unavailing to check continual increase of the excesses of grief in cutting the head and beating the breast. Regular passion-plays are uncommon (cf. art. DRAMA (Persian)). Frencbing has a prominent place in the mosque life, and the great topic for sermons is the life of the Imams. Ghadir Bairam (when Muhammad is supposed to have designated 'Ali as his successor) is at least equal to Qurbán Bairam in popular estimation. The Sayyids rival the mullás in authority and claim the fifth of field and herd. So far the description applies to all Shi'ite sects.

The Mutasharís, who are by far the most numerous sect, regard the mujtahids as the only representative of the Qá'im, or hidden Imám, and only inasmuch as they interpret the sharí'ah (canon law). They are conservatories and traditionalists. The Shiakhis, Zahábs, and minor sects hold that there is a representative of the Imám, who possesses in some degree his divine authority. They differ as to who that representative is, and in other matters. The Shiakhis are the intellectual mystics, interpreting, e.g., the mi'raj (Muhammad's ascent to heaven, deduced from Qur'an, xxvii. 19) in a spiritual way. Zahábs resemble the dervishes in ascetic practices and in the use of the dhikr, both fází and qálí (spoken and silent).

'Ali Hâshim and Bahá'í, widely different in other respects, may be classed together as being Muslim in only a modified sense. The former recognizes none of the Imams except 'Ali, care nothing for the sharí'ah, pay no attention to Ramadan or the prayers, and have their own yearly feast, in connection with which a country meal is eaten. Among Shi'ites they conform more or less, but in private they claim that they are not Shi'ite. They believe in an incarnation, but it is not very clear whether the connexion with 'Ali is not a blind. They call themselves Abal-i Haqiqah ('people of the Truth'). In practical life the reverence paid to the Sayyids, or mulla, is great. Their religious centre, where the head of the sect lives, is near Kermandshah. They are numerous both north and south, among the Kurds, Turks, and Persians, and especially in the villages and among the nomads, and are found in smaller numbers in the cities. The Baha'ís are too well known to require description. For them Muhammad and the sharí'ah are superseded. 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 chiefly found in Persia. Nevertheless, in the numerous societies of the country, their influence is not to be measured by their numbers. The Azalis are practically extinct, and the Baha'is, with insignificant exceptions, follow 'Abbas Efendi. Both these sects practise taqiyah, or religious deception.

The Safis (or 'Arifs, 'pirudiv') are the philosophical and intellectual devotees of religion, belonging, it may be, to some sect, but not often to the Mutasharís. Among them are many dervishes. They usually recognize some one as their guide (muraqbih). The most popular poets among them are Jalá'il-Din, Shams-i-Tabriz, Farid al-Din 'Attar, and Hâfiz. Dervishes in Persia are loosely organized, and monasteries are almost unknown. Many dervishes will claim to be khwáshah ('abject, 'humble'), others to be followers of Sháh 'Abbas Alláh or of 'Arif 'Ali Shah, a saint of recent date.

The organization of religion is democratic, and in the last analysis it is popularity that determines rank and authority. The government exercises a control by granting titles and recognition, and the mullás and mujtahids, both as authorized exponents of the sharí'ah and as popular leaders, are apt to influence government and sway the people, 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 qádî, or civil judge, the eminence of which, in the main city, he has charge also of jugglers, mountebanks, snake-charmers, etc.

The influence of religion in moral and social matters is not easily estimated. Of course it is pervasive. The uniformity among the bulk of the people is that in the mosque schools. The pilgrimages promote intelligence and national unity. On the other hand, the shrines are centres of vice, the mullás are notorious for venality, the sharí'ah is an obstacle to progress, 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 and aid. The least religious classes are the educated men of the Imamí sect.

An influence at work that must affect the future of Islám 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 fidelity to none. Another tendency is what the Persians call tab'í ('naturalistic'), denying all revelation and taking an agnostic position on the question of God's existence. Another growing influence is the renascence of Turkish literature in the Ahdarbaijání dialect in Tiflis and Baku. The reaction due to foreign dominance is also to be reckoned with. The influence of Western civilization is in many ways disintegrating. The influence of Christianity mediated by church and state, politics and literature, and missionary effort must not be forgotten. This has its part in Bábism and still more in Bahá'ism.

See, further, artt. BÁB, BÁBIS, SHÁHIS, SÚFISM.


W. A. SHEDD.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia).—A. SYRIA.—Syria and Palestine have always formed one of the outlets for the superfluous population of Arabia. The invasion of the country by the Arabs in the first half of the 7th. cent. A.D. was only one of a series of incursions-
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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, soon ended. On this occasion the Caliph 'Abd Allah (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 centre of an empire stretching from India to Spain. Mu'awiyah, the first of the line, had been governor of the country under the Caliph 'Othman; it was to the Arabs of Syria that his dynasty owed its birth and stability, the representatives of the Eastern Roman empire. Moreover, it was only a score of years since the Persians had wrested the country from the Greeks and held it for ten years. The Persian Wars had defeated the exchequer of Constantinople, and Heraclius had been compelled to withdraw the wondrous subsidies from the frontier tribes—a fact which made them all the more unwilling to throw in their lot with the Arabs. When Byzantium's treasury had been emptied, they did not come altogether as invaders, and to the indigenous population the issue was not subjection so much as a change of masters; and it was not impossible that the new masters might be better ones.

To the Arabs the conquest of Chaldea was motivated by the lust of plunder, the conquest of Egypt was to a large extent a necessity—had it been acquired a year or two earlier Medina would have been surrounded and reclaimed. But the conquest of Syria was largely a matter of sentiment. Within its borders were contained nearly all the holy places of Islam. Had and Salih had ministered to tribes within the boundaries of Arabia, but nearly all the holy places of Syria were, through the conduct of their rulers, above all Jesus—had lived and died in Palestine. Muhammad, too, had visited Syria, once as a mere boy, with his uncle Abu Talib, and again as the agent of Khadijah. Jerusalem had been the goal of his mysterious night-journey, from which he had ascended to the Divine Presence, and it was from Damascus that he had turned away, saying that one could not enter Paradise twice. The reverence of the Arabs for Jerusalem is shown by the fact that it was the chief city of Syria, and the most visited of the holy places, under the guidance of its 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 of Jerusalem did not become the political capital of the province of Palestine. For that Ramleh was founded somewhat later. But the sacred character attributed to the ancient city by the Arabs appears in the name of the city itself, its name being derived from the Arabic word *sajdah*, meaning prostration or adoration.

The sanctity in the eyes of the Muslims even of Jerusalem is, however, surpassed by that of Hebron. The stone over the tomb of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their wives, as well as of Joseph. Hence it used to be named 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, but the curiosity of the Muslim does not exceed his sense of reverence, and one of them mentions with a feeling of the deepest awe that he had conversed with one who had with his own eyes seen Abraham. At the present day Europeans are not permitted to enter the mosque (originally a Crusaders' church), with very rare exceptions, and then only by a special permit.

The Caliphs of Damascus, as well as his father, held high office under these Arab rulers of his native city, and the panegyrist of the Umayyads was the Christian poet al-Akhlaq. Moreover, it was not that these Caliphs merely made use of their Christian subjects,
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whilst ignoring their religious creed. Questions of dominion, and the religious freedom they had to the Parthian and Caliph, and when the country was recovered for the Eastern empire by the conquests of Heraclius, the change of masters was a change for the worse. The natural craving of the Egyptian for a strong arm on which to lean had shown itself in the height of theology in their dedication of Jesus Christ, which was the basis of their whole-hearted attachment to the Monophysite doctrine; when, therefore, Heraclius sought, through his instrument Cyrus, to force upon them the orthodox of formula, and at the same time to increase the revenues obtained from the taxation of the country, the attempt was met by the Copts with dogged resistance, culminating in the flight of their patriarch Benjamin. It was owing to this prevailing discontent that the conquest of the country by the Arabs was a comparatively easy matter, accomplished within a couple of years, and with not more than a handful of troops. 'Amr, who had planned and carried out the expedition, became the first governor of the country. He at once granted religious toleration to the people, whose disputes he did not understand; he restored the Coptic patriarch to his office; and he, at any rate, did not take advantage of the Norman government was removed from Alexandria to the fortress of Babylon, close to the modern Cairo, around which a town, called Fustat, soon sprang up. The southern boundary of the province was at the time the Christian kingdom of Nubia, with which the Arabs concluded a treaty.

The Copts did not at once go over to the faith of the conquerors. Probably they believed that the occupation would be temporary, as that of the Persians had been more durable, and which the Umayyads ruled the Muslim world from Damascus was the most glorious in Arabian annals, and it is not without significance that it was after the last Caliph of the line had removed the capital to his native town of Harran that the dynasty fell and was replaced by that of the 'Abbasids.

With the fall of the Umayyads the Arabs ceased to be the ruling race and Syria became one of the provinces of the empire, not specially distinguished in any important aspect. The breakup 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 the home of converts from other religions, and in public order, to see that justice was executed, and to collect the revenues. This was pre-eminently the case in Egypt, to such an extent that the newcomers, professing various religions, did not scruple to take over even the seals of their predecessors in office, on which was frequently engraved the figure of a wolf or other animal—a rather hard nut for modern writers of Hebrew history to crack. The wise tolerance of the Arabs is shown by the fact that not only were their official documents written in Greek and Coptic as well as in Arabic, but many important positions in the government were filled by Christian natives of the country. No doubt, complaints of oppression were not wanting, but what oppression there was seems to have been due to the system which the Byzantines had bequeathed to the Arabs rather than to the manner in which the system was carried out by the latter, and sometimes the fault lay with the native intermediaries.

Once more it fell to 'Amr to become the conqueror of Egypt, this time on behalf of the Umayyads, in whose hands it remained for nearly a century (A.D. 640-750). The tragic fall of the Umayyad dynasty and the massacre of their house
made a deep impression upon the Christian population of Egypt, and it is not without significance that it was in Egypt that the last of the Umayyad Caliphs sought shelter from his enemies. For a century the 'Abbasīds continued to send Arab governors to Egypt, and it was not until the year 316/929 that apparently the Christian elements began to be set up in the country.

Under the two centuries of Arab sway Egypt appears to have enjoyed a period of comparative prosperity and good government. The governors were no doubt often absent, but their numerous papyri show to have been a just, if strict, ruler. Moreover, not only was there no religious persecution of Christians by the Arabs, but these had rescued the native Jacobite church from the hands of their co-religionists, the Greek Melkites, the free-lance nature of the Belawī always leading him to seek the advantage of the situation and to subserve his own interests also. The Arabs even discriminated in the taxation in favour of the Jacobites as against the Melkites to such an extent that not a few of the latter went over to the native church. The first destruction of the Copts by the Arab conquerors is said to have been inflicted by the Umayyads at the beginning of the 9th century. The Moslem government had extended the tolerance. His reign is the culmination of the period of the dynasty, although it was considerably later that the prayers were said in the name of the Fatimid Caliphs in the 'Abbasid capital itself, but only for one year (A.D. 902) in the 'Aṣṣid state of feudalism. The people were settled on the land, and many of the papyri are taken up with the capture of some fugitive who has escaped from his oppressors. The latter were the so-called Copts, as the Copts are also known to have been forced to deliver them from their feudal lords, by converting these into mere tax-gatherers for the government.

The purely Arab government under the direct supervision of the Caliph of Cairo was followed by a succession of dynasties of Turkish origin, the Ṭūlūnids (A.D. 868-905), whose capital Qaṭā‘i, between Fustāṭ and modern Cairo, was famous for its splendour, and who for a quarter of a century ruled Egypt as well as the Levant, and, after a brief interval, the Ikhshīdīds (A.D. 933-969), who also ruled both Syria and the holy cities of the Hijāz, Mecca and Medina. The Axubans did not leave behind them much in the way of architecture, but a type of mosque was evolved which was the 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 a building of very much more modern character. Built in Christian tradition upon the foundations of the Church of the Redeemer in Copenhagen, is still one of the sights of Cairo. Ibn Ṭūlūn's brilliant but unfortunate son also resembled the late Khedive Ismail in his devotion to building and public works.

It was, however, under the Fātimids that Egypt rose to the height of its greatness. Claiming descent from Fatimah bint al-Mu‘izz, his first wife, with a dome superimposed and a minaret round which winds an external staircase resembling that of the Church of the Redeemer in Copenhagen, is still one of the sights of Cairo. Ibn Ṭūlūn's brilliant but unfortunate son also resembled the late Khedive Isma‘il in his devotion to building and public works.

Of the dynasty, proclaimed himself Caliph, in opposition to the 'Abbasid Caliph at Baghadad, and founded a new city close to the old capital, which he called Al-Qāhirah ('the victorious'), the modern Cairo. The name bears a curious resemblance in sound to that of the ancient Egyptian town of Ptolemais (Rhakotis in the same neighbourhood). The heterodox peoples, the Fātimids were enlightened rulers. In spite of famine at home and the inroads of the Coptic Christians (q.v.) from Syria, they quickly consolidated their empire over all the countries bordering upon the shores of the Mediterranean, from Algeria to Syria, the holy cities of Arabia also acknowledging their sway. Security of life and property led to a great increase of population. Commerce was flourishing, and the country was a centre of learning. The Fātimids were propagators of the Persian Darzlih and the Caliph proclaimed himself the incarnation of all the divine honours. He disappeared, but his principles were propagated in the sects (see Sects [Christian]). A persecution was also instigated against both Jews and Christians, in whose spirit not those who allowed the early Christians suffered for refusing to acknowledge the ambition of the Frankish and other Roman emperors.

The most enduring benefit which the Fātimids conferred upon Egypt and upon the whole Moslem world was the founding of the so-called State Bank, was the so-called State Bank, which was transformed into a college and hospital for the poor by 'Aṣṣid. The instruction imparted there is not now known. Of this period little is known, and by a curious irony the college did not attain to full usefulness until it came under the rule of Sunni, or orthodox, masters.

The annexation of Egypt by Saladin in the year 1169 and the consequent suppression of the Fātimid by the Ayyūbid dynasty, naturally led to the immediate abolition of the Shi'ite faith of the descendants of 'Ali and the establishment of the orthodox Sunni prefect, Cairo, in the Academy of Al-Azhar by Sultan Saladin, in 1180, which was the first of its kind in Egypt. It is of the four schools of doctrine which are recognized as orthodox by the Sunnite Muslims, the one

which first prevailed in Egypt was that of Mālik ibn Anas († A.D. 781). It is the accepted ritual of the rest of N. Africa, but in Egypt itself it has been replaced by that of his friend and disciple Shafi‘i, who died in Fustat in the year A.D. 819, and whose tomb is visited still by the pious near the Mokattam Hills. With a view to rooting out the Shi‘i doctrines and planting in their stead the orthodox faith, Saladin despoiled the Azhar of many of its privileges and endowments, and founded in its place a mosque and college known by Fumān and the Imām Shafi‘ (A.D. 1091), at the same time instituting missions to the outlying districts for the propagation of the true faith. The Azhar, however, quickly rose again into favour with the great and benevolent, and it is from the Ayyubids rather than from the Fatimid period that its career of brilliance and usefulness takes its beginning. With the coming of the Mamluks (1250-1517), who succeeded the Ayyubids, the Ḥanafī school (called after Abu Ḥanīfah, + in Baghdad, A.D. 767) came into prominence, and still more under the Ottoman Turks (from 1517 on). Being the least strict of the four schools and also the most inclined to monarchy, it was naturally favoured by the government, whilst the Shafi‘ite remained throughout the学校 of the last of the four orthodox schools (founded by the fanatical Ibn Ḥanbal, + 855), it has never taken hold in Egypt, and its students in the Azhar have never been more than a handful at the most.

Mean time 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 and Sicily and by far the larger part of Mesopotamia (1492) and the incursions of Jenghiz Khan at the beginning of the 13th cent. and of Timūr Lenk (Tamerlane) at the end of the 14th in the East, left Egypt untouched. Thus, when its rivals in Cordova and in Baghdad had been swept away, Cairo remained the undisputed mistress of Muslim learning and culture. Both its professors and students were drawn from all parts of the Muslim world, a preference even being given in some cases to those who wholly or partly abandoned the native religion is cosmopolitan in his habits; he visits all countries where he may hope to pick up some crumbs of knowledge or obtain a diploma from some world-famous doctor; and the fame of the Azhar is such that students who include many of these travelling students to settle in Cairo, and sometimes to lecture in its college. The best known of these is probably the philosopher-historian Ibn Khaldun, who was a native of Tunis and was given posts in the government not only of that country, but also of Fes and Granada. He then came to Cairo, where he was given the office of qādi of the Malikīs. From there he paid a visit to Timūr Lenk at his camp in Syria, and finally died in Cairo in A.D. 1406.

But, while the Azhar may be considered as holding aloft the torch of learning to the whole world, both Muslim and Christian, up to the period of the Renaissance in Europe, it must be confessed that after that epoch it became a stronghold of obscurantism. This is evident from the books which continued to be studied there. The ancient poetry, which is the whole literature of pre-Islamic Arabia, was unheard of, and even the Assemblies of the whole Ḥarānī University were translated. A study was theological (including jurisprudence) or grammatical. Even the original texts of the Qurān and the Traditions of Bukhārī were not studied so much as commentaries and super-commentaries upon them. Mathematics, natural philosophy, history, and geography were ignored. In other words, the Azhar, like the University of Fes, continued to be a medieval school after the Middle Ages had passed away.

Egypt was one of the first homes of Christian monasticism, and this religious tendency of its people showed with striking effects. With a view to rooting out the Shi‘i doctrines and planting in their stead the orthodox faith, Saladin despoiled the Azhar of many of its privileges and endowments, and founded in its place a mosque and college known by Fumān and the Imām Shafi‘ (A.D. 1091), at the same time instituting missions to the outlying districts for the propagation of the true faith. The Azhar, however, quickly rose again into favour with the great and benevolent, and it is from the Ayyubids rather than from the Fatimid period that its career of brilliance and usefulness takes its beginning. With the coming of the Mamluks (1250-1517), who succeeded the Ayyubids, the Ḥanafī school (called after Abu Ḥanīfah, + in Baghdad, A.D. 767) came into prominence, and still more under the Ottoman Turks (from 1517 on). Being the least strict of the four schools and also the most inclined to monarchy, it was naturally favoured by the government, whilst the Shafi‘ite remained throughout the school of the last of the four orthodox schools (founded by the fanatical Ibn Ḥanbal, + 855), it has never taken hold in Egypt, and its students in the Azhar have never been more than a handful at the most.

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vices rather than the virtues of Europe. Isma'il laid down railway and telegraph lines all over the
country. Under Tanfiq slavery largely disappeared, and polygamy is fast becoming a thing of the past. From Tanfiq also dates the liberty of the Jewish and Moslem vices, and the legal prohibition of mourning (which generally means Turkish), conservative, or
progressive. The best Christian newspapers are
eplied by Syrian immigrants. There are three or
four journals published by and for women.

In countries, is looked by the Khedives naturally reacted on that stronghold of
conservatism, the Azhar University. Incredible as it may appear, the instruction given there con-
tinued on the same lines as in the 13th century. To
meet present-day needs the Gordon College was
founded at Khartum, and also a modern university
in Cairo, but the latter has practically no students.
Meanwhile the students of the Azhar, who have
always been loyal and have not rebelled against the
law, used to work for years, in 1909 went on strike,
with the result that some concessions were made
to modern ideas. The last century in Egypt, how-
ever, can hardly be fairly considered as an example
of Mohammedanism. By, as, all French Hous^ of
egypt, European, although the instruments putting them in
force were Muslim.

On the whole, it may be affirmed that Muham-
madanism in Egypt has, considering the times and
conditions, shown remarkable progress and enlighten-
ment. Even at the period of conquest they did
not put in force the iconoclastic theory of their faith,
and under the Mamluks, and even under the Fatimids, stone and metal work are, as may be seen
by the specimens in the latter in the museum at
South Kensington, of a very high order. Neither
was there any scruple about making representations
of living creatures. Ibn Tulun caused two
plaster lions to be set over one of his gateways.
Saladin introduced the eagle as an ornament in
design. On one ever, of the year A.D. 1232, in
the British Museum there are over one hundred
animal figures. It was from the Mamluk artists
of Egypt and Syria that the art passed into
Europe. In architecture, too, the Mamluks
excelled. Nearly all the mosques of Cairo origin-
ated in their period, and certainly all the finest, not
the least remarkable buildings being those of one
of the Mamluks, and rule, Ma'mun, who died in 1260,
and yet it is on two of the oldest mosques, those of
Ibn Tulun and of Hakim, that are found the supposed
beginnings of Gothic architecture. With the com-
ing of the Turks a period of decadence supervened,
which was only intensified under the Khedives.

With regard to their moral qualities it can be said
that the Muslim rulers of Egypt, with the excep-
tion of the Caliph Hakim, were not worse than
Muslim rulers elsewhere; Saladin and a few other masters of the country were notable
for their probity. The ancient monuments of Egypt still witness to the fact that the Arab conquerors of the country were not ruthless fanatics. The Coptic Church was
not exterminated, as Zoroastrianism practically
wants, and there was no wave of Islamisation at
the outset. The native churches in Cairo are more magnificent than the mosques. One can only hope that the accounts of the persecution, especially under Hakim, have been exaggerated; but, even if they
are literally true, they would not prove that the Muslims treated Jews and Christians much worse
than they treated another. It is certainly
remarkable and significant that, at the time of the
British occupation, the Copts took the side of their
former masters, thus bringing about an inward
of educated Syrian Christians. British writers do
not give the Copts a very high character, and much
prefer the Muhammadans in many ways; but this
may be the result of ages of subordination. For the
present, it is more than doubtful whether a
Coptic government would not be more corrupt
than the Muhammadan has been. The amuse-
ments of the people consist in smoking hashish
(Cannabis Indica), which, being intoxicating, is
forbidden, watched by police inspectors, and
printed to songs and stories. All these are degrading
to both spectators and performers, and it would be
well if they could be put down by the government.

The great want of Egypt, as of all Muslim
countries, is books. It is easy to see that the
Copts are not given to litigation, and that the

Literature.—The most reliable information in regard
to present-day Egypt is to be obtained from Lord Cromer's
Modern Egypt, London, 1898, and from his and his successors' annual Reports to the British Government (1888-98), as well as
those of the Education and other Departments of the Govern-
ment; see also A. M. Milner, English and Egyptian,
London, 1892; much information is also obtainable in E. W.
Lane's notes to tr. of The Thousand and One Nights, London, 1829, and the Novels and other
Egyptian, Egyptians, do, 1829; also Ibrahim Hilmi, Literature of Egypt
and the Sudan, do, 1880-85; H. J. Massy, Bibliotheca
Aegyptia, Leipzig, 1880-90; J. R. Pusey, Classical and
Egyptian, Cairo, 1821; K. Voller, in Minerva for 1884
under 'Cairo'; M. Hartmann, The Azhar, Cairo, 1899;
Artah Pasha, L'Institution publique en Egypte, Paris, 1890;
W. E. Jennings-Bramley, The Bedouins of the Similic
Peninsula, PEP, 1895 (p. 320th) and foll. years; T.
Arnold, The Prophecy of Isaiah, London, 1912; J.
Ohlendorf, Ten Years' Service in the Child's Seminary,
London, 1893; P. R. Wingate, do, 1902; P. R. Slatin, Fire and Sword in the
Sudan, do, 1908.

C. MESOPOTAMIA.—In the first quarter of the
7th cent. A.D. the Persians had conquered Egypt
and Syria, and the Eastern Roman empires for the
moment, almost limited by the walls of
Constantinople. By a mighty effort, however,
Heraclius drove the enemy from his provinces and
the Persian empire was in its turn completely
broken. This was the opportunity of the Arabs.
Chaldæa became an easy prey, and in half a dozen
years the empire, which under one dynasty
and another had witnessed the might of Greece
and Rome for a millennium, had ceased to
exist.

The sudden collapse of Persia is explained by
Arab writers by the decadent condition of the
country, the effeminacy of the people, the tyranny
of the great landowners, and the chaotic state of
the government which led to the outbreak of the
hardy nature and simple habits of the Arabs.
But equally important is the fact that the popula-
tion of Chaldæa was itself Arab. The Lakhmid
kings, whose capital was at Ur, near the ancient
Kufa and the present Najaf, were, like the
Ghassanids on the other side of the Syrian desert,
immigrants from Southern Arabia. Mesopotamia
itself was peopled by the tribes of Taghilb, Iyad,
and, further to the west, Nimir; and at Dnna, in the
Jurt, on the route to the rubeh, the
Ephrates, 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 their
keads, is shown by the nonchalance with which the tribe
of Taghilb fell in with 'Omar's stipulation that they
should not bring up their children in the Christian
faith. Accordingly, when the Muslims set out to
invade Mesopotamia, they met with little opposi-
tion and with some assistance from these tribes.
The ties of blood proved stronger than those of
religion.

Thus Mesopotamia quickly became a Muham-
madan country, and, being peopled largely by
Arabs of the tribe of Qurash, it rapidly assumed a leading place in the Muslim world, and remained for three centuries, even when the political capital was transferred, the intellectual and religious centre of Islam. It was generally divided into two provinces—Iraq, the southern half, its most northerly town being Takrit, and the northern portion, Jazira (the Peninsula). Much the more important of the two provinces, from the point of view of the history of the faith, is Iraq. It has always been the storm centre of S.W. Asia, from which the majority of the great schisms and disputes arose, and it remains to-day the spiritual heart of Islam. In the days of Ali himself the produce of the Khawarij (or Seceders), whose main principle was to oppose the established order of belief and of society, and to champion 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 Caliphs for many a day. Baghdad itself was originally built and fortified to protect the person of the Caliph against the fanatic Revolts, or seer of Khurasan (A.D. 722). In the first half of the 9th cent., three of the Abbassid Caliphs threw in their lot with the Mutazilah, or party of freedom of thought, and instituted a vigorous persecution of the orthodox but in the latter part of the same century a servile war broke out in the country to the north of the Persian Gulf and continued for fifteen years before it was quelled. With the 10th cent. the incursions of the terrible Carthamus began, who, though originating in Bahrain, quickly overspread and devastated Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt (see CARMATIANS). Meanwhile the Turkish slave-soldiers of the Caliphs had become so out of hand that the court was compelled to quit Baghdad and establish itself at Samarra, some seventy-five miles further up the Tigris, and remain there for fifty-five years. By the time they returned the glory had departed from the Caliphate, and the supreme pontiff of Islam had become a puppet in the hands of the military power which happened to be supreme at the moment, until the last semblance of authority was swept away by the Mongol invasion.

But, whilst Iraq was the principal seat of heresy and sedition, it afforded the very cradle of a strong hold of orthodoxy and firm government. Its turbulent population was the best brains and the strongest arm to keep them in check, and their very oppositionness led to the necessary education, the investigation, that remotest of the sects 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 Caliph, were sent to Iraq. Such governors were, under the Umayyads, Ziyad, half-brother of the Caliph Mu'awiyah; the famous, if bloodthirsty, Hassaj ibn Yusuf, and Khulid al-Qasri. Iraq, too, produced Hassan al-Askari († 728), a commentator on the Qur'an and collector of traditions about Muhammad, to whom the mystics trace their origin; and Abu'larab, a Christian, who at first a Mutazillite, ended by reducing the faith to a system which was quickly acknowledged 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 Arabs about A.D. 638. They were at first cantonments for the Arab garrison stationed in the two cities, but under one strong hand, however, quickly lost their military character, and became what may be called the university towns of Islam. They have been well compared to Oxford and Cambridge, not only in their mutual rivalry, but also in the wide-spread authority which attached to their dietas. Their scholars laid down the principles of Arabic grammar, and decided, or at least pronounced on the pronunciation 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 encyclopedists published their treatises, and nowhere could the Assembly of Hurrar († 1122), with their airy use of expressions from the sacred volume, have been so fitly written. The Zanj and the Carmatians, who, though still lived in Iraq, brought ruin to Basseir (Bassorah), and 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 confluence of intolerable rites in the midst of the true Faith at the city of Sarrar. 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, Syrio-paganism and Christian rites, all combined into one system of religion, and were continued into the Baytun. They were not kept in ignorance of these practices or bribed to remain silent regarding them. It was only in the year 830 that the Caliph Mar'wan, when on an expedition against the Byzantines he passed by Harran, was so taken with the dress and garb and long hair, that for the first time their existence became known to the central government. They were offered the alternatives of Islam—one of the tolerated sects or the sword. After some delay they declared, and the Caliphs set up the Christians set of the Sabians to whom toleration is 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 Tahir ibn Qurrah († 904).

The Abbassid was essentially a Persian dynasty. The cause had its beginnings in Khurasan. One Caliph even wished to make it his. But the claims of the West were still too great for that, and so Iraq, the meeting-point of Semite and Persian, became and remained the seat of government. Baghdad was founded by Mansur in the year 762, and quickly eclipsed all the other cities of the empire. Originally built on the west bank of the Tigris, the government offices and residence of the Caliph were later removed to the east. The insubordination of the Turkish guards at one time necessitated the withdrawal of the court to the small town of Samarra further up the river. There it remained for over half a century (836-892). During this and the subsequent period nearly all the Abbassid Caliphs came to a violent end at the hands of their own pretorians. Order was somewhat restored when the temporal power of the Caliphs was taken over by the Buwayhids (A.D. 945). These princes were, however, Shiites, whereas the population of Baghdad were Sunnites. Thus religious strife was added to civil, and was arrested only on the coming of the Seljucks (A.D. 1055). Mesopotamia had been split up under innumerable petty chieftains, but now all Asia from Egypt to Afghanistan was under one strong hand. The invaded the Fatimid Caliph in Baghdad in A.D. 1058 was merely a passing incident, and did not stay the march of events. The Buwayhids had already restored the old royal palace of the Khulid and...
MUHAMMADANISM (in Turkey).

1. Statistics.

Statistics relating to Turkish conditions have hitherto been of very limited value, and in the circumstances of to-day it is virtually impossible to obtain them. The most recent computations were those made by Mr. A. H. Haddad, i.e.

Two facts stand out clearly, however: (1) the Muslim element in the Balkan Peninsula proceeds swiftly, and the rapidity with which the numerical decrease of a Muslim population may take place under Christian rule can be estimated from the data relating to Thessaly given by Franchet d'Espérey in *E.J.M.* xiii. [1911] 87; thus, while in 1881 the 320,000 inhabitants of that district included 50,000 Muslims, in the present population of 381,000 there are not more than 20,000. This has been traced, though not in the same degree, also in Cyprus, Crete, Bulgaria, and Bosnia. It would seem to be doubtful, indeed, if the number of Muslims in the entire peninsula, even including such as are no longer Turkish subjects, would now amount to 3,000,000. As an offset, it is likely enough that there has been an increase in Anatolia. In the Muslim population of Asia Minor those of Turkish blood number about 11,000,000.

2. Development.—It is a manifest fact that the Turks as a people have not played so important a part in the formation of doctrine as in the popular religion. The share which they have had in the later development of Islam cannot as yet be determined, since the necessary secular investigation has not so far been made. Nor has the protracted struggle which Sunnite orthodoxy 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 Turkic element, during the last century as a result of European influence have been in a measure exhaustively studied. While it is true that many of the proposed improvements were but imperfectly carried out, or were not carried out at all, the Turkish nation has, as 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, but in many cases, as a matter of fact, they ran counter to it. We are here and there with the reforms which come into conflict with the provisions of the *shari'ah*, or Muhammadan law, and thus bear upon Islam as a religion. Besides a number of laws and regulations of the most diverse types there were in all and under the dual system inaugurated by the Sultan which, promulgated in a peculiarly impressive form, may be regarded as the pivots of modern Turkish life. These were respectively the *Hatti-sherif* of Gula'bâhâ, issued on 5th Nov., 1908, and the *Hatti-sharûut*, 18th Feb., 1909. 1—both belonging, therefore, to the administration of Abd al-Majid. While the former made promise, in a merely general way, of sundry reforms which should be in harmony with the spirit of the *shari'ah*, the latter prescribed the necessary changes in certain ordinances laid down by that legal system. These changes related to the legal oath and the military service of Christians, and to the abolition of the capital penalty for apostasy. In connexion with these points a new penal code was issued, and the suppression of slavery resolved upon, in 1838. 2

None of these reforms sprang from the will of the Turkish people themselves; on the contrary, they were effected at the instigation of the European Powers, especially of Great Britain, and were introduced only after long temporizing on the part of the higher governing classes in Turkey. When the Western Powers had succeeded in saving Turkey in the Crimean War, they demanded, as an act of gratitude, the abrogation of the ordinances which could not but be humiliating to the national mind. They likewise expected that the changes would serve to increase the political consciousness of the non-Muhammadan elements in Turkey, and thus provide a barrier to the growth.


2 Hereafter cited as *E.J.M.*
ing influence of Russia. The Turkish administra-
tion was not blind to the difficulty of the under-
taking, and to some extent evaded it in a very
adroit fashion.

The various points were settled as follows:

In order to permit Christians to take oaths as witnesses—a privilege long claimed by the Russia, there
was an entirely new statute, upon which experts had been at work for a number of
years. In addition to the jurisdiction of the shari'ah, which henceforward retained its competence only
in certain cases arising out of the personal status of Muslim
subjects, all affairs relating to marriages, alimony,
divorce, inheritance, etc.—the malakim-i-imamiyang was
introduced, organized on European models. At those courts any evidence permitted by the shari'ah, docu-
mental evidence alone was received as valid, so that it was
now possible for a Christian to give his testimony even against a Musulman.

The abolition of capital punishment for detection from the
Muslim bank the following cases: (a) As every
religion and sect in my empire may practice its form of worship
with complete freedom, no one shall be obstructed or molested in
practising the worship of the religion to which he belongs, and
no one shall be compelled to change his religion or sect (Fr.
text, 29).

The abolition of hariz (poll-tax) and the introduction of
military service for non-Musulmans were effected in name, but
consummation (bindal-I-Iiastri) was still to be achieved (cf.
the present writer's art. 'Bedel-l-I'estr', in RI). In reality, the official basis of the new service remained as it was, the
only modification being that the term hariz was replaced by the
expression bindal-I-Iastri. It was not till the Revolution of
1908 that this measure was actually imposed upon
Turkish subjects quite independently of their religious profes-
sion—a measure certainly not conducive to the national welfare,
and purely symbolic. By this code, as long as the
i'ltifat-I-Iiastri was promulgated that such a
code would be drawn up, and this had in some measure been
attained. The new penal law was at length modernized by the
Supreme decree of 4th April 1911. The later code, however,
did not supersede any of the punishments of the ancient
shari'ah on the contrary, the two sets of laws remain in opera-
tion side by side, and offences can be tried by either (cf. E.
X. J. Das, 'Punishment in the Ottoman Empire', 1912, and
Hildesheim, Droit public et administratif de l'Empire ottoman,
I., Vienna, 1909, p. 354). Of the other reforms, reference need
here be made only to the enactments relating to the slave-trade.
An trade of 1st Oct. 1854 forbade the buying and selling of
Georgian slaves. Various ministerial ordinances, dating from
the years 1865, 1870, 1871, 1879, and 1889, prohibited all com-
merce in slaves whatsoever; since 1892 the trade has been
regarded as smuggling. From 1880 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 not perfectly carried out, or not carried
out at all, yet their importance should not be under-
rated. In not a few cases they made a breach in the fabric of the shari'ah alike in theory and in
practice. The consistent application of the new
law would serve to bring Islam into line with
modern ideas; but to what extent this may be
affected without great religious wars, and how far
Muslim theology is able and willing to deal with the
future problems involved, the future alone can
show.

Hitherto Muslim theology has tacitly sub-
tended to the reforms, and has not expressed itself
openly regarding them. It is only within recent
years that the aspirations of the young Turks have
won support among the theologians, but no attempt
has yet been made as yet to produce works of import-
ance in the field of scientific theology. The views
of this liberal tendency—if we may so call it—in
theology find expression in the Suriyat-i-Musayrin,
a periodical founded immediately after the Revolu-
tion, and from no. 183 (8th March 1912) continued
under the name of Shulal al-Rasidah (cf. I. Boutav,
in KMM xx. [1912] 202-204; M. Hartmann, Un-
politische Briefe aus der Türkei, Leipzig, 1919, P.
3).

3. Religious organization. Apart from the
theological group just referred to, the religious
ranks of Islam in Turkey have no liking for inno-
vation. The name by which the entire class, as
well as the individual member of it, is known is 'ulama (the plural of 'ulum, 'learned'). This
long-established organization of the Ism, as still existing
with but little change in its main features, was
founded in the reign of Sultan Muhammad IV, the
Conqueror (1451-81) (cf. J. von Hammer-Purgstall,
Des osmanischen Reiches Staatsverwaltung
its head stands the Shiak al-Islam, whose office,
as now constituted, was created for him by Sultan
Sulaiman I. the Magnificent (1520-66), though
the title had been employed by Muhammad I., the
Conqueror, upon the mufid of Constantinople.

In consequence of the reforms, and especially the
introduction of the malakim-i-imamiyang (see above),
his authority has suffered a considerable decline;
he now controls only the religious schools and the
shari'ah. The board over which he presides is
called Bab-l-naashoqghi-I-tulmiyah, Bab-i-fatw
panakhi, or, popularly, Shek-Islamogou, and
consists of the following departments:

(a) Administrative boards: (1) Majlesi-i-mas'abah-khuyi
shan), the commission for the selection of spiritual judges; (2) Majlesi-I-Iidami, the
commission for the regulation of public order; (3) Majlesi-I-Iadami, the
commission for the regulation of civil matters; (4) Majlesi-I-Iadami, the
commission for the regulation of government affairs of subjects; (5) Majlesi-I-Iadami, the
commission for the regulation of government affairs of the dervish orders; (6) Majlesi-I-Iadami, the
commission for the regulation of government affairs of students; (7) Majlesi-I-Iadami, the
commission for their exemption from military service; (8) Majlesi-I-Iadami, the
commission for the regulation of government affairs of wards; (9) Judicial boards: (1) Cemal	gu
i, the kadi
ace of the Court of Justice; (2) Anadolu i, the kadi
ace of the Constantinopolitan Court of Justice; (3) Istanbul i, the kadi
ace of the Courts of Justice; (4) Tuna, the office for verification; (5) Majlesi-I-Iadami, the
commission for the enforcement of the decisions of the shari'ah; (6) Parkas, the office for the legal decisions of the shari'ah.

While the standing of the Shiak al-Islam, as of the
'eunuchs generally, is now greatly inferior to
what it once was, its influence among large
masses of the people is still very considerable,
and to this day they form a power which cannot safely
be ignored by the politicians.

4. The dervish orders. Perhaps an even
greater influence among the people is enjoyed by the
dervish orders. From the foundation of the
Ottoman empire they have played a great role in
Asia Minor, as they did to some extent even before.
As a matter of fact, the great modernization of the Christian elements in Turkey has
been their work; in their indifference towards the
existing forms of religion, views of the most
diverse character could find a refuge in their
minds. Their ideas have come, in a sense, now sunk to a lower level; others, again, have been of late gradually growing
in prestige—e.g., the Malai, (cf. Hartmann, Indext.

The Baudh, an order which at one time,
owing to its close connexion with the Janizaries,
held a position of special prominence, sank into
the background after the suppression of that force
by Sultan Mahmud in 1826, but have quite recently
begun to display a more active spirit in Asia Minor, and
even more decidedly in Albania, this order is constantly adding to its strength.

It has been methodically dealt with in several recent works of
noteworthy redability, such as G. Jacob, Beitrag zur Kenntniss des
MUHYI AL-DIN IBN AL-ARABI


Of literature relating to the orders there is much of a sort in The Dervish, London, 1869, but contains only valuable items of information, but must be read with extreme caution; and so said of A. de CHUST's Dervishes et Confréreances du Hadj a, Paris, 1857.

We need not deal here with such sects as the Yezidis (q.v.), the Nusairis, the Tahteji, the Kizil Bash (q.v.), etc., which, though professing certain Muslim doctrines, cannot be included under Islam. In contrast to the Bautiashi, who, as has been said, still claim to rank as Muslims, these sects in general renounce the name. As these propriety have no real standing in Turkey, they, too, lie outside the scope of this article.

5. Superstition and popular religion.—Superstition is extremely prevalent among the masses, and popular thought exhibits residue of the most diverse forms of religion. We find survivals of the ancient shamanism of the Turkic peoples, as well as of Christian and Jewish superstition. This interesting side of Turkish Islam has not yet been exhaustively dealt with, but there are several compilations from which we may glean an adequate picture.

Besides a number of shorter papers, as, e.g., F. SCHRADER, 'Zur vorderasiatischen Volksglauben', in the Supplement to Actes du 4ème Congrès international des orientalistes, t. III, 1901, and F. MEGALE, 'Osmanische türkische Volksglaube', in Kelti Studi, voi, 1903; F. MEGALE, 'Osmanische astronomie', in Ephemerides Scientiarum, 1901; an able survey is given of the Horsufi sects, with some of their more curious effects.

There is evidence to show, moreover, that the worship of saints (nekritad) and their places of pilgrimage (ziyaratgah) has a predominant place in Turkish popular belief. A large number of the Turkish Sufis trace their personal devotion to sacred persons, in the studies of Byzantium, the names being in some cases greatly corrupted. For example, the 'Tugla Dedeh' from St. Thukla, and the places of pilgrimage are still found on the Byzantine sites.

The religious needs of the common people, and more especially of the women, are served by a large mass of devotional literature. The principal works of this class are among the oldest literary monuments of the Osmanli Turks, and their idiom is frequently unintelligible to the readers of to-day—a fact which, of course, in no way detracts from their popularity. Pre-eminent among these are the Muhammediyyah and the Ahmadiyyah, as also the History of Iznik Urus (cf. GIBB, i. 164, 1860) which, however, is little used by the student of Turkish literature, these works being all of importance, but their theological value is of the slightest, and their contents need further concern us here. Similarly, the 'ilm-i-hed literature requires but the briefest mention; it consists of booklets which, like our modern catechisms, set forth the leading religious dogmas in the form of question and answer.

LITERATURE.—There is as yet no systematic account of Islam in Turkey. Studies dealing with special aspects of the subject have been cited throughout the article in connexion with the particular topic. No attempt has been made here to enumerate all the works worthy of mention, as the great number of works on Islam in Turkey, whether in prose or in verse, is extremely great.

MUHYI AL-DIN IBN AL-ARABI.—Muhyi al-din ibn al-Arabi, the celebrated Muhammedan mystic, who was born in S. Spain in A.D. 1165. Much of his youth was spent in Seville, where he devoted himself to literature, theological, and mystical studies. After visiting Granada and other Muslim towns, as well as Tunis, Fez, and Morocco, he set out in 1204 for the East by way of Egypt, whence he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He did not return to Spain. Many of the remaining years of his life were passed in the neighbourhood of Mecca, but he made extensive journeys in the Arabic peninsula, in Syria, and Asia Minor, gaining disciples and spreading his doctrines in conversation with high and low, while he beheld a good deal of Muslim in the East and the conquest of the Crusades, he called for repressive measures against the Christian population and encouraged his fellow-Muslims to persevere in their faith. He died at Damascus in A.D. 1240.

Whether we regard the influence of his writings or influence of the subsequent development of Islamic mysticism, Ibn al-Arabi can justly claim the supreme position among Sufi authors whose posterity has accorded to him, and which is attested by the title, 'al-Shaikh al-Akher,' conferred on him by the most unanimous voice of those who are best qualified to judge. The list of his works drawn up by himself contains 289 titles (Brocklemann, Gesch. der arab. Litteratur, i. 449), and some of them are of enormous length. The most famous and important is the Futihat al-Makkiya (4 vols., 1876), comprising about 3000 pages. This, in as, in many of his works, Ibn al-Arabi professes to communicate mysteries revealed to him by the prophets, angels, and even God Himself (a brief resume of the contents of the Futihat will be found in H. O. FISCHER and P. DELITZSCH, Catalogus librorum notorum, bibliotheca sacer. Lipsiensis, Grenzau, 1895, pp. 532-545), and is to be considered by some the smallest compass but equally celebrated, is the Fusus al-Hikam, in which the author discourses upon the nature and significance of the divine revelations imparted to twenty-seven prophets, beginning with Adam and ending with Muhammad. Besides the Futihat and the Fusus, both of which contain a considerable quantity of verse, his prose writings include a mystical commentary on the Qur'an, a collection of definitions of Sufistic technical terms, which has been edited by F. FUGGE, (Leipzig, 1845), and a short treatise on mystical psychology (Arab. text with Span. tr. by Asim Palacios, in Actes du 4ème Congres International des orientalistes, ii. 151). He also edited several volumes of mystical poems, one of which, the Tarjum a al-a'zwar, ed. with Eng. tr. by the present writer, London, 1911, has a curious history.

The erotic style in which it is written gives rise to scandal, and in order to suppress its circulation Ibn al-Arabi published a second edition accompanied by a commentary in which the mystical sense of each verse is explained. Although his interpretations are often far-fetched, the poems themselves supply evidence that there was no ground for the charge brought against him, plausible as it might appear to the uninitiated. The question of his orthodoxy was keenly disputed, and, if many Muslims saw in him a dangerous heretic, others had no doubt that he was a great saint; but even his admirers recognized that the outward sense of his writings was frequently ambiguous, and that the study of them should be permitted only to mystics of ripe experience. At first sight, it seems hard to reconcile Ibn al-Arabi's extreme conservatism in the sphere of religious law with his remarkably bold and fantastic speculations in the domain of theosophy.

He belonged to the Zahirite school, which rejects the idea of the intercession, who simultaneously not only the spirit of the Koran and the tradition, but, while his attitude in regard to legal and ritual practice was that of the literalist (zaahir), who looks only at the outward form, in all matters of doctrine and belief he was pre-eminently the mystic (batini), who fixes his gaze on the inward spirit and seeks to
Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-'Arabi, like other Sufis before and after him, endeavored to combine the Asiatic theology with philosophic ideas, and this practice appealed to many Sufis, who found in it an expression of their own dislike for the hair-splitting pedantry of the rival schools of law, for the acceptance of external authority as the standard of truth, and for the method of logical demonstration as opposed to intuitive knowledge.

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Although the contrary might be maintained from 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 (tahlil) or identification (ittihad). Man can never say with Hallâl: 'I am God' (Ana 's-Haqq), 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' (Haqq), not 'the Truth' (al-Haqq), who is the counterpart of the whole universe of created things (cf. Masséignon, p. 182 f.).

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 theology 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' [fana] which he enumerates, see Asin Palacios, 'La Psicologia segun Mohideen Ahenzar, des orientalistes, iii. 125 ff.).

The following are noteworthy:

(a) That man stands to God in the same relation as the pupil of the eye, which is the instrument of vision, to the eye; i.e., man is the means whereby God beholds His creation and knows Himself; and that we (mankind) are the representatives with which we endow God—excepting 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 (Falsâf. ch. iv). Elsewhere Ibn al-'Arabi says: 'We are the food 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 use.

(b) That God is the 'self' [ilâh] of the things that He brought into existence, for He is the 'self' of things in manifestation, though He is not the 'self' of things in their essences. Therefore Ibn al-'Arabi holds that the true mystic, combining the doctrines of tanwîr and tâhîl, worships God both corrupt, and suffers punishment for sins committed in the flesh.

The system of Ibn al-'Arabi may be described as a pantheistic monism. God and the world are two correlative and complementary aspects of one Absolute Reality; the world could not exist apart from God, and, if the world did not exist, God could not be manifested and known. The terms 'Creator' (al-Haqq) and 'creature' (kalâm) are logically involved in another as moments of the Absolute Being, not indeed of equal worth—since al-Haqq is eternal, while kalâm is contingent (i.e. eternal in the knowledge of God, and originated in the context of its absolute, but interchangeable, subjects of predication (cf. L. Masséignon, Kitâb al-Farâ'isân, Paris, 1912, p. 130 ff.). Ibn al-'Arabi delights in the daring 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,
And in the objects of some I deny Him.
He knows me and I know Him not,
And I know Him and behold Him.
How can He be independent,
When I help and aid Him.
For that cause God brought me into existence.*

(Força, Cairo, 1231 A.H., ch. v. p. 76.)

Discover the reality of the words and letters are a symbol. "A-" Goldziher has shown (Die Zichteinen, Leipzig, 1884, p. 129 ff.), the two points of view are philosophically impossible. The Zâhiriyah practice appealed to many Sufis, who found in it an expression of their own dislike for the hair-splitting pedantry of the rival schools of law, for the acceptance of external authority as the standard of truth, and for the method of logical demonstration as opposed to intuitive knowledge.
as absolutely transcendent and as externalized in nature (Fusūs, ch. iii.).

(c) That all forms of religious belief are relatively true. This follows from the proposition that God is the creator of the world, in whom we are to believe or sensible or intelligible. Every reality forms some notion of God, and in praising the god which he has made he praises himself, while at the same time he blames the gods of other sects and individuals, to whom he is more wise and just if it be perceived God in every form and in every belief, according to the verse (Coran, ii. 109), "Whereover ye turn, there is the face, i.e. the reality, of Allah" (Fusūs, chs. x. and xxvii.; cf. Taqayyur al-asrār, Preface)."

(d) That, even if the infidels shall remain in hell for ever, their torments will ultimately be transmuted into such pleasure as is enjoyed by the blessed in paradise.

Abd al-Karim al-Jilī develops this theory in Khattāt al-kāmil (see the present writer's article, "A Moslem Philosophy of Religion," in Museum, 3rd ser. i. 1. [1915] 83 ff.). Evidently there is no room in Ibn al-'Arabi's system for the Muhammadan scheme of rewards and punishments. The fulfillment of the divine scheme of 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 the soul before it entered into individuation in the material world. Ibn al-'Arabi 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 accuracy of what he has been taught by that capacity (Fusūs, ch. v.); but in another passage of the same work (ch. viii.) he declares that it is a more profoundly mystic thought to regard the soul as a mode of God, and its recompense as a divine illumination (fusūs) in the form of pleasure or pain which are felt by God Himself.

(e) That the saints are superior to the prophets. Ibn al-'Arabi does not state the doctrine in this absolute form. The prophets, he says, may be viewed in three aspects: as apostles, they bring a religious code to their people; as prophets, they inform them about God in proportion to their own knowledge; and, as saints, they pass away in God and abide in God. There is no logical connection between capacity (Fusūs, ch. v.); but in another passage of the same work (ch. viii.) he declares that it is a more profoundly mystic thought to regard the soul as a mode of God, and its recompense as a divine illumination (fusul) in the form of pleasure or pain which are felt by God Himself.


REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

MUKTI.—See MOKSA.

MULLA.—Mulla is a title of varied usage, given to officials of different ranks, but invariably to men who have received some degree of education. It is of Persian origin, and denoting a religious schoolmaster and hold certificates testifying thereto; it is also a generic term applied to such officials as a class.

"Mulla" is a proper pronunciation of the Turkish "mukha, the Arab. mula (lit. "lord," "master," "patron"); also "slave."
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 indifferencism and ceremonial laxity, and as substituting rationalism for their own fatalism. In Persia, however, where the Shi'itic 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 despoticism 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 harbouring 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 mullahs 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 corruptibility generally ascribed to the mullah, 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 scholars have been sent from Turkey to receive part of their education in Europe; in India the mullahs 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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